

**IMPACT OF THE STATUS LOSS
ON THE RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGIES
AND PRACTICES OF BRAHMIN
COMMUNITY IN MALABAR AREA**

**Thesis Submitted to
The University of Calicut
For the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology**

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PREFACE

The Brahmins of Kerala are known as *Nampoothiries*. History and myths have it that they have migrated from the north and settled in the south. They have extended a profound influence on the social structure of Kerala. Owing to several historical reasons the *Nampoothiries* came to have undisputed ownership over the land and it gave them domination over the people. The influence, for a time, was so conspicuous that once Kerala was known as *Brahmakhetram* (BrahminCountry). The history and the vicissitudes of the Brahmin community lie scattered in many historical documents, books and films.

The Land Reforms Act of the 70's put an end to landlordism in Kerala. The land reforms have completely toppled the dominance of the Brahmins causing drastic changes in their social status and power. The land reforms affected their Socio-economic life so badly that they were forced to search for new and strange ways of livelihood. In this struggle for existence the Brahmins more or less lost their religious favours and became apathetic to religious observances. Thus, there is a lot of difference between the Brahmin community, prior to land reform and that in the post reform days. Very noticeable change is the lessened interest in matters of religion and rituals and apathy towards and abandonment of traditional pursuits.

This thesis is prepared in nine chapters. The first chapter

introduces the problem. The second analyses the relevant literature on the topic and attempts to create the theoretical frame work for the study. The third chapter discusses the methodology used and the forth chapter outlines the geographical physical area based on which this study is made. The fifth and the sixth consist of a core analysis, examining in detail, the impact of the loss of status on the religious ideologies and practices of the community under reference. The seventh chapter reveals the present aspects of the community. The eighth chapter undertakes an analysis of three representative cases, to demonstrate how the changes in the milieu have affected and modified the religious and familial life of the Brahmins. The last chapter consolidates the results obtained, and comments on their indications.

The researcher modestly hopes that the present study would throw a little light on the area specified and stimulate further investigation

MAHESH. C

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GLOSSARY

1. *Adharvavedies* : Those Brahmins who follow *Adharvaveda* is called *Adharvavedies*.
2. *Adhyan* : Those Brahmins who have economic and spiritual supremacy.
3. *Asyan* : Those Brahmins who are inferior to *Adhyan*
4. *Aphanmar* : Younger brothers of the head of the family.
5. *Arpu, kurava* : Loud Sound producing at the time of Marriage
6. *Aytham (Asudham)*: Defilement;Pollution
7. *Aypasanam* : The fire that had been set for the initial rites of the marriage and kept burning until the death of the husband whose funereal pyre must be lit from this.
8. *Adhivedanam* : Marrying more than one women
9. *Ayanioonu* : Ceremonial feast at the brides and grooms house before marriage.
10. *Brahmaswam* : Property of Brahmins.
11. *Dwijan* : One having two births, Members of the twice born caste.
12. *Dharbha* : A particular type of grass using for Rituals.
13. *Devaswam* : Property of deity.
14. *Echil* : Refers eaten food left over the plates; Mouth, Lips, Teeth and Tongue carry certain degree of pollution known *Echil*.
15. *Eda Sudham* : Type of pollution transmitted from other upper castes like *Kshatriya*, Tamil Brahmin etc.
16. *Gramam* : Traditional Brahmin settlements
17. *Graham* : Traditional ancestral family.
18. *Janmam* : Birth right on soil
19. *Jathakarmam* : One among 16 important rites (*shodasakriyaka*) of Brahmin; doing just after the birth of a child.
20. *Kannam* : Land tenure system existed in Malabar.
21. *Mahanmoos* : The eldest son of a Nampoothiri family.
22. *Namakaramam* : Naming ceremony.
23. *Pumsavanam* : A ritual performing at the time of early stages of pregnancy

24. *Rik* : Two hymns of *Rigveda*; *Rigveda*.
25. *Sambandaham* : Marriage with other lower caste.
26. *Semantham* : Religious ritual performing at middle stage of pregnancy.
27. *Sradham* : Rituals related to death anniversary.
28. *Samita* : Stem of *palasa* tree.
29. *Smarthavicharam* : The Court of enquiry is to allegation for the transgression of the rules of chastity by the *Nampoothiries*.
30. *Sudhabojanam* : Purificatory feast conducted at the last phase of the *Smartavicharam*.
31. *Upanayanam* : Long ritual converting a Nampoothiri boy in to a Brahmanm and for initiating him to *Brahmachari*.
32. *Udhakapurvakam* : One of the ritual performing at the time of marriage. The bride's father pours water in to the groom's hands chanting the Mantras; the movement the first drop of the water falls in to groom's hand the girl became his wife.
33. *Panigrahanam* : The most important rite of a Nampoothiri wedding. The groom hold's the bride's right hand with hymn.
34. *Udhakavichhedam* : Refers to the severance of the right of the kin of the ex communicated person for performing obsequies (*udhakakriya*).
35. *Vattu* : A type of pollution related to boiled food grains; Boild rice
36. *Kadvaloor Aniyoniyam* : Higher *vedic* testing conducted at *Kadavaloor* Temple.
37. *Othillath Namboodiri* : Those Nampoothiries who banded from *vedic* Studies.

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

Kerala Brahmins are known as *Nampoothiries*. The term can be conceived of having derived from several sources. The Sanskrit scholars tend to define the word as follows: 'Nam (Veda) + *poorayithi* (completes) = *Nampoothiri*' (Padmanabhapilla, 1997:1050). Thus etymologically the term implies a person who has completed Vedic studies. This shows how Vedic tradition and culture attached to *Nampoothiri* Brahmins of Kerala. Another interpretation of the term is in accordance with the Dravidian tradition. Some scholars believe that the term '*Nampoothiri*' was derived from the root '*Nambu*' meaning 'to trust' and '*thiri*' meaning wick, which gives out light. Thus the term *Nampoothiri* means the trust worthy who gives out the light of knowledge (Govindanunni, 1994:131; Ayyar, 1999:53).

ARRIVAL OF THE GROUP IN KERALA

Evidence shows that the first batch of Brahmin immigrants arrived in Kerala in the third century B.C. which is historically designated as *Sangam Age* in South India. (Menon, 1996:103). In *Sangam Age* the Brahmins began to migrate from the north to south with their puranic lore and ritualistic tradition. Gradually, they became an influential group and played a crucial role in the political and administrative fields.

The history of Brahmin migration to the south is associated with the fictitious story of *Parasurama*. Tradition as embodied in the work '*Keralolpathi*' (The Genesis of Kerala) and '*Keralamahathmam*' (The Glory of Kerala) has it that Kerala was raised from the sea by *Parasurama*, the axe bearing incarnation of Lord Vishnu, which was subsequently gifted to the Brahmins brought by him from the North, as an atonement for the sins committed by him (Logan 1951:221-224; Innes, 1951:37-38). *keralolpathi* (The Genesis of Kerala) refers to two stages of Brahmin migration to Kerala. The present day Brahmins believe that they are the second batch of the Brahmins brought by the mythical saint to Kerala. The first batch, the earlier immigrants, fled to *Tulunadu*. They became known as *Palamthuluvar* or *Tulunampis* (Krishna Iyyer, 1963:53; Pothuval, 1957:15).

The Brahmins who migrated to Kerala settled themselves in 32 different ghettos in different parts of Kerala. Kesavan Veluthat has identified these settlements (Veluthat, 1986: 05). In Kerala, Brahmin settlements are found in the plains (between the sea - coast and mountains) where plenty of water and fertile soil are available for paddy cultivation (Veluthat, 1978: 261). The early history of Brahmins starts from '*Cellure*' or *Perumcellure* settlement which is presently known as *Thaliparamba*. *Perumcellure* and *Payyannur*, settlements constitute the Northern group which is geographically separated from the rest of the immigrants by more than 150 km. It is worth mentioning that most of these Brahmin settlements have been established on the banks

of rivers, especially on the banks of *Pampa*, *Periyar* and *Bharatha puzha* (Ganesh, 1990; 43; Veluthat; 1978: 263). These settlements in Kerala were established during the 7th and 8th centuries.

THE RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGIES AND PRACTICES OF BRAHMINS

The Religious life of a Brahmins is deeply rooted in the Vedic culture. They follow the Vedic religious ideologies and practices. They believe in the concept of that God is one but He has several manifestations. They worship various forces of nature, but at the same time, believe in the basic unity of nature. The true religion of the Vedic Brahmins is in fact, a form of nature worship. Natural phenomena are conceived to be the expression of some spiritual states – the will of various Gods. All natural phenomena such as the sky, thunder, rain, air etc., are guided by their presiding deities. According to Brahmanical religious thought, God is the almighty ruler, who ordains the period of life, protects people and provides them with happiness. This is borne out by the fact the hymns of the *Rigveda* celebrate the glory of the Gods and are intended to appease them. There was no order of seniority among Brahmin Gods. Of the major deities, *Indra*, *Varuna* and *Agni* are the most prominent and powerful.

The centre of the Brahmin religious ideas was sacrifice. The chief purpose of the sacrifice was the gratification of the Gods in order to obtain boons from them. The sacrifices consisted of offering oblations in to the

sacrificial fire accompanied with the Rigvedic hymns. Namboodiri Brahmins were masters of sacrificial system. There is a ritual called *aupasnam* which Brahmin couples performing early in the morning with Vedic hymns. It shows the extend to which sacrifice is important in the life of a Kerala Brahmin. There are so many families in Kerala who had performed Yaga (sacrifice) and keep *Yagagni* (sacred fire) indorsed.

The Brahmins believed in the life after death. Cremation ceremony consists of several rituals for the peaceful and satisfactory send - off of the inner *Atma* (soul) of the person who dies and to integrate the inner soul with Lord Vishnu. These are to be done mainly by sons and grandsons of the dead person. The soul moves in its own power, accepts the sacrificial and *sradha* (funeral) offerings made by the living beings and is reborn.

The entire life of a Brahmin is centred around the concept of purity and pollution which in its turn is connected with the belief in life after death. The highest form of purity is needed to perform funeral offering rituals. Purity and pollution have different forms which are determined by the events such as birth, death etc. A Brahmin is passing through 16 stages of Vedic rituals, which are called *shodasakriyakal* starting from the womb of the mother and ending in the tomb.

Offering prayers, performing sacrifices and other rites and living in harmony with nature was the ideal moral life. Not obeying the order of

universe was a sin. Offence against a neighbour, friend or even stranger is a sin. *Nampoothiri* Brahmins laid great emphasis on leading a virtuous life. Lying and evil deeds promoted by anger, drinking and gambling were particularly loathed. Their ultimate of religious life is to attain '*moksha*' (get rid of cycles of rebirth and unite with the ultimate).

SOCIO - ECONOMIC HAGEMONY OF BRAHMINS

Brahmin introduced a new socio- economic system, which centred around *gramakshekhtra* (Temple). These village temples were governed by a council established by a group of Brahmins. They were the real owners of the land. They control all aspect of human life. Gradually Kerala became *Brahmakshetram* (Brahmin country). The whole land owners unquestionably accepted the Brahmin hegemony, which is partially rooted in spiritual supremacy and economic dominance. These wealthy temples were the centre of traditional Vedic studies. These temples provided free food and accommodation for Vedic students. The temples also maintained Vedic learning centres known as *salas* and theatre, known as *koothambalam*.

The temples were rich enough to meet such expenses. The knowledge of those who have completed higher Vedic studies was tested at the Vedic testing venue at *Kadavallur* temple. This is known as '*Kadavallur Anyonyam* (final examination for the *vedic* scholars). The ambitious goal of every

Nampoodiri boy who initiated in *Rigvedic* studies is to successfully complete *Kadavallur's Valiyakadanirikal* (The final examination).

Temples not only carried out religious and cultural activities but also controlled the economic activities of the people. Temple was also the major proprietor of the land in Kerala, regulating conditions of tenure and influencing rates of interest, prices and wages. All these shows that the Brahmins had a dominating position in the social set-up of Kerala.

There was no private ownership of land in Malabar before the advent of Brahmin immigrants (Oommen, 1985: 35). These Aryan immigrants created a new hierarchical system of land relationship which helped them to dominate others. *Janmam* was the highest form of land ownership. The word *Janmam* conveys the idea that the ownership of the soil is determined by birth. So the Brahmin ownership of the land was unquestionable. Such large properties of Brahmin families are called *Brahmaswam*. Land tenure system of Malabar was subdivided into different categories. Beneth *Janmam*, *Pattom*, *Verumpattom*, *Kanam*, *Kuzhikanam* etc. were the different forms of land ownership. Besides the Brahmin families Temples also owned vast area of land in Malabar which was called '*Devaswam*'. These '*Devaswam*' properties were managed by a Brahmin Council (*Uraalanmar*). This council consist of wealthy Brahmin families of the locality. In fact, total

land area of Malabar was controlled by Brahmin families as *Brahmaswam* and *Devaswam* properties.

In the social set-up Brahmins occupied higher position due to their religious and economic supremacy. In religious matters Brahmins were considered as the supreme authority. The task of presiding over religious sacrifices and rites was exclusively a privilege as a God given and hereditary function of the Brahmin. The Brahmin occupied a position at the apex of the social hierarchy so much that they enjoyed many social privileges. They were also exempted from the payment of tax and corporal punishment (Ghurye, 1978: 58).

DECLINE OF BRAHMIN DOMINANCE

The domination over temple property, *jenmi* rights and political power attained through marital relation etc. have culminated in 'Brahmin oligarchy' in Kerala but literary works and historical evidence show that inspite of plenitude, deterioration set in gradually in the life of the Brahmins. Literary works like *chandrotsavam*, a satirical poem on an imaginary moon festival, bears testimony to the degenerating aspects of Nampoothiri life in medieval Kerala.

The Mysore invasion to Malabar was the first blow to the Brahmin domination. The unquestionable Brahmin domination on the land and people

was questioned by the invasion. Most of the Brahmins were compelled to flee from Malabar. When the British defeated the invaders the entire Malabar came under British rule. Thus the right of control over the land was transferred from the Brahmins to the British. Even while they were in danger of losing their strong hold on the land they were lived in the fanciful world of aesthetics. While people belonging to other upper castes learned how to adjust themselves with the changing circumstances of life, the Brahmins were reluctant to cope with such changes. They remained untouched even by the waves of the freedom movements .It was only in the beginning of 19th century that they began to assimilate to the reality. Gradually, they understood the significance of English education and took initiatives in setting up schools. Reformers like V.T.Bhatathiripad came out of the shell of the tradition and took active part in the freedom struggle and reform movements. The literary works of such distinguished members of the community propagated the philosophy reforms and change.

The spread of English education, the new trends in literature and the communist ideologies propagated by E.M.Sankaran Namboodiripad etc. had been the factors responsible for changes that occurred in the socio - religious life of *Nampoothiries*. Another factor which was equally responsible for the changing patterns of the Brahmins' life was the economic reforms introduced by the administrators.

The land reforms which took place during the 70s was a severe blow on the economic sovereignty of Brahmins. The source of income by way of getting *pattom* (lease) was blocked for ever as a result of such reforms. Land had to be transferred to the tenant. When income ceased to flow to the temples, feasts and festivals and Vedic studies slowly vanished.

The Namboodiries faced drastic changes in their way of life recently. The amount of time spent on daily ritual has been steadily decreased. The ceremonies like marriage *upanayanam* were reduced in to convenient form to save time and money. The notion of purity and pollution got weakened have the chanting of *mantras* got reduced. Most of the youngsters become disinterested to follow their ritualistic life. When it became possible to attain jobs which ensured means of livelihood them the Brahmins disinterested in Vedic studies. Srinivas observed 'Rituals are not omitted or abbreviated but are also telescoped with others. Thus the wedding ritual may be combined with donning of the sacred thread at the beginning of the ceremony, and with the consummation ritual (*garbhadana*) at the end" (Srinivas, 1972:125).

The facts portrayed above prompt us to probe into the role played by the degeneration of the socio-economic status of Brahmins in changing their religious ideologies and practices. Marxian philosophy highlights the relationship between the economic and socio-cultural profiles of human life. However, in a traditional community like ours the nature and extend of the

relationship will not be linear. This study is particularly interested in the influence of such factors as status group nature, entrepreneurship, value system etc.on the relationship. Further, the patterns of adaptation of the community to the changes in material and spiritual matters are of much importance.

It is mentioned that very few studies have been conducted about the life of Brahmins in Kerala. It is expected that present study will bring light to the numerous facts, which lie lurked in the unfathomable social realms of Namboodiri life in Malabar. The study is expected to give insight in to the drastic changes that have been taken place in the social superstructure as a result of the changes occurred in their economic state of affairs. In addition to this, the study will contribute to the realm of knowledge pertaining to the adaptations of the community to the basic changes occurring in the existing social system. Above all the study has got some practical significance too. The issue of reservation based on economic status is significant one in the present day Indian society. It is hoped that the study may give some valuable guidance to the planners and policy makers in the matter.

CHAPTER II

SURVEY OF RELATED LITERATURE

From the Vedic period onwards there exists the four fold division of society known as the Varna system. The Brahmin, Kshathrya, Vaisya and Sudra were the four divisions. The first three groups enjoyed the right to perform *Upanayana* (the initiation to Vedic studies). They were known as *Dwijas* (twice born). The fourth category was expected to serve the others. Among the twice born, the Brahmins attained predominance over others by way of officiating at religious sacrifices and rites, and there by them occupied the highest stratum of the social ladder.

In India, Brahmins are sub-divided in to seven sects, each of which has its patron, namely, *Kasyapa, Atri, Bharadwaja, Gauthama, Viswamithra, Jamadagni, and Vasista*. Besides these, they are split-up in to followers of the four *vedas*. The Brahmins also recognize six sects, which are known as *Shat Mata* or six schools (Dubois, 1906: 97-111). While discussing the concept of *sanskritization* Srinivas pointed out the diversity that exists among the Brahmins. Some Brahmin groups such as the Kashmiri, Bengali and Saraswath are non-vegetarians, while Brahmins elsewhere are traditionally vegetarians (Srinivas, 1972:8).

HISTORY OF BRAHMIN MIGRATION

The *Aryans* whose presence in north-western India or the region of *Sapta Sindhu* as documented by the *Rigveda*, had reached the territory through a migration or a succession of migrations, from outside. The Aryan migration or invasion of India is recorded in no written document, and it cannot yet be traced archaeologically, but it is, nevertheless, firmly established as a historical fact on the basis of comparative philology (Agnihotri, 1998:45). The original home lands of these Aryans were matter of controversy (Danino, 1996; 56). However, the consensus of opinion is that the original homeland of the Aryans was somewhere in Central Asia.

The Aryan migration to India was not a single concentered action, but one covering centuries and involving many tribes. In this migration, sections of them may be presumed to have pushed up into the highlands of Afghanistan, and then to have descended from this base into the plains of the Punjab. In *Rigveda* the land where the Vedic Aryans lived is called by the name of *Sapta Sindhu*, or 'the Land of Seven Rivers'. The region of *Sapta Sindhu* witnessed the composing of the sacred hymns which describe the early growth and development of the Vedic culture.

BRAHMIN MIGRATION TO SOUTH INDIA

Agnihotri suggests, "By the fourth century B.C the extreme South of India had become subjected to strong Aryan or northern influences" (Agnihotri, 1998:71). Ramayana also refers to the migration of Aryans from North to South. Sangetha Rao suggests that caste system appeared in Andhra only after North Indian Brahmins migrated to the South. These migrations are related to some unknown reasons. Any how these Brahmins were considered by the North Indian Brahmins as *Vrathya* Brahmins or inferior Brahmins (Rao, 1989:92). The history of South Indian Brahmins pictured in different *Sangam* literatures (Sastri, 1966:115; Narayanan, 1988:256).

NAMBUTHIRI BRAHMINS IN MALABAR

Hutton observed that the priestly caste Nambuthiries hold a peculiar position in Malabar and they seems to have came originally from North India, and to have entered Malabar at a much later date than Nayars (Hutton, 1963:13-14). Notable historian Sreedhara Menon mentioned that aryanisation of Kerala was a slow process, which was effected in a subtle manner "not by the force of arms, but by the art of peace" (Sreedhara Menon, 1996:101). Kesavan Veluthat who conducted detailed study about the traditional Namboodiri settlements in Kerala up holds a different opinion. He points out that, it was not only by art of peace but also by 'force of arms' that

they expanded to this part of the country (Veluthat, 1978:05). It is accepted that the Aryan colonisation of Kerala was not by force, but through peaceful means (Varghese, 1970:10). Krishna Ayyar points out that the *Namboodiris* believe that their ancestors came from North India. He further added, "We do not know when the *Namboodiris* came to Kerala. The *Sangam* works are silent about them" (Krishnaayyar, 1938:53). Most of the historians in Kerala agree that Brahmins migrated to Kerala along with their vedic-puranic rituals and rites at Sangam age (approximately the 3rd century B.C) (Kunjanpillai, 1930:9; Narayanan and Veluthat, 1986:257; Sreedhara Menon, 1996:103). Damodaran says "Although it was believed that Kerala Brahmins are migrant from North Indian, but the property inheritance, rites and rituals are entirely different from North Indian Brahmins, which contradict the theory of Brahmin migration (Damodaran, 1998: 160-67; Namboodiripad, 1952:38). Uloor, the great Malayalam Poet, suggested legend *Parasurama* migrated to Kerala with his followers approximately at Sangam age (Uloor, 1953:39). However, the origin of Kerala Brahmins, *Namboodiris*, is not an unavoidable historical question, but the problem is that how much they influence, dominate, and change the entire social milieu of Kerala (Gurrikal and Varrier, 1991:111).

The migrated Brahmin was settled in 64 Villages. Thirty two of them are said to have been north of river *Perumpuzha*, in *Tulunad* and they have been also identified. Remaining thirty two to the South of '*Perumpuzha*' are in Kerala proper. In fact, twenty three of them survive today (Veluthat, 1970:05).

In order to understand the growth of Namboodiri settlements in Kerala, it is necessary to have an idea of the original settlements. The thirty two settlements of tradition, as given in the *Keralolpati*, are given in Appendix 1. These traditional settlements took shape on the fertile plains of the rivers and more important fact is that some settlements are found in clusters. The one and only Brahmin settlement mentioned in *sangam* works was *Cellur* (Narayan and Veluthat, 1986:256). Very important fact about the Brahmin settlements in Kerala is that they were essentially temple-centered and that the temple was synonymous with the Brahmin settlements and vice-versa (Veluthat, 1976:06). These settlements were managed by a council known as Ur Sabai (Village Council). The village council was mainly centered with the administration of properties owned collectively by the temple-centered Brahmin settlement, known as the *Devaswam* or the property of the deity (Narayan and Veluthat, 1986:07). It is worth to note that these traditional settlements established mainly on the fertile river banks of Pamba, Periyar and Bharathapuzha (Ganesh, 1990:43, Varrier and Gurikkal, 1991:113). Of these 32 Brahmin settlements in Kerala eight are situated in Malabar region (see Appendix-II).

IDENTITY OF A NAMBUTHIRI BRAHMIN

The identity of a Nambuthiri family in Malabar is based on five important parameters Viz a) the family name, b) the *gothram*, c) the *graham*, d) the

grammam, and e) the *vedam*. Each Namboodiri family of Malabar identified and called with particular family name. Generally, they use suffix like *Illam* or *Mana* with their family name. The *Gothram* to which the family belongs to show the family's traditional branch of knowledge and ritual practices. Each *gothram* again divided in to several *pravarams*. Major *gotrams* and *pravarams* among Brahmins are given in Appendix-III. The present day Namboodiri family is a branch of a traditional ancestral family, which is called *graham*. Each Brahmin family is affiliated to a traditional village settlement called *grammam*. Beside these parameters each family strictly follow only one of the three vedas, namely Rig-veda, Yajur Veda and Sama Veda. There is no 'Adharva Vedies' in Malabar region. The followers of Rig-Veda called *Rigvedies*. It has two sub-divisions namely *Kousheethakan* and *Aswalayanan*. Like this 'Yajurvedies' are divided to *Boudhayanan* and *Badhoolakan*. Samavedies are divided into two sects, namely, *Jaimaniyam* and *Kaudoomam*. Each of the subdivisions has its own unique style of rituals and practices (Agnisharman, 1990:05).

The *Namboodiries* were mostly land owners and lived on the income from tenants. Until the early decades of the 20th century they owned vast tracts of land through out Kerala. The life style and family structure are linked with agriculture and land tenancy system of Kerala. Generally, Namboodiris are following patrilineal law of inheritance. Some scholars point out the system existing among Namboodiries is something intermediate between

matriliney of the Nayers and Patriliney that is practiced elsewhere in the country (Govindan Unni, 1994:133). Among the *Namboodiries* the eldest son alone is permitted to marry within the community and has complete control over all the property. He is designated as '*Mahan Moose*' (Sankaran Namboodiripad, 1963:211; Baskaraunni, 2000:60). The position of younger Brothers of the family is low. They have no right to own their ancestral property. They are called '*Aphanmar*'. After completing traditional Vedic education, these younger brothers establish *sambhandham* (marital relation) with a wealthy *Nayar/Thampuran* family to satisfy their basic economic needs. Their conditions are illustrated in different literature works in Malayalam (Bhattathiripad, 1997:17, Namboodiripad, 1998:158). Namboodiris observe 64 dos and don'ts said to have been propagated by the great reformer Sankaracharya. '*Sankara Smruthi*' give detailed law of life concerned with personal hygiene, food, manners, worship of Gods, conduct in society and regulation of sexual life. *Namboodiries* follow the patrilineal law of inheritance, (from father to son). But a sect of Payyanur Brahmins follow matrilineal system of inheritance, (from mother to daughter) (Govindanunni, 1994:128).

ESTABLISHMENT OF BRAHMIN HEGEMONY IN MALABAR

At the end of 11th century Kerala was known as '*Brahmakshethra*'- Brahmin country. It is very difficult to find out how precisely Brahmins were

able to attain this supremacy in Kerala (Varghese, 1970:10). Their spirituality and economic condition together make them powerful caste in Malabar. Their spirituality is rooted in their Vedic tradition and their economic condition is based on the traditional land tenures of Malabar.

The land system existed in pre-British period consist of different types of rights, namely, *Janmam*, *Kanam*, *Kuzhikanam* and *Verumpattam*. *Janmam* is the highest form of land occupation in Kerala. Beneath *Janmam* was *kanam*. The word *Kanam* is related to the word *Kanakkaran*, who have the right to supervise or protect the 'Nad' (territory), for this service they enjoyed a fixed share of net product (Radhakrishnan, 1989:28). Originally this was a military tenure granted to the protecting classes (Ravindran, 1994:190).

Next important form of land occupation was known as '*Kuzhikanam*', tenure of freshly reclaimed lands. Its holder, '*Kuzhikanakaran*', enjoyed the whole of its produce for a certain period. The last tenure was '*Verumpattam*', the actual holding cultivators. '*Verumpatam*' is socially subordinate to the '*Janmi*' and '*Kanakkaran*' (Radhakrishnan, 1989:29). The available literature of land tenure system of Malabar shows that Brahmin occupied highest position. In other words entire land tenure system in pre-British Malabar was Brahmin centered. How Brahmins managed to acquire such an unquestionable birth right on soil, *Janmam* the explanations runs as follows:

The *Nampoothiries*, who entered Malabar in large numbers in 7th and 8th century A.D, began to exert great influence on the political, economic and religious life of the people. Logan explains, 'Vedic Brahmins in their passage to southwards spread abroad their influence chiefly by claiming for themselves the gift of being able to compel the gods to do their will by reason of scarifies conducted in sonorous Sanskrit, and in particular they claimed the power to secure benefits in the next world for their devotees by ensuring for them and their deceased ancestors an easy passage in to the heaven of Indra". Along with this religious ideology, the Arya Brahmins introduced temple centered political and economic social system. The administration of these temples and its property was vested in a body of Brahmins called '*Uraller*'. Another significant fact regarding the concentration of property in the hands of the Brahmins was that people of considerable wealth used to donate most of their lands to temples in order to secure spiritual grace and also to gain exemption from land taxes (Ravindran, 1994:188). Gradually the Brahmins were able to acquire more land from the cultivators that fearing land taxes and destructions (Varghese, 1970:17).

Brahmins establish this domination through their settlement pattern known as '*Gramam*', which consist of a central temple as the '*gramakhtram*', as well as several other temples. Temple has played a prominent part in the social life of the people. Temples were not mere a centre for worship. It functioned variously as the centre for educational and

cultural aspects, centre for defence during war time, finally for communion of people to impart their opinion regarding their problems. Owing to the war between *chera* and *chola*, temples are handed over to Brahmins. All the landed property became property of Brahmin families. Gradually their ownership became '*Janman*' right of Brahmins (Kunjanpillai, 1958:13-14). The administration of the temple and its property was done by a council (*Uraller*). This council underwent a period of quick development in 9th, 10th and 11th centuries. These councils received donation of land, gold etc. from princes, chieftains, merchants, Brahmins, Devadasis and even from the members of the council. They surrender their property to temple and took up cultivation as tenants of the temple. These transactions make Brahmin '*Uraller*'s of settlement the biggest landlords in Kerala. Ravindran says there were several rules and regulations were being framed to prevent converting the '*Devaswams*' into '*Brahmaswams*'. These rules were known as "*Muzhikkala Kacham*"- rules framed at *Muzhikkalam*. By the time of the 11th century these regulations became totally ineffective. The power and prestige of the *Nampoothries* increased as the wealth had flown to them from all quarters (Ravindran, 1994:188).

These Brahmanical temples grew into gigantic establishments into every field of social and cultural life. These temples destroyed centralised administrative and political authority of the local people (Balakrishnan, 1997:262-65). They enjoyed high status and possessed property and

influence out of all proportion to their numbers. They are only about one or two percent of the total population of Kerala. Most of the Brahmin Settlements continued to be economically prosperous, but in the midst of this prosperity the mysterious decay and disappearance of certain settlements (*Illibhyam, Karanthol, and Katanmaruku*) also took place. Most of the temples bearing the names of these villages have survived to this day, but without even a trace of the Namboodiri settlements. Most probably the loss of these 'gramams' took place in post chera-period due to wars or calamities or to mass excommunications or extinction of families (Narayanan and Veluthat, 1980:267; Veluthat, 1978:72).

Oommen suggests that before the advent of British in to Malabar, the notion of individual ownership of land did not exist. It was joint propertyship, which characterized the pattern of agrarian structure until the second half of the century (Oommen, 1985:35). In shaping the land tenure system of Malabar, more significant event was the conquest of Maysorians in mid of 18th century. According to Logan, only by the middle of 18th century was the word *Janmam* used by the Nampoothries at first very rarely through more universally by the end of 18th century (Logan, 1989:153). At the end of 18th century, 80 percent of the land in Malabar belonging to superior castes like Brahmins and Nayers (Varghese, 1970:197).

The Brahmins settled most largely in Valluvanad, Ponnani, Eranad and Kozhikode taluks of north Malabar (Varghese, 1970:22; Radhakrishnan, 1989:33). As Thurston notes that very large portion of Malabar is owned by Namboodiris. They were the aristocracy of the land marked with most impressively by two characteristics, exclusiveness and simplicity (Thurston, quoted in Krishnaayyar, 1999:132). Demes, the translator of Barbosa, noted that the Namboodiris were a power in the land due to partly their spiritual ascendancy and partly their position as owners of much of the soil of Malabar, and wielded a powerful conservative influence over members of the ruling class and hold a peculiar position in the country (Demes, 1921:33; Hutton, 1963:14). They developed considerable influence up on the ruling class through a new doctrine that was 'only through Namboodiri seed would good kings be born'. The women of the royal families were in no need of '*Brahmaswam*' property. All they wanted was '*Namboodiri seed*'. Again, the princes of royal families were given education in '*Smrithis*' by the *Namboodiris* and they developed a hold on future kings even from their boyhood. That was the reason why the *Namboodiris* were able to establish and maintain the caste predominance and '*Smrithi*' rule with greater strength and effect here than was possible even in North India (Ravindran, 1972:10-12).

This economic domination helps them to create two types of social system. First one, they arranged surplus of production and labour force in

accordance with temple -centred social system. Second one, they introduced new relations practices and ideologies. They developed astronomy, geography and climatology which are essential for an agrarian society (Ganesh, 1990: 131). The establishment of new socio-political system helps them to dominate other social groups. Such a condition Gramsci described by the term 'hegemony'. According to Gramsci this is achieved by a combination of political and ideological means (Gramsci, 1998:245). To explain such an ideological domination Althusser introduced the concept of Ideological State Apparatus (ISA). This refers to one of the means by which the domination of the capitalist class is secured (Abercrombie and Hill, 1994:206). Here in case of Nampoothiri Brahmins they used 'Religious Ideas' as a tool for their political domination.

Generally in Sociology the notion of ideology is constituting any set of beliefs, the idea here is simply that all beliefs. These beliefs are socially determined. So the degree of social determination by a social group generates new ideologies in society. These ideologies are rooted in economic factors. Economic determinism in Marxist Sociology explains all social phenomena in terms of the economic structure or relations of production. Lewies Coser pointed out that in Marx's view, the sum total of the relation of production constitute the real foundation upon which the whole cultural superstructure of society come to be created (Coser, 1996:45). So in Marxian perspective religious ideologies are rooted in basic economic

structure of society. In other words religious ideologies and practices of a society are determined by the relation of production.

From Marxian perspective, religion, as a part of the superstructure of society, is shaped ultimately by the infrastructure. Thus, changes in the forces of production will be mirrored by the changes in religious belief and practice. Max Weber rejects the view that religion is always shaped by economic factors. He does not deny that at certain times and in certain places, religious behaviour may be largely shaped by economic forces, but this is not always the case. Under certain conditions the reverse can occur, that is religious beliefs can be a major influence on economic behaviour. Weber, in his most famous work, 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism', claims, that the ascetic Protestantism was a vital influence in the creation and development of the spirit and practice of capitalism (Haralambos, 1980:467).

Lack of entrepreneurship to manage the economic activities in the proper way affected the declining economic status cumulatively and the process culminated in the impoverishment of Namboodiries. Thus Weberian principle also became relevant in the present interpretation.

Among these two theoretical frame works; Marxian theoretical frame work is applicable to explain the religious practices of Namboodiri Brahmins

of Malabar. If we closely examine the religious practices of a Namboodiri Brahmin it is clear that, their religious ideologies and practise are evolved out of an agrarian social setup.

RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGIES AND PRACTICES OF BRAHMINS

The origin of religion is explained by Taylor and Maxmuller with in the theory of 'Animism' and 'Naturalism'. It was Emile Durkheim, (in his 'Elementary forms of the Religious Life') who presented the most influential interpretation of religion in a functionalist perspective. He argued that all societies divide the world into two categories, 'the sacred' and 'the profane'. Religion is based up on this division. It is 'a unified system of beliefs and practices related to sacred things' (Harlambos, 1980:455; Bocock and Kenneth, 1985:43). He proposed that religion is eminently social.

Veenadas in her study about the sacred and the profane in Hinduism suggest that 'the dichotomy sacred and profane which dominates the Durkheimian Sociology of religion has very little relevance in the Hindu context (Veenadas, 1992: 114). Dumont altered this concept with 'pure' and 'impure'. In his essay 'Pure and Impure', he contended that the dichotomy of the sacred and the profane was operative at the cosmic level, and the dichotomy of pure and impure at the social level. He argued that "the religion of God is secondary, and the religion of caste is fundamental" (Dumont, 1959: 34). Dumont's frame work is help full to explain the religious practices

of *Nampoothiri* Brahamins. Their religious practices are related to the philosophy of 'life' and 'death' rather than the opposition of good and bad. If we examine the religious practices it shows that a set of practices (rituals) are associated with life eg. pregnancy (Pumsavanam, Semantham), blessing of a new-born (Namakaranam, Jathakarmam), initiation (Upanayanam) and marriage (Vivaham). The other set of rituals are associated with death. eg. Death ceremony (Funeral), rites to ancestors (Sradham), rites to Ghost (Offering pinda). Malinowski notes that in all societies these life crises are surrounded with religious ritual. He sees death as the most disruptive of these events and argues that, 'the existence of strong personal attachments and the fact of death, which of all human events in the most upsetting and disorganizing to man's calculations, are perhaps the main sources of religious beliefs' (Harlambos, 1998: 457).

The religious beliefs of Namboodiri are closely related to the concept of '*Punerjanma*' (rebirth). The theory of '*Punerjamma*' rooted in the theory of '*Karma*'. The ultimate aim of a Brahmin is that to get rid of the cycle of rebirth, which is known as '*Moksha*', the birthless condition of '*Athma*'. Their entire concepts of religious rituals structured around the concept of '*Moksha*'. On the contrary to Malinowski, death is not an upsetting or disorganizing fact among them. It is only a way to another world. They accepted death as a taken for granted reality.

The religious practices of *Nampoothiries* start from the womb. They strictly follow 16 rites called '*Shodasa Kriyakal*' or '*Shodasa Samskaras*', which are given in Appendix -IV. A number of these sixteen '*Kriyas*' are performed by the Brahmin himself and some obviously are performed for him during his childhood or after his death. Of these 16 *Kriyas* '*Upanayanam*' (initiation ceremony) qualifies a Namboodiri boy in to '*Brahmanan*' and initiating him to '*Brahmachari*'. '*Samavarthanam*', put an end to his studentship and lead him to next stage, *Vivaham* (Marriage). *Upanayanam* is conducted at the age of eight and the boy is fit to learn *vedas*. In well-to-do families, in olden days, there was provision not only to teach the *vedas* but also various *sastras* (art, literature, logic, astrology, *Ayurveda*, etc) to the boys from other families also. They were given free food and lodging. Until his *Samavarthanam* at the age of 14, the boy is called *Midukkan*, *Unni* or *Thampan*. According to the *Smirties*, he should take a wife at 24, after he has completed his education. A girl should be married before attaining puberty (Narayanan, 1972:13).

A Namboodiri wedding lasts for four days. It starts with a ceremonial feast at the bride's house and the grooms, called *ayanioonu*. The groom with his relatives and friends goes to the bride's house where he is received with '*arpu*' and '*kurava*' (shouting of joy by men and women respectively). He carries with him the clothes to be worn by his bride, and '*dharbha*' grass and '*Samita*' (palasa tree) and other articles for the '*homa*'. The bride's father

receives him in the courtyard of his house and requests him formally to accept his daughter in marriage.

Unlike among other southern communities, the 'talikettu' (tying the mangalya sutra) is done by the girl's father. After propitiating the family deity, he ties the string round the bride's neck and sends her out fully veiled with an off-white dhoti. The first wedding rite is 'udaka purvakam' Pouring of water in to the groom's hands by the bride (but it is done by her father), chanting the mantra, "*Sahadharman charata*" (Please lead a life of partnership). According to custom, the moment the first drop of water falls into the groom's hands, the girl becomes his wife and her ties with her parents are severed. '*Panigrahanam*' is the next important ceremony. The groom chants the following '*rik*' (hymns) as he receives the hand of the bride, "Taking all of you assembled here as witness and with the permission of Bhaga, Aryama, Savita and Brihaspati as the gods of '*garhapatyam*' (house holders life), I accept thee as the partner of my life and hold the hand" (Narayanam, 1972:13).

Namboodiri women are called *Antarjanam* (literary, inner people). For centuries they enjoyed no freedom and were meant only to cook and bear children. The *purdah* was so strictly observed that they could never go out. They lived not for themselves but for the husband and spiritually died with him. Dowry (*Kanyasulkam*) system was existed among them and had to be

paid in cash. All that the parents desired was to send their daughter to a family in which food, shelter and clothing were assured, to the poor girl was sometimes married off to a man of sixty years. Narayanan says "I know a number of ladies (now pretty old) who became widows at the age of fifteen or even at eleven. Some of them, I understand never experienced sex. In few cases, the husbands were incapacitated from the very day of marriage. Some wives could not enter the bed rooms because their 'elders' were already there protecting the husband from newcomers" (Narayanan, 1972:14). Such was the state of affairs among Nambuthiries in the early years of this century.

THE NOTION OF POLLUTION AND PURITY

Traditional life style of Kerala Namboodiris is strongly attached to the dichotomous concept of '*Sudham*' and '*Asudham*'. *Sudham* means cleanliness and *Asudham* means pollution or defilement. *Aytham* is the colloquial form of the sanskrit word '*Asudham*' (Namboodiripad, 1963:224). This notion of pollution and purity strictly codified in to their daily routine and integrated in to the over all caste system. It creates adverse feeling among lower castes and the Namboodiris themselves also suffered a lot. If some one is polluted, bathing is necessary to return to '*sudham*'. Depending on the environment or reason for '*asudham*', the degree to pollution varies.

Accordingly, the remedial exercise also varies. Some of the several '*sudhams*' are given below.

1. *Sradha Sudham*: The highest form of purity. It is observed while performing rituals in connection with death anniversaries.
2. *Aupasana Sudham*: 'Aupasanam' refers to the fire in the presence of which Namboodiri marriage are held, and kept burning by him throughout his life time. It is another important purest ritual observed daily by married Namboodiri along with his wife.
3. *Santhi Sudham*: This form of purity is essential to perform temple rituals. It has to be strictly observed by priests in temples.
4. *Embran Sudham*: 'Embranthiri', means Tulu Brahmin. The physical contact with Embranthiri by a Namboodiri creates certain degree of impurity to the latter. It is believed that Embranthiri is one step lower in various strata of purity ranking.
5. *Eda Sudham*: This type of pollution is the result of physical contact with Tamil Brahmins (Iyer, Patter and Iyengar).
6. *Kuliya Sudham*: If a Namboodiri fails to take bath for some reason, say sickness, in early morning he is impure. This is known as kuliyasudham. This may be transmitted to others by contact. The mattress, mat, pillow, bedspread etc. have also this impurity. So, usually in *Nampoothiri*

Illams (Houses) these items are kept separately (Namboodiripad, 1963:225). There are also some other forms of impurity also exist among Brahmins in Kerala.

IMPURITIES RELATED TO BIRTH, DEATH AND MENSTRUATION

The highest form of impurity is related to menstruation, child births and corpse among Nampoothiries, if some one becomes defiled by one of these, he or she must take bath and change the dress with one washed or purified by a caste\group of Hindus known as *Mannan*. This cloth is known as *Mattu* (Parvathy; 2000:38, Namboodiripad, 1963:230-37). While discussing the impurity related to death and birth Dumont says, “birth only lastingly affects the mother and new born child. Death affects the relations collectively and it is a social rather than a physical matter, since the impurity essentially affects not the people in whose house some one dies, but the relations of the deceased wherever they may be mourn over the effect varies accordingly to the degree of kinship” (Dumont, 1988:50). Veenadas pointed that, in Hindu religious thought, death releases the individual soul, enabling it to penetrate the world of illusion (Maya) and return to the true and eternal Brahman. Thus, the act of dying is a very significant act for a Hindu (Veenadas, 1992:121). Srinivas suggests that the sacred in Hindu belief and ritual should be conceptualized as divided with reference to the opposition of life and death rather than the opposition of good and bad (Srinivas, 1972: 101). So the

dichotomy of sacred and profane which dominated the Durkheimian Sociology of religion has very little relevance in the Hindu Context (Veenadas, 1992:115).

FOOD AND IMPURITY

As regards food three things which a Brahmin must avoid. He must not eat any thing that has had life or has even contained the principle of life; he must not drink intoxicating liquors; he must not touch food that has been prepared by persons of another caste (Dubois, 1906:282). Due to the influence of Jainism and Buddhism, a vegetarian diet was adopted by the majority of Brahmins (Dumout, 1988: 56). But some Brahmin groups like Kashmiri, Bengali and *Saraswath* are non vegetarians (Srinivas, 1972: 9). Food carries certain degree of pollution. If analysing closely it is clear, a distinction is made between cooked food (*Kacha* food and *pakka* food) and uncooked food as carries pollution (Douglas, 1960: 33). Related to food Namboodiris observe two type of pollution namely '*vattu*' and '*echil*'. *Vattu* means a grain of boiled rice. Boiled rice carries a slight impurity. *Echil*, commonly refers to eaten food left over and plates and plantain leaves used for eating. The mouth, lips, teeth and tongue are also have a certain degree of pollution. In the famous *Purusha Sukta*, which describes the origin of the four *varnas*, the body is divided horizontally and hierarchically. The hierarchical division of the body serves as suitable metaphor for the

hierarchical division of society into four *varnas*. In contrast, in the '*Grihya Sutra*' the body is divided into two inverse and symmetrical parts. This mode of dividing the body is apt to explain the symbolism of impurity (Veenadas, 1999: 127). The peripherals of the body contain more pollution. For example, in case of *echil*, some one touch his tongue with finger the finger became '*echil*' or polluted. So the *Nampoothiries*, do not touch their lips or tongue while taking food or drinking water. *Echil* has greater degree of impurity than '*vattu*'. Washing hands with water is a must to return to purity.

SOCIAL ASPECT OF POLLUTION

The caste hierarchy of Kerala is deeply rooted in the notion of purity and pollution. If examined religious life of Kerala Brahmins, it is clear that their religious ideologies and practices are directly connected with the notion of purity and impurity.

Robin Jeffrey rightly observed, ritual pollution, which is in the rest of India was transmitted only by touch, could in Kerala be communicated over distance (Jeffrey, 1976:15). Dumont used to call "Kerala a sort of paradise of ranking Mania" (Dumont, 1988:82). The purity of caste correlated with the hereditary division of labour between castes. The work performed by each caste determines its position in social hierarchy of pollution and purity. Some kind of labour like washer man, barbers, sweepers, are considered low in the scale of purity (Douglas, 1966:127). In Malabar, *Mannan* (washer men) is

considered low in social status, but they are considered as a purifying agent of higher caste people. Similarly professions of warriors, medical practitioners which create bloodshed are also generally prohibited to *Nampoothiries*.

Smarthavicharam

If a Namboodiri woman accused of illegitimate sexual relation, a trial is conducted by a group of *Nampoothiries*, on the basis of *Smritis* and it is called *Smarthavicharam*. It is described in detail by Iyer and Baskaranunni (Iyer, 1912: 210; Baskaranunni, 2000: 117). In an earlier era when polygamy was practised by Namboodiris, it is likely that false charges were brought against a woman by her “co-wives”. A famous case of *Smarthavicharam* relates to Kuriyedathu Thathri who was alleged to have sex with her husband's brother. It is believed that the charge was baseless, but she was ex-communicated after a trial lasting for four Months (Narayanan, 1972:12). Ex-communication was the punishment for adultery. The suspected woman, called ‘*Sadanam*’ lived in a separate hut, because her presence inside the family house could pollute other members of her family (Fuller, 1976:13). Besides this, the members of her family were excluded from all social and religious functions until they perform ‘*Udakavichhedam*’ and ‘*Sudhabojanam*’.

DECLINE OF SOCIO - ECONOMIC HEGEMONY OF THE COMMUNITY

After the 15th century there occurred many major changes in the course of the history of Kerala. The *Nampoothiri*, failed to read the writing on the wall and adapt to the changing situation. Accordingly, they lived in a make-believe world of feasts and *Kathakali* and games of *Chaturangam* and the like, unmindful of the winds of change that were blowing around (Veluthat, 2000). Gradually, by the end of the 17th century their spiritual and social life started to deteriorate. It is reflected in the poems like *Chandrostavam*. A real shock was administered to Brahmin complacency by the Mysore invasions and occupation of Malabar in the second half of the 18th century. Large numbers of *Nampoothiries* left their ancestral homes and lands to become refugees in Travancore. In Malabar the temple authorities were discredited and temples often looted. The damage done was so great that even the partial restoration of the old order by the British could not bring back the old climate, although many of the Brahmins land lords and their dependents returned from Travancore.

With the beginning of 19th century the firm establishment of British rule in Malabar took political, social and cultural initiative out of Namboodiri hands. They gradually isolated from all social and economic structures of the society. They lost their political and administrative powers at the time of transfer of power to British. The Namboodiries withdrew more and more in to

their own shell of the old world of rituals and beliefs, leaving politics and government in alien hands. The major reason for this political isolation was their reluctance to learn English, where as the Tamil Brahmins learned the foreign language and occupied major posts in government services (Gopi, 1995:94). Jeffrey noted that, until 1863 they did not enter a Travencore school to learn English, and in 1906 they were still characterized by credulousness, simplicity and innocence. It was the years after 1908 that progress began to catch up with them (Jeffery, 1970:13). This was especially true of Malabar, when even the royal groups of Nayars, who had lost their traditional military functions, discovered new opportunities in English education and British administrative set up. In short, Namboodiri dominance reduced in to rural agricultural life and religious life of orthodox sections of the people only (Narayanan and Veluthat, 1986:276).

With the beginning of 20th century the whole community faced several set backs. One of the reasons for this set backs are related to the marriage practice, *Sambhandham* (Ravindran, 1972:10; Bhattathiripad; 2000). Due to the legal measures like Madras Marumakkathayam Act and Namboodiri Act of 1953 (Sankunni, 1935:153) *Sambandham* was considered as regular marriage, conferring on the children the same right to inheritance. Declaration of these Acts held to sudden decline in the number of '*Sambhandham*' marriages, and this unethical practice became rare by 1930's (Fuller, 1976:109). Many progressive Nayars considered the label

'polyandrous' a gross insult to them. Younger sons of Namboodiri families who demand to marry within the community were the main plank of the campaign of the Namboodiri reform movement around 1917 (Fuller, 1970:125; *Unninamboodiri*, 1921:459-469). The legislations helped Namboodiri women in different ways and it also led to partition of Namboodiri landed property. Due to the dispersal of property financially sound Namboodiri families became middle class while middle class families became poor (Bhattathiripad: 2000).

However, the straw that broke the camel's back was the reform of land tenure system (Narayanan; 1986: 276). When Malabar is transferred to British rule, they introduced new revenue system. Logan highlights that the British land policy in Malabar was faulty 'from the beginning to end' (Varghese, 1970:59). Radhakrishnan in his study about the peasant struggle and land reforms in Malabar says, the changes brought about by the British were conceptual and Juridical, strengthening the position of the *Janmies* and weakening that of the '*Kanakkaran*' and '*Verumpattakaran*' and not in the nature of large scale redistribution of the principal land right among the different social groups (Radhakrishnan, 1989:38). The Brahmins were only about 2 percent in the population, but nearly half (48%) of principal *Janmies* belong to this caste with estate lying chiefly in the southern taluks of *Velluvanad*, Ponnani and Eranad. Namboodiris, Nayers and Royal families, (these three high groups together were only about one sixth of the

total population) accounted for nine of every ten principal *Janmies* (Government of Madras, quoted in Radhakrishnan; 1989:34-40).

In the year of 1836 *Mappila* unrest started with multiple reasons and effects. Various commissions were constituted by the government to reveal the root cause of these out break. Strangely, the special commission, came to the conclusion that great injustice had been done to the cultivators in the new set-up, especially because the law as enforced by the courts did not in most cases, take in to account the ancient usage and practices (Varghese; 1970:37, Radhakrishnan, 1989:45-47). Following this the government appointed three more commissions. The first one was in 1881 headed by Logan and in 1884 under the chairmanship of T. Madhava Rao, and finally in 1885 appointed another commission under C.G. Master. Master submitted a report in 1887 with a bill stipulating that no tenants shall be ordinarily evicted except at the end of agricultural year and after six months notice. However, the government accepted only the compensation bill and enacted it as the Madras Compensation for Tenants Improvement Act (Radhakrishnan, 1989: 70).

The period 1926-36 witnessed radical changes in the field of land reform movements. After a long discussion and debate British Government finally introduced Malabar tenancy Act of 1930 which was amended twice during this period in 1951 and 1954. Introduction of this Act marked the

close of second phase of the peasant struggle in Malabar. It makes Malabar one of the few places in India where land relations intensely and effectively articulated by an educated middle class as early as in the first quarter of 20th century (Radhakrishnan, 1986:87, Varghese, 1970:141). After introducing this Act, attitude of the '*Kanakkar*' towards the '*Verumpattakar*' was similar to that of the *Janmies* to the tenants when the former were granted full ownership rights by the British authorities. In the subsequent years the '*Kanakkar*' became what Ladenjinsky termed as the 'symbol of typical land lordism' in Malabar (Ladenjinsky, 1977:76). It gave birth to the third phase of peasant struggle in Malabar which was strong in North Malabar. In this phase the struggle were no longer confined to an interest to caste group, but took the nature of a well organised class struggle with the interest of lower peasants (Namboodiripad, 1943:14).

LAND REFORMS IN KERALA

After the formation of unified Kerala the communist party formed the first Ministry in Kerala on 5th April 1957. They introduced four Acts as a part of their election promise of introducing progressive changes in Kerala society. They are (1) The Kerala Stay of Eviction Proceeding Act (2) The Kerala Land Tax Act, (3) The Kerala Conservancy Act, (4) The Kerala Land Relinquishment Act (Varghese, 1970:142). The new ministry also to introduced new reform Bills like "Kerala Agrarian Reforms Bill" which was

introduced by K.R.Gowri on 9th November 1957. After a long discussion the Bill was passed by the Assembly on 10 June, 1958 and send for the approval of the President of India on 27 July 1956 (Poduval, 1981:81, Varghese, 1970:143, Radhakrishnan, 1987:113). Owing to new reforms which created political developments in the state and ultimately resulted in the dismissal of the communist ministry by the President of India in 1959 July 31. After the dismissal the congress dominated congress PSP coalition supported by the Muslim League formed the second ministry in Kerala on 22 February 1960 under the leadership of Pattam Thanupilla. After the return of the Bill by the President in 1960 the new government submitted new version of the same on 15th October 1960 and it was passed by the President on 21 January 1961 and enforced from 15th February 1961 as the Kerala Agrarian Relation Act (Poduval, 1981:83-84). The Kerala Agrarian Relation Act of 1961 was cancelled by the Kerala High Court in 1963. Government decided to bring a new piece of legislation entitled "Kerala Land Reforms Act' of 1963. It was enforced in April 1964. In 1969 this Bill was amended completely and paved the way to introduce 1970's important land Reform Bill, which put an end to 'Janmi System in Kerala. In 1972 and 1976, again this Reform Act was amended for better implementation (Poduval, 1981:84; Oommen, 1990:124; Radhakrishnan, 1989:138). This abolition of landlordism eroded the socio-economic base of the community.

IMPACT OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DECLINE ON THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF BRAHMINS

The implementation of the Bill was completed by 13th March 1982. The Implementing agencies had disposed 99.8 percent of the total application for assignment of ownership right to cultivating tenants. This Act really shattered the unquestionable authority of *Nampoothiries* on land. Under the original Act, cultivating tenants were eligible to purchase their right, title and interest from the land lord. They could exercise this right by applying to a Land Tribunal. Except the properties of few landlords who anticipated such an Act, the large properties of *Nampoothiries* were lost to the tenants (Radhakrishnan, 1989:57). 1970 amendment of the Act clarifies it is applicable to all right, title and interest of land owners and intermediaries including religious, charitable or educational institution on land held by cultivating tenants except those on which resumption application were pending under the Act (Radhakrishnan, 1989:151). The net result was that most temples also lost their income and temple depended Brahmin families fell into deep economic crisis and became poverty stricken.

Radhakrishnan concludes that the striking difference of pre and post reform period was that the changes are characterised by status loss by the Namboodiries, status retention by the *Nayers*, and status gain by the *Ambalavasies*, *Variyas* and the *Thiyyas*. The status loss of *Nampoothiries*

related to the consequence of the steep fall in their wet land owning house holds. It is worth to note, among the Namboodiris only about half (49%) of the house holds own any wet land now, earlier more than four - fifth (85%) of such land were owned by them. Though all Nampoothiri house holds own garden land now, the mean size is only 4.4 hectares as against the earlier 7.7 hectares. Their share in the total land ownership now is only 13.4 percent of wet land and 17.5 percent of garden land, against 66 percent and 35 percent respectively in the past (Radhakrishnan, 1986:226). Presently 51 percent of them do not have any wet land at all.

The economic structure of post-reform period shows a deep fall of annual income among *Nampoothiries*. The land was the source of their revenue. When they lost their land holding they were forced to buy food grains from market for domestic consumption while in the past these were delivered at their door. There is 100 percent literacy among Namboodiris (Narayanan, 1972:14) but however, they were a learned community who were totally ignorant of the world around them. The higher proportion of the unemployed among the *Nampoothiries* seems to indicate their unwillingness to come out of their earlier leisure class status and also their inability to get suitable employment even when they are willing to work.

Traditionally *Nampoothiries* enjoyed a ritual superiority over the other social groups. But in the post-reform period, they cannot afford to pursue

their religious life with such a style and show. Most of the important life ceremonies are not performed by them with pomp and festivity of the pre-reform period. The fact is that the post-reform changes are evidently caused by the impoverishment of the *Nampoothiries* as a result of the land reform Act (Radhakrishnan, 1989:250). With their economic dominance and ritual superiority in the pre-reform period the *Nampoothiries* wielded enormous power and authority over the village community. Their house served as court to decide village disputes of all kinds and their word has the force of law. This situation has completely changed in the post-reform period due to various socio-political forces. Radhakrishnan rightly observed that in contrast to their earlier role as main agent of social control, restricting and regulating the village-social relations in such a way as they ensure their socio-economic and religious superiority over the other groups, the *Nampoothiries* now neither act as agents of social control nor exert any similar influence on the other groups. Instead, they are socially and economically dependent on these groups, and this had forced them to adjust and adapt to the changing social situation. (Radhakrishnan, 1989:259).

When the Government abolished landlordism (*Janmitham*) *Nampoothiri* lost his only source of income. The average *Nampoothiri* does not know a skilled job. The net result was that most of the *Nampoothiri* families fell in to deep economic crisis. (Battathiripad: 2000, 23). The

economic reforms and 19th century socio-cultural reforms together changed the entire life style of *Nampoothiri* Brahmins in Kerala.

Today important religious rituals lost their validity among *Nampoothiri*. Most of them are not performing their essential religious rituals, *shodashakriyakal*. The change in their religious behaviour is clearly visible in their important events like, marriage, initiation etc. Today these important rituals are performing only in a miniature form. The initiation ceremony which originally takes three years to complete all its religious rites now takes only four days or maximum six months. Another example is marriage, formerly it took four days to complete all its ceremonies now marriage is solemnised in a one day ceremonial function. The tradition of sacrifice is completely ignored. The *Vedic* studies lost its importance among the *Nampoothiri* because its study does not provide enough money to live.

In the past pollution was observed by the whole family in connection with death happening and birth taking place in any one of the even distant branches of it. However, this practice created many problems including difficulties in the execution of religious rituals and the loss of whatever meagre income members of the family are generating. So it has been commonly accepted that distant branches of the family may sever their pollution ties.

Similarly traditionally the *Thanthries*, (who execute the spiritual activities in temple) Where below '*Vaidikan*' the philosophical fountain head of spiritual activities of the community. Now, as temples are renovated and becoming income generating sources, *Thanthries* are getting recognition even more than what the *vaidikans* receive. This shows the influence the material life on Namboodiri spirituality.

Today it is clear that their religious life has under gone thorough change. These changes are directly related to the socio- economic status change. As a religious community these economic factors directly influence their religious ideologies and practices.

Literature survey shows that the relationship between economic changes and the spirituality of Namboodiries has not been recorded and studied properly. In this study these relationship is explained or analysed with the help of Marxian theory. Marx argued that all super structures like religion, culture etc. are determined by the economic infrastructure of the society.

This study is limited to the geographic area of Malabar, presently comprised of Kasargod, Kannur, Kozhikode, Wayanad, Malappuram and Palakkat districts.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Karl Pearson rightly observed that there is no shortcut to truth, no way to gain knowledge of the universe except through the gateway of scientific method. This study being a scientific one meticulous care has been given to stick on to scientific method. The methodology followed in this study is discussed in this chapter.

3.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Brahmins had been dominating in Kerala since the exodus of the community. By right or wrong method they attained ownership over land and hence the domination. The land reforms implemented by the then government in the early 70's shook the foundation of the Brahmin hegemony. The loss of land created as steep downfall in the status of the community

This study primarily attempts to portray the nature and extend of status loss faced by the community. Further, the study enquires into the impact of the status loss on the religious ideologies and practices of the community. Finally the methods of the community to adapt to the changes also have been analysed.

3.2 MAJOR OBJECTIVES OF THIS STUDY

The major objectives of the study are:

- a) to analyse the nature and extent of status loss faced by the Brahmin community in Malabar area.
- b) to assess the effect of the status loss on their religious ideologies and practices.
- c) to analyse the ways in which the community accommodates itself in a new transformed society.

3.3 HYPOTHESES

Under these objectives the following hypotheses were formulated in this study.

- 1) The religious ethic of the Brahmin community played an important role in keeping itself aloof from direct management of their material resources.
- 2) The changes in the land relation which occurred in the state created decline in the socio-economic status of the community.
- 3) The type of hegemony enjoyed by the community over material resources decided their religious ideologies and practices.
- 4) The decline in the status of the community changed its religious ideologies and practices.

- 5) In the accommodation of their ideologies and practice in the changed socio-economic situations the community adopted new methods.

3.4 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

The important concepts involved in this study are explained below for their better understanding.

1. Status Loss

The word status has different sociological usages. Linton defines status simply as a position in social system. Status is also used as synonym for honour or prestige. Weber used status group as an element of social stratification (Abecrombie, 1994:411). Chaplin defines socio-economic status as the position an individual or a family occupies with reference to the prevailing average standards of cultural possessions, effective income, material possession and participation in the group activities of the community.

Incorporating the spirit of these definitions the study conceptualises status loss as the loss of the socio-economic prestige and leadership the community had enjoyed in the past.

2. Religious Ideologies

The word ideology is one of the most debated concepts in Sociology. The term has been used in three important senses; (a) to refer to very

specific kinds of belief; (b) to refer to belief that are in some sense disordered or false; (c) to refer to any set of belief irrespective of whether it is true or false (Abecrombie, 1984:206). In Marxian perspective it is the term given to any form of thought which consist of the vested interests of a ruling class. Mannheim, in 'Ideology and Utopia', used the term ideology as the manifestation of the vested interest or the programme of reaction (Mannheim, 1948:12). Althusser, French Marxist philosopher has attempted to redefine the concept of ideology. He argues that ideology should be seen as a real social relation, or as a practice, not as an illusion as it is in conventional analysis. (Althusser, 1971: 28). Commonly the word ideology designates a set of social ideas and values. So it is applicable to society as a whole, or to a restricted group or a social movement. Here religious ideologies mean the set of ideas and values of Brahmins related to their religious thoughts and practices. These may be labelled with the elements of domination securing interest as pointed out by Marx and Neo Marxist philosophers.

3. Religious Practices

In this study the religious practice means the deeds of the members of Brahmin community in furtherance of the realisation of their religious ideologies

3.5 VARIABLES AND THEIR MEASUREMENT

The following are the major dependent and independent variables which are considered in this study.

THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

The dependent variables considered in this study are:

1. Religious Ideology

At the conceptual level this has been defined under the explanation of concepts. At the operational level these will be assessed in terms of faiths. Religious Ideology will be assessed in term of (a) Other worldly life, (b) *Dharma* (duty), (c) *Karma* (deed), (d) *Punnya* (virtue), (e) *Papa* (sin), (f) *Moksha* (salvation), (g) *Sudham* (clean), (h) *Asudham* (unclean), (i) *Kama* (desire).

2. Religious Practices

Religious practices are deeds which are related to the ideology. The practices which will be considered in this study are (a) observance of pollution of various kinds, (b) practice of vedic rituals (c) Performance of daily rites (d) observance of ancestral worship (e) reciting 'Mantras', (f) practice related to temple worship, (g) rituals related to birth and death ceremonies, (h) observance of *Shodashakriyakal*.

3. Status Loss

This study is an investigation into the interaction between the status loss and religious ideologies and practices of different social segments of the community. The segments are identified on the basis of the parameters considered under the head 'Independent Variables' (section 3.6 of this chapter). Therefore, status loss also is to be considered as a dependent variable. The loss will be assessed in terms of:

1) Land Loss

Land loss is taken in terms of percentage to the original possession of land by the respondent .the loss was then divided into three levels, viz. Low loss (loss to the extent of 25% of the original possession)Medium loss (Loss between 25% and 75%) and high loss (75% and more).

2) Loss of Economic Status.

The assessment of the economic status loss was carried out in terms of a self assessment scoring procedure. The respondents were asked to indicate their present comprehensive economic status compared to the status during pre-land reform period. The deviations in both the directions were taken. On the basis of the extent of deviation the respondents were categorised into those who have faced Low economic status loss, Medium economic status loss and High economic status loss.

3) Loss of Social Status.

The same scoring procedure was applied in case of the assessment of social status loss also.

3.6 INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

There are two types of independent variables, says Best. They are treatment variables and attribute variables. Treatment variables are those factors that the experimenter manipulates and to which he or she assigns subjects. In the study the Status Loss is the treatment variable. They are differentiated into different levels and their effects on the dependent variables are studied. Attribute variables are those characteristics that can not be altered by the experimenter, such as age, sex, race etc., but the experimenter can decide to include them or remove them as variables to be studied (Best and Khan, 1996:137). In this study the treatment variables are discussed under the heading 'Dependent variable'. The attribute variables are discussed below.

1. Age

The central interest of sociology is not an individual's chronological age but the criteria by which an individual is labelled as 'Young', Middle aged or Elderly (Hill and Turner, 1994:12). In this study 'age' means the number of years the respondent has completed at the time of interview. According to

the age status the respondents are grouped in to two categories namely, Lower aged (below 50 years) and Upper aged (above 50 years).

2. Gender

If the sex of a person is biologically determined, the gender of a person is culturally and socially constructed. There are thus two sexes (male and female) and two genders (Masculine and feminine). In this study the gender difference is considered as related to sociological backgrounds.

3. Educational Status

Educational Status refers to the number of years of formal schooling the respondents have had. The respondents will be divided in to the following categories according to their educational attainment namely, primary level, secondary level, college level.

4. Income

In this study income refers to the average monthly income of the house hold. The respondents will be grouped into three categories on the basis of their income status as, low income group (less than 6000), Middle income group (Rs.6000-9000), and higher income group (Rs.9, 000 and above).

5. Occupation

In this study occupation of the respondents are divided into three major categories, namely, Religious Occupation, (*Santhi, Pooja, Thantram*), Government/Private service and Agriculture and Self Employed.

6. Religious Duty

Another important background variable considered in this study is Religious duty. Traditionally some Brahmin families are assigned to perform some special duties like *Vaidhikan, Thantri, Othikkon* etc... On the basis of these duties they are divided into three categories, namely, *Vaidhikan/Othikkon, Thantri* and Ordinary Brahmins (who have no religious duties).

Sources of Data

The source of primary data was interview of the head of the Namboodiri households of Malabar region; Secondary data was collected from published materials and knowledgeable persons in the area of research.

3.7 POPULATION

The population of the study is constitute by the Namboodiri households in Malabar area (area comprising of six districts Palakkad, Malappuram, Kozhikode, Waynad, Kannur and Kasargod) represented by the heads of the households.

3.8 THE SAMPLE AND SAMPLE SELECTION

The source of primary data of the study was sample survey conducted among 300 Namboodiri households. Therefore the 300 households represented by their heads constitute the sample of study.

Traditional Namboodiri households are, by and large, situated in rural areas. The households which are situated in urban areas might have been transformed very much particularly in religiously due to the effect of urbanization. Therefore, the study is confining itself to the households in rural areas. For selecting samples as a first stage one *panchayath* each was identified from the six districts using random sapling technique. With the help of the authority of each of these *panchayaths*, a list of the *Nampoothiri* households of the concerned *panchayath* was prepared. From the list 50 households were selected using random selection method. Hence the sample contains 300 households

THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROFILES OF THE SAMPLE

3.8.1 Sex Composition of the Sample:

The selected sample consists of very high proportion of males (77.33%) and small portion of females (22.67%).

Table 3.8.1

SEX COMPOSITION OF THE SAMPLE

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	232	77.33%
Female	68	22.67%
Total	300	100.00%

3.8.2 Age composition of the sample

On the basis of age the sample was divided into two categories, namely, Lower age group (below 50 years) and upper age group (50 years and above). The lower age group constitutes 56.67% of the sample and upper age group constitutes 49.33%. As age group below 50 years of age would not have experienced the pre land reform conditions of their family. Hence such a division was not attempted.

Table 3.8.2

AGE COMPOSITION OF THE RESPONDENT

Age	Frequency	Percentage
Lower aged (Below 50 years)	152	56.67%
Old Aged (50 years and above)	148	49.33%
Total	300	100.00%

3.8.3 Classification based on Religious Duties

On the basis of special religious duty carried out by the respondents the sample was divided into *Vadhikan*, *Thantri* and Ordinary Brahmins. The strength of the respective groups is given in Table No: 3.8.3

Table 3.8.3
CLASSIFICATION BASED ON RELIGIOUS DUTIES

Religious Duty	Frequency	Percentage
Vidikan	35	11.67%
Thantri	55	18.00%
Ordinary Brahmins	211	70.33%
Total	300	100.00%

3.8.4 Educational Background of the sample

On the basis of the Educational Status the sample was divided into primary level, High School/Secondary school level and College/Professional category. Table No. 3.8.4 gives the details.

Table No. 3.8.4
Educational Back ground of the Sample

Education	Frequency	Percentage
Primary	47	15.66%
High School/Higher Secondary	163	54.34%
College/Professional	90	30.00%
Total	300	100.00%

3.8.5 Occupational Back ground of the sample

The sample was divided into three segments on the basis of occupation. Those who are engaged in religious occupation constitute 30% of the sample and Government & private service 49.33%. Remaining portion (20.67%) consists of Agricultural and self employed groups.

Table 3.8.5

OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF THE SAMPLE

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Religious duties	90	30%
Govt./Private service	148	49.33%
Agriculture/Self employed	62	20.67%
Total	300	100.00%

3.8.6 Income Background of the sample

On the basis of the Income status the respondents were divided into three categories, namely, low income group (Below Rs. 3000/per month), Middle Income group (Rs. 3000-6000/per month) and high income group (Rs. 6000 and above per month). The low income group constitutes 13.33% of the sample where as the medium income group constitutes 58.33% of it and 30% of the sample belong to high income group.

Table 3.8.6

Income Back Ground of the Sample

Monthly income (in Rs)	Frequency	Percentage
Low income (Up to Rs 6000)	40	13.33%
Medium Income (Rs. 6000-9000)	175	58.33
High Income (Rs. (9000 and above)	85	28.34%
Total	300	100.00%

3.9 PILOT SURVEY

A pilot survey was conducted in the non-sample households of the study area to collect back ground information to design the study and tools of data collection. For this purpose an interview guide was used. So many representative households interviewed. The probing was continued till no fresh insights are got from the informants. The insights generated were used to design the study and develop the schedule which was to be used for the full length survey.

3.10 METHOD AND TOOL OF DATA COLLECTION

Interview of the respondents was as the primary source of empirical data. The researcher after identifying the sample households visited them. The head of the households or a competent member who is capable of giving the required information was interviewed with a moderately structured interview schedule prepared on the basis of the preliminary probe conducted. The schedule contained indices to analyse the impact of land loss, socio-economic status loss and changes in the religious ideologies and practices of the households. In additions to them the schedule collected information about the sociological variables in the form of personal data. (The schedule developed is given in Appendix V).

Case study method was also used in this study. Prominent *illams* which are in ruins now were studied in depth for the purpose.

3.11 FIELD AND FIELD WORK

The field of the study as mentioned earlier was Malabar region which comprises of the six present revenue districts, namely, Kasargode, Kannur, Kozhikode, Wayanad, Malappuram and Palaghat. The physical, demographic and socio-cultural characteristic of the area are given in detail in Chapter IV entitled, 'Research Setting'.

3.12 INTERVIEWING THE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

In compliance of the directives given by the examiners of the qualifying examination the field work was start. Pre-tested schedule was administered in interviews with the respondents. In addition to the interviews the present state of the households was properly observed. Clues which help constructs their past were particularly observed. Also records available in the households which supply relevant data for the studies were examined with the permission and help of responsible members of the households. Secondary materials for the study were collected from sources which can supply them.

This researcher is a member of the community and it is an added advantage to collect appropriate and reliable data economically. As the pain and problems of the community are well known to the researcher he was able to focus his enquiries to the appropriate sources of information.

3.13 DATA PROCESSING AND ANALYSES

The collected data were verified, edited and coded. They were fed into a computer for statistical processing and analyses. The analyses were carried out according to the objectives and hypotheses formulated. For summarising and describing the data descriptive statistics were used. For establishing associations between variables (attributes) inferential statistics like Chi - square test of independence were used. The nature and extent of status loss measured on the basis of three indices, namely, Land Loss, Economic Status Loss and Social Status Loss. The Economic Status Loss and Social Status Loss are in terms of scores ascribed to themselves by the respondents. A twenty points scale with ten points on both the sides of the origin were given. Positive scores indicate status gain and negative scores status loss.

Further, the impact of the losses on religious ideologies and practices was taken into consideration. The analysis of data was carried out to test the validity of the hypothesis formulated. Frequency and two-way tables were generated for the purpose. Sex, Age, Educational Status, Occupational status, Income Status and Religious duty, were the major parameters used for the analyses of the data.

The correlation among the variables stated in the various hypotheses was tested using Chi-square Test of Independence. The level of significance for the acceptance of the association was found to be 0.05 and 0.01 depending on different cases.

The analysis of the association between the different spheres of loss thoroughly discussed and included in the report. Association between the variables in all above said categories are analysed, but those analyses which shows positive association in all three categories of loss is only included in the report. The details of analysis are given in a table form of each section.

The major indices used for the analyses of change in the religious ideologies are the conception about Rebirth, Purity & Pollution, *Dharma & karma* and *Kama & Moksha*.

The changes in the religious practices have been assessed on the basis of major rituals like *Upanayanam* (initiation ceremony) *Vivaham* (marriage) and *Samskaram* (cremation).

The study also carried out case analyses. Typical cases from the community pertaining to different study areas have been chosen and in-depth interviews were conducted. The Case analyses are given in Chapter VIII of the report.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH SETTING

The empirical part of the study was conducted in Malabar which now comprises of Malappuram, Palakkat, Kozhikode, Waynad, Kannur and Kasargode districts of Kerala State. The word 'Malabar' is a combination of two words '*Malai*' and '*bar*'. The Tamil-Malayalam word '*Malai*' means hill and Semitic word '*bar*' means land. Originally it was not a political or administrative term but mere a geographic appellation. Ward and Conner provides general description of the province of Malabar as follows "This province on the western coast of India extends from 10⁰12 to 12⁰ 15 North Latitude and between the parallels of 75⁰ 10 and 76⁰ 50 East Longitude. The coast runs diagonally in a south easterly direction, and forms a few head lands and small bays. It is bounded on the North by the Province of Canara, on the East by those of Coorg and Mysore, on the South-east by Coimbatore and on the South by the Small Province of Cochin. It is divided into 18 Taluks or Districts, containing 2,222 *Deshoms* or Villages, few or none of them are compact, the houses being scattered on the skirts of cultivation". (Ward and Corner. 1995:1-5)

Map of Malabar



 Shows Study Area

English East India Company organized resistance with the help of native rulers of this region against the force of Mysore, which over ran Kolathnadu and Kozhikode in the 18th century. However, by the end of the struggle East India Company had brought Malabar under their own rule and thereafter the area came to be designated as “British Malabar”. But gradually the attribute, “British” got dropped out.

POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF MALABAR

Kozhikode was the head quarters of old Malabar and it consisted of Chirakkal, Kottayam, Kozhikode, Wyanad, Eranad, Velluvanad, Ponnani, Palakkad and Cochi taluks. Thahsildars controlled these taluks with civil and administrative powers. Again the taluks were divided into *Amsoms*, each *Amsoms* governed by *Adhikari* with the assistance of *Menon* (Accountant) and *Kolkaran* (sipoy). Before the advent of Britishers in to Malabar the local disputes were settled by the village council called *Tarakoottam*. Under the British Malabar they introduced law courts for resolution of disputes. They also introduced district Boards in Malabar to look after the local issues like education, health, cleanliness, law and order etc. under the chair of District Collector. It functioned up to 1957. It is worth to mention that most of the *Adhikaries* under British rule were Namboodiri Brahmins in Malabar.

CASTE HIERARCHY OF MALABAR

Like other parts of Kerala Malabar was also dominated by Namboodiri Brahmins. Barbosa described 18 castes of natives in Malabar, besides immigrant merchants and traders with customs of their own. The Brahmins described by Barbosa are the Namboodiris, who ranked first in the traditional caste hierarchy in Malabar. As noted by Logan, they settled most largely in the Valluvanad, Ponnani, Eranad, and Kozhikode taluks of South Malabar and sparsely in the Kurumbanad, Kottayam and Chirakkal taluks of North Malabar (Logan, 1882:14-15).

Tamil Brahmins locally known as *Patter* and *Saraswatha* Brahmins had also established their settlements in Malabar, mainly at Palakkad and Kozhikode. These Brahmin groups engaged in Business. They have no right to become temple priests of Malabar. But these Tamil Brahmins are an integral part of the social life of Malabar, especially among the Namboodiri Brahmins. Tamil Brahmins were appointed as chief cooks of big Namboodiri Janmi families of Malabar. Another Brahmin group found in Malabar is called *Empranthiri* they are migrants from Karnataka state. These Karnataka based Brahmins worked as priests of Malabar temples. It is worth to note that Tamil Brahmins are not permitted to discharge religious duties while Karnataka Brahmins are even permitted to work as temple priest.

Next to Namboodiris, the Nayers were the powerful caste in Malabar. *Nambeesan Varier*, and *Pisharody* are generally called *Ambalavasi* occupy a position in between *Nampoothiries* and *Nairs* in caste hierarchy of Malabar. They did not have any direct right on land, and lived as temple functionaries, mostly in the Brahmin settlements. *Eradi*, *Neddungadi*, *Thirumulpad*, *Vellodi* were generally called *Samanthanmar*, who had direct connection with the Zamorins of Calicut. These groups belong to *Kshatriya Varna*, in the *Varna* system.

Below *Nayers*, in the caste hierarchy numerous polluting castes, which in relation to one another could be grouped into higher and lower castes. The higher polluting castes comprised of the *Tiyyas*, the *Kaniyans*, *Vettuvans*, *Mukaya* and some of the service castes such as barbers and washer men. Of the various higher polluting castes the *Tiyyas* constituted the single largest category. *Thiyyas* consist of three communities grouped into one. They are known as *Bhillaras*, *Thiyyas*, and *Ezhavas* (Morkoth Kunnappa, 1994:158). Their traditional occupation was planting and tapping of coconut tree. They are the share croppers under tenants of the Namboodiris. Of the remaining higher polluting castes *Mannan* (washer men) caste is an essential part of *Nampoothiries* religious life. *Kaniyan* (Astrologer) caste is also an integral part of Brahmin religious life. Astrologer's duty is to find out *Muhoortham* to perform important religious functions. The *Asari* (masons, carpenters, smiths and metal workers), the *Mukaver* (sailors and fishers), the *Vettuvan* (salt-

makers, rice-growers) and the *Panan* (great sorcerers, archers and hunters) belong to the caste system of Malabar. The *Pulayas* and *Parayas* who accounted for the bulk of the lower polluting castes were agricultural serfs of the *Nampoothires* and the *Nayers*.

The Muslims of Malabar, called *Mappilas*, emerged consequential to Malabar's trade link with the Arabs and conversion of the native people in to Islam. Most of the Christians found in Malabar are migrants from southern region of Kerala.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF MALABAR

To know the socio-economic structure of Malabar, one must analyse the '*Janmi*' system which existed in Malabar. Namboodiri Brahmins, in spite of their small size, as a caste they were the most privileged and influential of all social groups. Their highest ritual ranking, hereditary land rights and patrilineal family organisation characterised by primogeniture were probably the most important reasons for this.

The total landed property of Malabar was divided in to two sections *Brahmaswam* and *Devasam*. After the advent of Aryan Brahmins to Malabar, they began to exert great influence on the political, economic and religious life of the people.

It was a period of religious activism. As a symbol of religious dynamism, scores of temples appeared through out the length and breadth of Kerala.

Alongside this religious upheaval there occurred an economic awakening which to a great extent modulated the social life of the people. The temple became centre of all activities. That is why the Rajas, *Naduvazhis* used to build temples and bequeath vast estates for their maintenance. Such landed properties are called *Deaswam*. This landed property was looked after by a body of Brahmins called *Uralar*. When the same Brahmins had the *Uranma* right over more than one temple they began to exchange the right for different reasons. This is called "*vechu Maral*". Gradually *Devaswam* property was transformed in to *Brahmaswam* property.

Ravindran says, usually the ownership of land would be concentrated in the hands of people who could wield the spade or the steward. But that principle does not apply to the Brahmin settlers of Malabar who as a general rule, were the least inclined to fight or plough. This unwillingness to cultivate the land under their possession persuaded them to alienate the property by mortgage and lease, permanent or temporary. Thus the different kind of land tenures began to appear. The big landlords let their land to farmers, farmers sublet it to others. This process continued till the land reached in the hands of agricultural labours, who cultivated it by their own labour power. Thus between the *Janmi* and the agricultural labours there exist numerous intermediaries. So the various tenures such as *Janmam*, *Kanam*, *Kuzhikanam*, *Pattam* and *Verum pattam* were existed in Malabar.

CULTURAL- RELIGIOUS LIFE OF BRAHMINS IN MALABAR

There are eight traditional Brahmin *gramams* (settlements) in Malabar region. The *Namboodiri Illams* situated in Malabar are related to any one of these eight *gramams*, namely, *Payyanur*, *perumachellur*, *Alathur*, *Karantola*, *Cockivam*, *panniyor*, *Karrikkadu* and *Isanamangalam*.

Payyanur is Northern most traditional Brahmin settlement. One peculiarity of the Brahmins of this region is that they are following matriliney, the practice is absent among the other Brahmins of Kerala. *Perumchellur* is situated in modern *Thaliparamba* in Kannur district. *Alathur* is a village situated five miles to the South of Tirur Railway station. *Karantola*, is no longer existing. Some writers suggest that this village may be the present *Trippanchi* near Manjeri. *Cokiram*, is better known in its Sanskritised form, *Sukapuram* (bird village) and it is situated ten miles east of Ponnani. The *sukapuram* Temple is dedicated to *Dakshinamurthi*. The hostility between *sukapuram* and *panniyur* figures prominently in medieval literature. *Panniyur* (pig village), is situated six miles to the west of Pattambi on the banks of river *Perar*, in Ottapalam Taluk. The *panniyur* temple is dedicated to 'Varahamurthi'. *Karikkad* another settlement is located in Manjeri Taluk, two Miles to the North of Manjeri town. The *gramakshetra* dedicated to *Subrahmaniya*. *Isanamangalam* has been described in medieval *Manipravalam* works as a Brahmin settlement. This settlement has now become extinct.

Besides these traditional settlements some other settlements are found in Malabar, which is known as *Erupathonu Desam* (21 Settlements), *Pathinalu desam* (14 Settlements), and *Aru desam* (6 Settlements). These settlements are related to original traditional settlements of Malabar. These settlements consisted of migrated Brahmins from original settlements.

Namboodiri Brahmins of Malabar strictly follow sixteen rituals called *Shodasakriyakal*. The followers of *Rig Veda* (Rigvedies), *Yajur Veda* (*Yajur vedies*), and *Sama Veda* (*Samavedies*) are found among them. Each of the Brahmin family follows a particular *vedic* tradition. Those who learned two vedas, called *Diwedies*. But there is no *Adharva Vedies* (followers of *Adharva Veda*) among Malabar Brahmins. Generally Namboodiri Brahmins are highly related to the *vedic* tradition of India. They start their *vedic* education at very early age. After the *upanayanam*, a Namboodiri boy is to start by hearting *vedic* hymns, under the supervision of *vedic* scholar of his own family.

On the basis of social status some divisions also exist among Namboodiris. They are, *Addyan*, *Asyan*, and *Othilatha*. The social division of *Addyan* and *Asyan* is purely based on the economic condition of the family. *Othilatha Namboodiri* means, those Namboodiri families abandoned from *Vedic* studies.

Most of the Brahmin scholars like Melppathur Narayana Bhattathiri, Kakkasseri, Villwamangalam, Poothanam are born in Malabar .They has a considerable intellectual influence upon the *Nampoothiries* even today. Malabar also contribute a lot to the development of *Ayurveda* and Astronomy.

The classic art like *Kathakali* and *Kootiyattam* were born in Malabar due to the patronage of Nampoothiris. Particular type of performing art called *Chathirangam* and *Thidambu Nirutham* are performed only by Nampoothiris (Namboodiri, 1980:22).

Today, the population ratio of Namboodiri is far less in Malabar. There has been a considerable decrease in the number of *illams* too. This is primarily because these *illams* that did not have any successor eventually got merged with another *illam*. For example, there were 3000 *illams* in Taliparamba only, but now 48 of them exist. Many well-known *illams* had been deconstructed in Malabar but a few survived.

Generally, in Malabar *Nampoothiries* are poor. They did not have an advanced outlook in the new changed economic situation that was why they could not do well either in business or industry.

However, they managed to attain government and other office in the modern era since they are 100% literate. This middle class section now forms the backbone of the Namboodiri community. Jobs given in the temples

helped them improve their financial condition. But even today very few of them excel in top government, judicial and private jobs.

If we look at the politics in Kerala, we find that *Nampoothiries* are members in all leading parties. But they fail to claim their demands as a unified caste. In some southern taluks, *Nampoothiries* support the leftist parties. The speed of the modern society is beyond the reach of the community.

CHAPTER V

IMPACT OF THE STATUS LOSS ON RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGIES

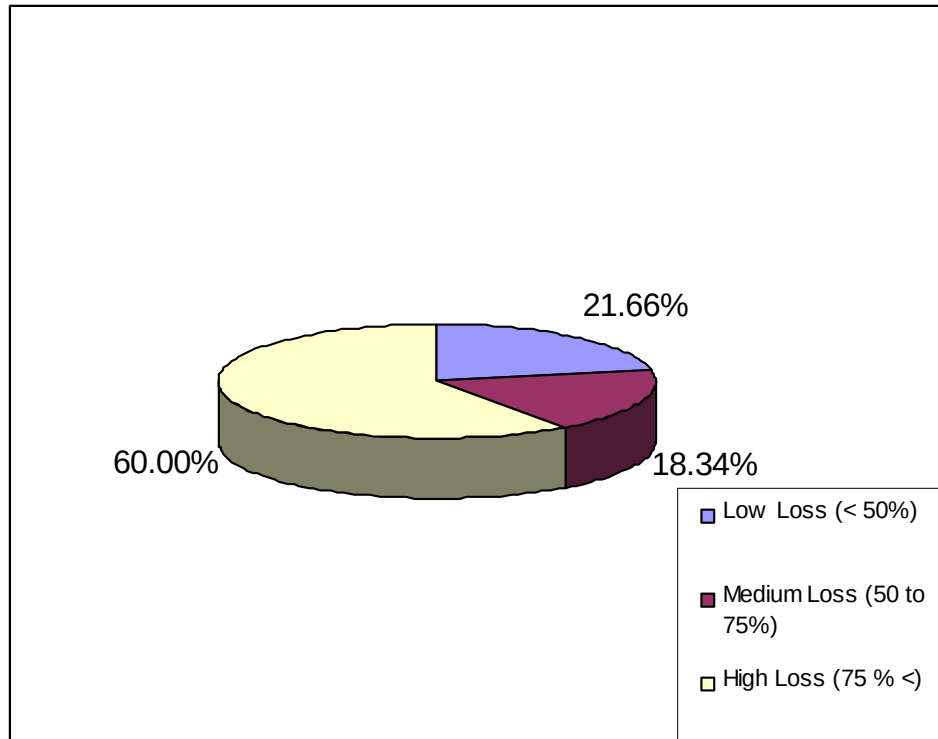
STATUS LOSS OF THE COMMUNITY

Nampoothiri Brahmins of Kerala enjoyed unalloyed social status in the society since they were land lords and leaders of the public sphere. Since the second half of the 20th century their status had been eroding due to various reasons. The status erosion nose-dived when the Kerala Land Reforms Act was passed in 1969. The implementation of the Act in 1971 alienated their land completely.

5.1 Extend of Land Loss

In this study three major components of socio-economic status were considered for assessing the extend of status loss. They were land loss, economic status loss and social status loss. The following diagram gives the details of the analysis of land loss.

The Extent of Land Loss of the Respondents



The analysis reveals that 21.66% of the respondents lost their land to the tune of 50% of their original holding, 18.34% between 50-75% of and majority of them (60%) lost more than 75%.

The statistics clearly reveal the impact of the land reforms on the community. They were pauperized to the extent that cannot be imagined

The important fact to be mentioned here is that, most of the Brahmin families cultivated their land through tenants. However, the larger land holders foreseeing the land reforms redeemed their land from tenants and

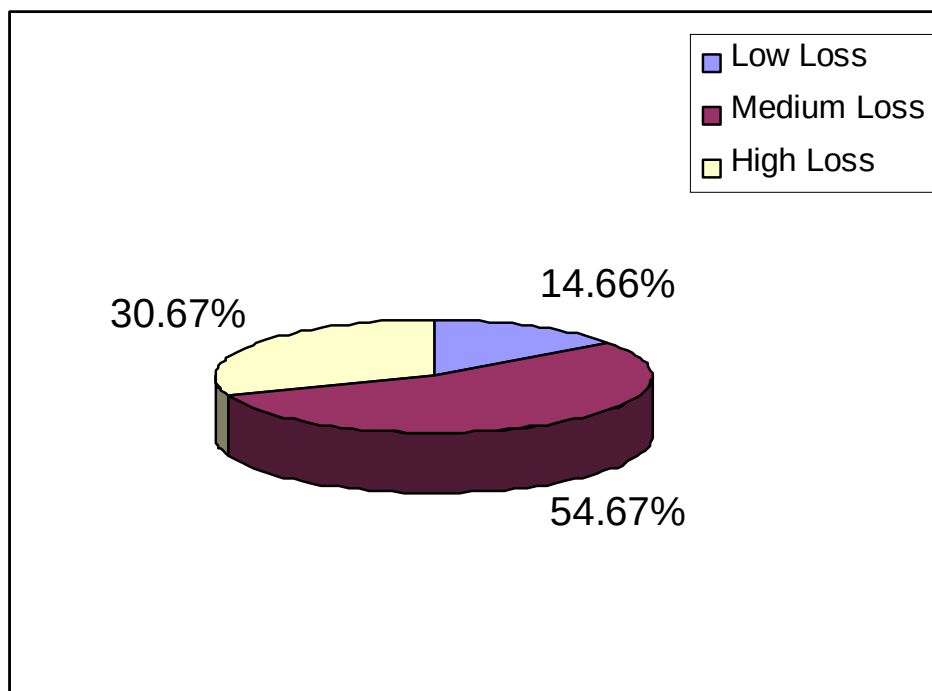
began to cultivate by themselves using hired labour. The smaller holders were ignorant about the reforms that were in the offing. So they lost their land and became starving lot. No further explanation is required about their status loss. In fact, many of the land owners were 'begging' for the mercy of their tenants to get few measures of paddy to feed their children at least once a day.

5.2 Assessment of the Economic Decline

In order to assess the economic decline faced due to the land reforms a self assessment procedure by the respondent was resorted to in the study. The respondents were asked to indicate their present economic status on a 20 points scale assuming that their pre-reform status was 10 points.

On the basis of the scoring, the following diagram was constructed which indicates the perception of the respondents on their status change in the economic front.

Extend of Economic Status Change



The diagram reveals that majority (54.67%) faced medium change (loss) in their economic status as a result of their loss of Land ownership.

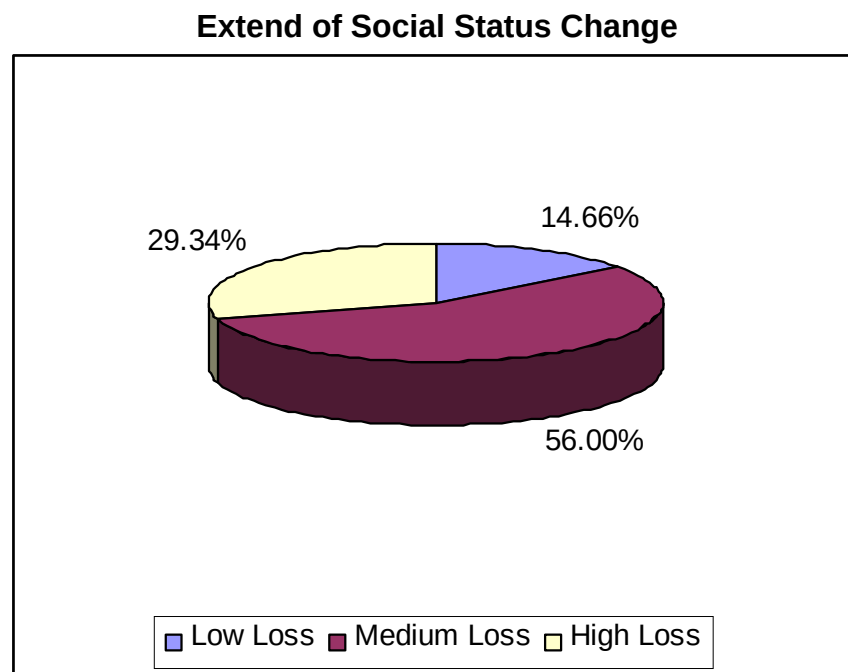
30.67% of them feel high change (loss) in their economic as a result of re-structuring of land relations. Remaining 14.66% of respondents feel low change (loss) in their economic status. This group of Brahmins consisted of few families of Malabar, who were politically well informed and tactfully handled the land reforms.

5.3 Assessment of Social Status Loss

The third major variable considered in this study to assess the status loss of the community is social status loss. In order to assess the social status change faced by the community due to land reforms a self assessment procedure by respondent was resorted to in the study. Respondents were

asked to indicate their present social status on a 20 points scale assuming that their pre-reform status was 10 points.

On the basis of the scoring a pie diagram was constructed which indicates the perception of the respondents on their status change in the social scenario.



The diagram reveals that Majority (56%) of the respondents face medium change (loss) in their social status after land reform period 29.34% the of respondent feel high changes (loss) in their social status after the introduction of the new land reforms. Only 14.66% feel low loss in their social status.

It can be concluded that loss of land and new structure of land relations created medium changes (loss) in the social status of the

community. Adopting from Weber they still remain as status group through their economic status was lost.

Religious Ideologies

Brahmins are within the confines of numerous religious ideologies and practices. They believe that these ideologies and practices are the proper path to the ultimate realization. Tradition teaches them that the ideologies and practices are unchallengeable and unchangeable. However, the major submission of this study is that they have been affected by the decline in the social status of the community.

In this chapter we analyse the impact of the status loss on the ideologies of the community. As mentioned earlier, the community upholds many religious ideologies as sacrosanct. In this study four major ideologies have been considered as representatives of the galaxy of ideologies. The ideologies considered are those relating to Rebirth, Pollution & 'Purity', '*Dharma*' & '*Karma*' and '*Kama*' & '*Moksha*'

5.4 The Ideology of Rebirth

One of the central pillars of almost all religions is the faith in rebirth. Very briefly the ideology of re-birth is that death of humans is not the ultimate end of life. It is only termination of corporeal existence; the spirit gets liberated and continues to exist. The peaceful existence of the spirit much depends on the good deeds of humans in this world. The Hindu community

consisting of various caste segments including Brahmins upholds the philosophy of reincarnation of human being after death in various forms according to ones own *karma* (deeds). So Hindu philosophy propagates the message of good deeds for getting a reincarnation in a pious form

In this study an enquiry was made to see whether there occurred any change in the ideology of rebirth as a sequel to the change in the status of Brahmin Community.

The change in status has been assessed in terms of three components namely, Land loss, Economic status loss and Social status loss. Only those analyses that show association in all categories of status loss included in the report. Those analyses that have been included in the report are shown in diagram 5.4.

PATTERN OF ANALYSES

**Diagram No 5.4
Relationship between Status Loss and the Ideology of Rebirth**

Status Loss		Land Loss	Economic Status Loss	Social Status Loss	Status of Analyses
Background Variables					
Sex	Male	√	√	√	Reported
	Female				Not reported
Age	Lower Age	√	√		Not reported
	Upper Age				Not reported
Education	Primary	√			Not reported
	Secondary	√		√	Not reported
	College		√		Not reported
Income	Up to Rs 6000	√	√	√	Reported
	Rs 6000-9000				Not reported
	Above Rs 9000				Not reported
Occupation	Religious Occupations	√			Not reported
	Service Category	√	√	√	Reported
	Agriculture/self Employment				Not reported
Religious Duty	Othikoan/Vadhiyar				Not reported
	Thantri			√	Not reported
	No Special Duty	√	√		Not reported

5.4.1 Land Loss and Change in the Ideology of Rebirth.

The relationship between land loss and change in the ideology of rebirth is shown in Table No. 5.4.1

**Table 5.4.1
Land Loss and Changes in the Ideology of Rebirth**

Land Loss (in terms of percentage to the original Possession)	Uphold faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Lost faith in the Ideology Of Rebirth	Total
Low Loss (<50%)	55 (84.62%)	10 (15.38%)	65 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	32 (58.18%)	23 (41.82%)	55 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	137 (76.11%)	43 (23.89%)	180 (100%)
Total	224 (74.66%)	76 (25.34%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 11.50, df = 2, Table Value=5.991, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant.

The analysis in Table 5.4.1 reveals that 74.66% of the respondents still uphold their traditional belief in re-birth and the rest (25.34%) have lost firm faith in the matter. The erosion of their status and resultant problems they have been facing may be adversely affecting the religious faiths and ideologies.

Further, it can be seen that the extent of the loss and change in the ideology are associated. Only 15.38% of those who have suffered low loss have lost faith in the rebirth philosophy. The corresponding figures in respect of the medium loss and high loss groups are respectively 41.82% and 23.89%.

The analysis supports the postulate that the status loss of the community affects its religious ideology adversely. It is to be further highlighted that the medium loss group is maximum affected in this regard.

In this study the impact of the loss of status was analysed of all sociological categories based on gender, age, education, income, occupation and religious duties on the religious ideologies.

The analyses were carried out against the three components of status loss, namely, Land loss, Economic Status loss and Social Status loss. Since the test statistics was chi-square distribution the association between the variables was found out separately for male, female, lower age group, upper age group, primary educated, ect. (each segments of the background variables). Since the volume of analyses was robust they are selectively included in this report. The selection was made on the criterion that analysis in respect of those sociological categories which reveal association between the variables through chi-square test under all the three components of the status loss need only be included in the report.

5.4.2 Land Loss and Changes in the Ideology of Rebirth of Male/Female

Analysis was carried out to see the impact of land loss on the ideology of male/female categories. It was seen that among the males 26.73% lost faith in the principle of rebirth and among females the figure is 22.67%. Test

of independence (chi-square test) applied revealed that among the females the land loss and ideology shift are unrelated. The enquiry indicated that the relationship between the variables is statistically significant in the case of males. The details of the analysis relating to the male category are show in Table 5.4.2.

Table 5.4.2
Land Loss and Change in the Ideology of Rebirth of Male Category.

Land Loss (in terms of percentage to the original holding)	Uphold faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Lost faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Total
Low Loss (<50%)	40 (80.00%)	10 (20.00%)	50 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	22 (53.66%)	19 (46.34%)	41 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	108 (76.60%)	33 (23.40%)	141 (100%)
Total	170 (73.27%)	62 (26.73%)	232 (100%)

Chi-square value 10.01, df=2, Table value=5.991, $P \leq 0.05$.
The association is significant.

The analysis shows that majority (73.27%) of the respondent follow the ideology even after the loss. Only 26.73% lost their belief in the ideology as a result of the impact of the loss.

The impact of status loss is greater among medium loss category. While 20% of low loss and 23.40% of the high loss groups lost their faith in the philosophy of rebirth, the segments among medium land loss group is 46.34%.

The analysis under this section reveals that Brahmins who have lost land to the tune of 50% -75% of their original possession (Medium loss) are more prone to the loss of faith in the principle of rebirth.

5.4.3 Land Loss and its Impact on the Ideology of Rebirth of Income Groups.

To examine the impact of land loss on the ideology of rebirth of different income categories and analyses was conducted. The analysis revealed that in the case of low and high income groups respectively 46.17% and 38.26% lost faith in the philosophy of rebirth. The remaining portion of the income categories upholds the principle of rebirth. Further, regarding the groups the shift in the ideology is almost in the same pattern among the different 'land loss' groups. That is the variables are not significantly associated in the case of the categories.

However, the enquiry shows that significant association between the variables exists in the case of middle income group (Rs 3000-6000). Table 6.1.2 shows the analysis relating to the middle income group.

Table No. 5.4.3
Land Loss and Its Impact on the Ideology of Rebirth of Medium Income Group.

Land Loss (in terms of percentage to the original holdings)	Uphold faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Lost faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Total
Low Loss (<50%)	34 (82.93%)	7 (17.07%)	41 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	19 (55.88%)	15 (44.12%)	34 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	78 (78%)	22 (22%)	100 (100%)
Total	131 (74.86%)	44 (25.14%)	175 (100%)

Chi-square value 8.45, df =2, Table value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$.
The association is significant.

The analysis clearly indicates that majority (74.86%) of the respondents uphold faith in the ideology. However, 25.14% of them have lost their faith in the ideology due to their decline in the status.

Another notable result is that those who lost land to tune of 50-75% of their original holdings are affected more by the loss. 44.12% of the respondents belonging to the segment 'lost faith' in the ideology of rebirth. In the case of the low and high loss groups the corresponding figures are only 17.07% and 22% respectively. So we can conclude that, land loss created impact on the ideology of the middle income group and it is more severe on the medium loss group.

5.4.4 Land Loss and shift in the Ideology of Rebirth among Occupational Categories

In this study occupation of respondents is divided into three categories, namely Religious Occupation, Government/Private Service Category and Agriculture/Self employment. The impact of land loss on the ideology of rebirth of different occupational categories was enquired into. The enquiries indicated that only Service sector satisfies the criterion for inclusion in the report. The details of the analysis in respect of the group are shown in Table 5.4.4.

**Table No. 5.4.4
Land Loss and Its Impact on the Ideology of Rebirth on Service Sector**

Land Loss (in terms of percentage to the original holding)	Uphold faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Lost faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Total
Low Loss (<50%)	25 (83.33%)	5 (16.67%)	30 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	18 (54.55%)	15 (45.45%)	33 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	55 (64.71%)	30 (35.29%)	85 (100%)
Total	98 (66.22%)	50 (33.78%)	148 (100%)

Chi-square value 6.03, df = 2, Table value =5.991, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant.

The analysis shows that 66.22% of respondents hailing from the category have faith and 33.78% have lost their faith in the ideology of rebirth. The impact of the loss is most severe on the (Medium loss) groups which lost land to the tune of 50-75% of their original holding. 45.45% of this group revealed that their faith in the ideology of rebirth is challenged by the land

loss. The corresponding figures in respect of the low loss and high loss groups are respectively 16.67% and 35.29%.

5.5 Loss of Economic Status and Change in the Ideology of Rebirth.

Another component of status loss considered in the study was economic status loss measured in term of a score by the respondents themselves. The lowest point of the scale was 0 and the highest 20. Those who indicated a score above 8. Were classified as low loss group, between 4 and 8 as medium loss group and below 4 as high loss group. Ten points was assumed as the origin which represents the status during pre-land reform period.

Analysis was conducted to find out of relationship between economic status loss and impact of it on the religious ideologies. The relationship between the status loss and loss of faith in rebirth is analysed in table 5.5

Table No. 5. 5
Economic Status Loss and Change in the Ideology of Rebirth.

Economic status loss	Uphold faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Lost faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Total
Low Loss	41 (93.18%)	3 (6.82%)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss	116 (70.73%)	48 (29.27%)	164 (100%)
High Loss	67 (72.83%)	25 (27.17%)	92 (100%)
Total	224 (74.66%)	76 (25.34%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 9.48, df = 2, Table value =5.991, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant

The analysis reveals that majority (74.67%) upholds faith in the ideology and the rest (25.33%) have lost their faith in the ideology as result of the status loss. Analysis further shows that the faith of medium loss category is more affected (29.27%). The high loss group also stands very closer to the medium loss group in this regard (27.17%). However, the shift in the ideology of the low loss group is very mailed (6.82%). So the analysis supports the thesis. It is to be concluded that the higher the loss the greater the change in the religious ideology and the finding is in tune with the central proposition of this study.

5.5.1 Loss of Economic Status and Shift in the Ideology of Rebirth of Male Members

This study further analysed the collected data to find out the relation between sex difference and the ideology of rebirth. The relationship between Economic loss and ideology change in respect of male and female categories was enquired into. The enquiries indicated that the relationship between the variables exists only in the case of male members. The details of the analysis are shown in the Table 5.5.1

Table 5.5.1
Loss of Economic Status and Change in the Ideology of Rebirth
Of Male Headed Families.

Economic status loss	Uphold faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Lost faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Total
Low Loss	32 (94.12%)	2 (5.88%)	34 (100%)
Medium Loss	88 (69.29%)	39 (30.71%)	127 (100%)
High Loss	50 (70.42%)	21 (29.58%)	71 (100%)
Total	170 (73.27%)	62 (26.73%)	232 (100%)

Chi-square value = 8.87, df 2, Table value = 5.991. $P \leq 0.05$.
The association is significant.

The analysis shows that loss in Economic status influences the ideology of rebirth. The table shows that the change of faith affects the medium loss category more (30.71%). The high loss groups come very closer to the medium loss group (29.58%). However, low loss group is very mildly affected by the loss of faith. The chi-square test applied reveals significant relationship between the variables.

5.5.2 Loss of Economic Status and Ideology of Rebirth of Income Groups

An analysis was conducted to bring out the relation between loss of economic status and change in the ideology of rebirth against the background variable, income. The enquiries indicate that the association between the variables exists to the extent for being included in the report only in the

case of medium income category. Table 5.5.2 shows the details of the analysis.

Table 5.5.2
Loss of Economic Status and the Ideology of Rebirth of Medium Income Group.

Economic status loss	Uphold faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Lost faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Total
Low Loss	23 (100%)	0 (0.00%)	23 (100%)
Medium Loss	70 (70.00%)	30 (30.00%)	100 (100%)
High Loss	38 (73.08%)	14 (26.92%)	52 (100%)
Total	131 (74.86%)	44 (25.14%)	175 (100%)

Chi-square value 9.07, df= 2, Table value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$.
The association is significant.

The analysis that majority 74.86% of the income category upholds their faith in the religious ideology of rebirth. However, 25.14% have lost faith in the ideology as a result of their decline in the economic status and the difficulties they have been facing due to the change.

The analysis further shows that medium loss category is more alienated from the ideology. 30% of the group have lost their faith in the philosophy of rebirth while the corresponding figures in respect of low loss and high loss groups are respectively zero and 26.92%. It is to be remembered here that the philosophy of rebirth is the hub of spiritual life of Brahmin community. So the loss of status is affecting the very base of spiritualism of the community.

5.5.3 Loss of Economic Status and Ideology of Rebirth of Occupational Categories.

Another important background variable is occupation. The enquiry indicates that the relationship between the variables exists only in the case of service category. The deals of the analysis are shown in table 5.5.3

**Table 5.5.3
Impact of Loss of Economic Status on the Ideology of Rebirth
Of Service Category.**

Economic status loss	Uphold faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Lost faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Total
Low Loss	25 (89.29%)	3 (10.71%)	28 (100%)
Medium Loss	55 (65.48%)	29 (34.52%)	84 (100%)
High Loss	18 (50.00%)	18 (50.00%)	36 (100%)
Total	98 (66.22%)	58 (39.18%)	148 (100%)

Chi-square value=9.48, df= 2, Table value = 5.991. $P \leq 0.05$.
The association is significant.

Analysis shows that the loss of economic status adversely affects the ideology of Rebirth of the Service group. It is seen that the loss of faith increases with loss of economic status.. The loss of faith goes up to 50% in the case of high economic status loss group from 10.71% in the case of low loss group. 34.52% of the medium loss group also stated that they have lost faith in the philosophy.

The study shows significant association between the variables. So the analysis supports the thesis very strongly.

5.6 Loss of Social Status and its Impact on the Ideology of Rebirth

During the pre land reform period the Brahmins were at the helm of Social activities of Kerala community. The deterioration of Social status of Brahmins is discussed thoroughly in section 5.3 of this chapter. The present analysis focuses on the impact of social status loss on their religious ideologies. As in the case of loss of economic status, here too the social status decline was measured in term of a score indicated by the respondents on a twenty point scale. Point ten is considered their status in pre land reform period.

A score possessed above 8 was considered as low loss, score between 4 and 8 as medium loss and score below 4 as high loss.

Association between loss of social status and shift in the ideology of re-birth was found out. The test statistic used was chi-square statistic. The details of the analysis are shown in Table 5.6

Table 5.6
Social status Loss and Change in the Ideology of Rebirth.

Economic status loss	Uphold faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Lost faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Total
Low Loss	39 (88.64%)	5 (11.36%)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss	129 (76.79%)	39 (23.21%)	168 (100%)
High Loss	56 (63.64%)	32 (36.36%)	88 (100%)
Total	224 (74.67%)	76 (25.34%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value=10.60, df =2, Table value = 5.991. $P \leq 0.05$.
The association is significant.

Table 6.3 reveals that 74.67% of the sample upholds faith in re-birth even after there occurred a severe status change. However 25.34% of the sample has lost their faith in the ideology of rebirth as a result of the hardships they have been facing since the land reform and consequent social status loss. Even though change in the ideology is affected only a minor segment it is to be understood that the belief has immemorial antiquity. That is taken as a result of the loss of social status.

The analysis shows the strength of the categories which come under the low status loss medium status loss and high status loss. Medium status loss and high status loss segments steadily increases from 11.36% to 36.36%. Chi-square test shows that there is significant relationship between the variables. Inductively stating the higher the loss of social status the greater the loss in the ideology of the community. So this index also supports the central hypothesis of the study.

5.6.1 Impact of Loss of Social Status on the Ideology of Rebirth among Male Group.

The impact of social status loss on religious ideology (rebirth) in respect of male and female categories was enquired into. The enquiries indicated that the relationship between the variables exists only in the case of male category. The details of the analysis are shown in Table 5.6.1

**Table 5.6.1
Impact of Loss of Social Status on the Ideology of Rebirth among Male Group.**

Economic status loss	Uphold faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Lost faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Total
Low Loss	30 (88.24%)	4 (11.76%)	34 (100%)
Medium Loss	95 (74.22%)	33 (25.78%)	128 (100%)
High Loss	45 (64.29%)	25 (35.71%)	70 (100%)
Total	170 (73.28%)	62 (26.72%)	232 (100%)

Chi-square value =9.07, df =2, Table value = 5.991, P≤ 0.05.
The association is significant.

The analysis reveals that majority (73.28%) of the respondents faith has not been affected by status loss. In statistical term 26.72% of the sample segment (Males 232) has lost their faith in the ideology of rebirth after they met with the status shift. The suffering the community (the male members particularly as they are the managers of the households) has been undergoing since the landslide in their social status influenced them to desert the faith in rebirth in a more blessed form it is to be presumed.

From analysis 6.3.3 it is seen that those who lost lesser status shifted slightly from their ideology of rebirth and the result gives full support to the main postulate of our study. The shift in the ideology was reported by 11.76% the low loss status group, 25.78% of the medium loss group and 35.71% of the high loss group.

The analysis clearly indicate the relation between the variables, namely, social status loss and religious ideology are associated positively.

5.6.2 Relationship between Social Status Loss and Change in the Ideology of Income groups.

Analyses were conducted to bring out the impact of social status loss on religious ideology of different income categories. When the criterion for including the analyses in the thesis was applied the relationship between the variables of Medium income group was only admissible. Accordingly the analysis relating to the medium income group is given in Table 5.6.2

**Table 5.6.2
Social Status Loss and Change in the Ideology of Rebirth of Medium Income Category.**

Economic status loss	Uphold faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Lost faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Total
Low Loss	27 (96.43%)	1 (0%)	28 (100%)
Medium Loss	76 (76.77%)	23 (23.23%)	99 (100%)
High Loss	28 (58.33%)	20 (41.67%)	48 (100%)
Total	131 (74.86%)	44 (25.14%)	175 (100%)

Chi-square value =14.08, df= 2, Table value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$.
The association is significant.

Among the respondents who belong to the middle income group majority (74.85%) uphold the faith in the ideology of rebirth and the rest (25.14%) lost their faith in the ideology as a result of the status change. The results are very similar to those of the parent sample (Table 5.6).

Regarding the impact of the status loss on the ideology, it can be concluded that regarding this group too (Middle Income) the general proposition holds good. Very systematically the 'faith changed group' increases as we move from low status loss group to high status loss group through medium status loss group (respectively 3.57%, 23.23% and 41.67% come under the 'faith lost group'.

5.6.3 Relationship between Social Status Loss and Change in the Ideology of Occupational Groups.

Another set of analyses were conducted to identify the impact of social status loss on the ideology of different occupational groups. Among different the occupational categories the group constituted by service personals only qualify for inclusion in this report. The details of analysis are given in Table 5.6.3.

**Table 5.6.3
Loss of Social Status and the Ideology of Rebirth of Service Category.**

Economic status loss)	Uphold faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Lost faith in the Ideology of Rebirth	Total
Low Loss	12 (80%)	3 (20%)	15 (100%)
Medium Loss	68 (70083%)	28 (29.17%)	96 (100%)
High Loss	18 (48.65%)	19 (51.35%)	37 (100%)
Total	98 (66.22%)	50 (33.78%)	148 (100%)

Chi-square value= 9.07, df= 2, Table value = 5.991, P≤ 0.05.
The association is significant.

Out of the 148 respondents who belong to the occupational segment 98 (66.22%) still uphold their faith in the philosophy rebirth and 50 (33.78%) leave aside the philosophy as a sequential to of the hardships which they have been facing since the status loss. The loss of faith is slightly high in the case of the group in comparison with the parent sample.

Further analysis clearly indicates that social status loss created powerful negative influence upon the ideology of rebirth of this occupational category and the higher the loss in the status the higher the loss in the faith. The loss of the ideology is for 20% in the case of the low status loss group. This goes up to 51.35% in the case of high status loss group. 29.17% of the medium status loss group also come under the category and these indicate a direct relationship between the two variables in the case of the group of service category.

5.7 Status Loss and Loss of Faith in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution.

Traditional religious life of Brahmin in Malabar is strongly attached to the dichotomous concept of Purity and Pollution. The Philosophy of Purity and Pollution categorises materials, actions, relationships and even thoughts and place them in a pure-impure continuum. Religious utility of the things etc was decided only on the basis of their extent of purity. This was followed in social life too. At the centre of social activities pure/clean things got recognition. Purity is diminished through interaction with impure/unclean things. For example, castes were considered as having various levels of purity. The Brahmins constitute the cleanest caste. Religious duties (contact with deity utterances of *mathras* etc) are to be done by this caste. When Brahmin comes into contact with unclean castes the former become polluted. It can be seen that the Brahmins dominated religious life of Kerala community in the name of purity. Gradually this domination transcended to every walk of group life.

In this section the analyses mainly focus up on the shift in the ideology of purity and pollution as a result of Status Loss (Land Loss and Social and Economic Status loss).

The following diagram shows the pattern of analysis.

PATTERN OF ANALYSES

Diagram No 5.7
Relationship between Status Loss and the Ideology of
Pollution and purity

Background Variables		Status Loss	Land Loss	Economic Status Loss	Social Status Loss	Status of Analyses
Sex	Male	✓	✓	✓	✓	Reported
	Female					Not reported
Age	Lower Age		✓	✓	✓	Not reported
	Upper Age	✓				Not reported
Education	Primary					Not reported
	Secondary					Not reported
	College			✓		Not reported
Income	Up to Rs 6000					Not reported
	Rs 6000-9000					Not reported
	Above Rs 9000					Not reported
Occupation	Religious occupations					Not reported
	Service Category	✓	✓	✓	✓	Reported
	Agriculture/self Employment					Not reported
Religious Duty	Othikoan/Vadhiyar					Not reported
	Thantri					Not reported
	No Special Duty			✓		Not reported

5.7.1 Land Loss and the Ideology of Purity and Pollution.

This analysis mainly focuses on the impact of land loss on the ideology of pollution and purity of the community. Table No. 5.7.1 shows the details of the analysis.

Table No: 5.7.1

Land Loss and Change in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution

Land Loss (in term of percentage to the Original Holdings)	Upholding faith in the Ideology of the Purity and Pollution	Not Upholding faith in the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low Loss (< 50%)	47 (72.31%)	12 (18.46%)	06 (9.23%)	65 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	38 (69.09%)	3 (5.45%)	14 (25.45%)	55 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	127 (70.56%)	36 (20%)	17 (9.44%)	180 (100%)
Total	212 (70.67%)	51 (17%)	37 (12.33%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 14.97, df = 4, Table value = 9.488. $P \leq 0.05$.

The association is significant.

The analysis shows that majority (70.67%) of the respondents uphold the faith in the pollution and purity concept. 17% have lost faith in the ideology and 12.33% did not respond to the query.

In this section the analyses mainly focuses upon the shift in the ideology of purity and pollution as a result of Status loss. Analysis clearly shows that the impact of the land loss is not very high on the community. However, it can be seen that the impact is varying on the different groups.

It is seen that the loss of faith is the highest among the high loss group (20%). If the 'No response' group and the 'faith lost group' are taken together the 'Medium loss' group comes at fore the front of the 'faith loss group'.

5.7.2 Land Loss and Changes in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution of Sex Categories.

Analysis is on the relationship between the variables of the different sex categories revealed that the males' faith loss is significantly associated with the status loss under the three components of status loss (Land loss, Economic and Social status loss). Table No. 5.7.2 shows the relation of Land loss and Loss of faith in the ideology of purity and pollution of Male Category.

Table 5.7.2
Land Loss and Change in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution of Male Category.

Land Loss (in term of percentage to the Original Holdings)	Upholding faith in the Ideology of the Purity and Pollution	Not Upholding faith in the ideology	No Response	Total
Low Loss (< 50%)	36 (72%)	8 (16%)	6 (12%)	50 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	26 (63.41%)	3 (7.32%)	12 (29.27%)	41 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	96 (69.09%)	29 (20.57%)	16 (11.35%)	141 (100%)
Total	158 (52.66%)	51 (13.33%)	34 (11.33%)	232 (100%)

Chi-square value = 10.80, df = 4, Table value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$.

The association is significant.

Majority of (52.66%) respondents stated that they follow the ideology of Purity and Pollution. 13.33% have lost faith in the ideology.

The analysis clearly indicates that Medium loss group is affected seriously by the material loss and forced to change their age old believes. 63.41% of the group come under the category of 'faith upholding' group. The corresponding figure in respect of the low loss and high loss groups are respectively 72% and 69.09%.

Loss of land compelled Brahmins to search new source of income. They gradually adjusted with new circumstances and accepted new job opportunities. This new social situations forced them to change their religious ideologies.

5.7.3 Land Loss and Changes in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution of Occupational Categories.

Another analysis was carried out to identify the impact of land loss on the religious ideology of purity and pollution of the Service Sector. Table 5.7.3 shows the details of analysis

Table 5.7.3

Land loss and Changes in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution of Service Category

Land Loss (in term of percentage to the Original Holdings)	Upholding faith in the Ideology of the Purity and Pollution	Not Upholding faith in the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low Loss (< 50%)	21 (70%)	7 (23.33%)	2 (6.67%)	30 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	20 (60.61%)	2 (6.06%)	11 (33.33%)	33 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	51 (60%)	19 (22.35%)	15 (17.65%)	85 (100%)
Total	92 (62.16%)	28 (18.91%)	28 (18.91%)	148 (100%)

Chi-square value = 10.17, df = 4, Table value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$.

The association is significant.

Majority (62.16%) of the occupational group uphold their faith in the principle of purity and pollution. However, 18.91% of the group have lost their faith in purity and pollution as a result of their status loss. They might be facing the situation of working with those group members who were considered earlier as unclean. This forced interaction and co-existence with the people might have totally changed their concept of purity-pollution.

When we go deep into the ideology change of the different groups that lost land to different levels, we see that, though majority (60.61%) of the medium and high land loss groups (60% respectively) uphold the faith, in comparison with the low loss group, who come under the category of upholding the faith their strength is lower. 70% of the low loss groups upholds their faith in purity and pollution ideology. So we may conclude that

the higher land loss groups have lost to a greater extent their faith in the philosophy.

5.8 Loss of Economic Status and Change in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution.

This group of analysis focus upon the impact loss of economic status on the ideology of pollution and purity. Loss of economic status evaluated by the respondents in scores and the change in the ideology of purity-pollution are cross tabulated in Table 5.8. Application of Chi-square test reveals relationship between the two variables. Hence we conclude that economic status loss and change in the ideology are associated factors.

Table 5.8
Loss of Economic Status and the Ideology of Purity and Pollution.

Loss of Economic Status	Upholding faith in the Ideology of the Purity and Pollution	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	30 (68.18%)	5 (11.36%)	9 (20.46%)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss	127 (77.44%)	24 (14.63%)	13 (7.93%)	164 (100%)
High Loss	127 (70.56%)	22 (23.91%)	15 (16.30%)	92 (100%)
Total	212 (70.67%)	51 (17%)	37 (12.34%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 12.70, df = 4, Table value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$.

The association is significant.

Majority of respondents (70.67%) was after their status change upholds this traditional view on purity and pollution. 17% of respondents without any reservation revealed that they have no faith now in the ideology

of purity and pollution. The rest (12.34%) are reluctant to reveal what is their stand now on the faith.

When the status loss and ideological shift were analysed in association with each other it was revealed that the higher the erosion in the status the greater the shift in the ideology in general. 68.18% of the respondents who lost economic status to a lesser extent uphold their faith in the ideology. The corresponding figure in respect of those lost status to the greatest extent is 59.78%. Comparatively greater portion of the medium status loss group (77.44%) keep their faith unaltered.

5.8.1 Loss of Economic status and Changes in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution of sex Categories.

This analysis focuses on the impact of Economic Status loss on the ideology of Purity and Pollution of male headed households.

**Table 5.8.1
Loss of Economic Status and Changes in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution of Male Category.**

Loss of Economic Status	Upholding faith in the Ideology of the Purity and Pollution	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	22 (64.71%)	2 (11.36%)	9 (26.47%)	34 (100%)
Medium Loss	97 (76.38%)	18 (14.63%)	12 (9.45%)	127 (100%)
High Loss	39 (54.93%)	19 (23.91%)	13 (18.31%)	71 (100%)
Total	158 (68.10%)	40 (17.25%)	34 (14.65%)	232 (100%)

Chi- square: 15.20, df = 4, Table value = 9.438, $P \leq 0.05$.

The association is significant.

The analysis shows significant association between the variables. Of the respondents belonging to the category (male) 68.10% uphold the ideology of purity and pollution as it was. However, 17.25% have lost faith in the philosophy and 14.65% do not reveal their present perception on the matter.

Further statistical analysis indicates relationship between the variables. The pattern of variation in the outlook is similar to previous analyses. The medium loss group has more attachment to the religious faith than the other two groups have. However, the shift in the faith is more prominent when we come to the more affected group. A lesser proportion of the high loss group have their faith in the matter intact. (54.93%). The corresponding figures in respect of the low loss and medium loss groups are 64.71% and 76.38% respectively.

5.8.2 Loss of Economic Status and Changes in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution of Occupational Groups.

An analysis was made to bring forth the association, if any, between the variables in respect of the occupational groups. One occupational group only qualified the including criterion prescribed in the methodology, namely, those engaged in the service sector.

Table: 5.8.2
Loss of Economic Status and Changes in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution of Service Category.

Loss of Economic Status	Upholding faith in the Ideology of the Purity and Pollution	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	17 (60.71%)	3 (10.71%)	8 (28.57%)	28 (100%)
Medium Loss	60 (71.43%)	15 (17.86%)	9 (10.71%)	84 (100%)
High Loss	15 (41.67%)	10 (27.78%)	11 (30.56%)	36 (100%)
Total	92 (62.16%)	28 (18.92%)	28 (18.92%)	148 (100%)

Chi-square = 13.09, df = 4, Table value: 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$.

The association is significant.

Analysis in table 5.8.2 shows that majority of the group (62.71%) have faith in the principle of Purity and Pollution and the rest equally divide themselves under two responses, namely, do not uphold the faith and reluctant to respond. (18.92% of each).

Further analysis enquiring into the relationship between the variables shows that the medium status loss group is more attached themselves to the traditional ideology of Purity and Pollution (71.43% have not changed their faith). The strength of the corresponding group under low loss category is lower (60.71%). When it comes to the case of high loss group the erosion of faith is higher. 58.33% of the category goes to other compartments of 'lost faith' and 'no response' groups. The results, generally stating, support the primary proposition of the study, the greater the decline in the status the greater the loss of traditional religious ideologies. Medium loss group is an exception.

5.9 Loss of Social Status and Change in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution.

Another analysis was made to find out the impact of loss of Social Status on the ideology of Purity and Pollution. Table 5.9 explains the analysis.

Table: 5.9
Loss of Social Status and Changes in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution

Loss of Social Status	Upholding faith in the Ideology of the Purity and Pollution	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	37 (84.00%)	5 (11.36%)	2 (4.55%)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss	125 (74.40%)	22 (13.40%)	21 (12.50%)	168 (100%)
High Loss	50 (56.82%)	24 (27.27%)	14 (15.91%)	88 (100%)
Total	212 (70.67%)	51 (17.00%)	37 (12.33%)	300 (100%)

Chi- square: 14.71, df = 4, Table value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$.

The association is significant.

Loss of Social Status created impact on religious ideology of the community. The analysis indicates majority (70.67%) of the respondents uphold the faith in the ideology of Purity and Pollution. 17% of them have lost faith in the ideology and 12.33% refused to react to the enquiry.

The conclusion we arrive at is that majority of the community still follow the principle. But it is very significant that 29.33% of the community have lost faith in the age old religious belief.

Further, it can be seen that the loss of faith in the matter is proportional to the loss of Socio-Economic status. The groups which uphold the faith reduces from 84.09% to 56.82% when we come from low loss group to high loss group. In the case of medium loss group the corresponding figure is 74.40%. Chi-square test shows that the association between the variables is significant. Hence this analysis contributes to the central postulate of the study.

Analyses were again conducted to probe deep into the problem to find out the association between background variables and the ideology. The analysis revealed that two analyses qualify the criterion for inclusion in the report, namely, analysis based on vocation and sex difference. They are given in the following sections

5.9.1 Loss of Social Status and Changes in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution among Sex Categories

This analysis focuses up on the impact of Social Status loss on the ideology of Purity and Pollution of male category of the community.

Table 5.9.1
Loss of Social Status and the Ideology of Purity and Pollution of Male Category

Loss of Social Status	Upholding faith in the Ideology of the Purity and Pollution	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
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Low loss	27 (79.41%)	5 (14.71%)	2 (5.88%)	34 (100%)
Medium Loss	94 (73.44%)	15 (11.72%)	19 (14.84%)	128 (100%)
High Loss	37 (52.86%)	20 (28.57%)	13 (18.57%)	70 (100%)
Total	158 (68.10%)	40 (17.24%)	34 (14.65%)	232 (100%)

Chi-square value = 13.69, d f = 4, Table value = 9.488 $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant.

In this analysis also the loss and change in the ideology are associated significantly.

It is revealed that the high loss group changed their ideology to a very great extent where as low loss group shows lesser change in the ideology. The medium loss group comes in between the two categories. It is clear that Social Status loss created serious impact on the ideological structure of male group.

The analysis indicates that the association between the variables (Social status loss and ideology change) exists in the case of male category of community. The analysis on female category did not qualify the criterion for inclusion in the report, as pointed out earlier.

5.9.2 Loss of Social Status and Changes in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution of Service Category.

Other analyses were conducted to find out the relationship between social status loss and ideology of purity and pollution among different occupational categories. Table No: 5.9.2 shows details of the analysis of service category.

Table 5.9.2
Loss of Social Status and Change in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution of Service category.

Loss of Social Status	Upholding faith in the Ideology of the Purity and Pollution	Not Upholding faith in the ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	11 (73.33%)	3 (13.33%)	2 (13.33%)	15 (100%)
Medium Loss	67 (59.79%)	14 (14.58%)	15 (15.63%)	96 (100%)
High Loss	14 (37.84%)	12 (32.43%)	11 (29.73%)	37 (100%)
Total	92 (62.16%)	28 (18.91%)	28 (18.91%)	148 (100%)

Chi-square value = 12.58, df = 4 Table value = 9.488. $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant.

The analysis shows that majority (62.16%) are following the ideology even after facing the status loss. The impact of social status is prominently visible in high loss group. They show high shift in their beliefs in the matter. Among them only 37.84% uphold the faith. 32.43 percent clearly revealed that they do not believe in the concept of purity and pollution. Remaining 29.73 percent of the group come under the 'No Response' category. That is 62.16 percent of the respondents of the high loss group do not uphold the principle now. In the case of the low loss and medium loss group the corresponding figures are respective 73.33% and 59.79%. Association

between the variables is beyond doubt according to the statistical test. So the thesis is applicable in the case of the occupational category, the service sector.

The loss of Social hegemony adversely affected the ideological base of Brahmins. They gradually resigned from religious thoughts to regain their social acceptability. They cut short or abbreviated their ideologies to fit them in the present social environment. They changed or even avoided their age old ideologies due to sudden social status loss.

5.10 Loss of Status and Change in the Ideology of Dharma and Karma

Indian culture gives very much emphasis on *Dharma* and *Karma* (virtues and good deeds). Brahmins being the designers of religious life of the community ardently adhering to the ideology. The Kerala Brahmins are also hefty subscribers to the philosophy.

Very briefly *dharma* means the code guiding actions, aspirations and even thinking of members of the community. *Karma* denotes the deed of a member of the community. The *karma* of any member should be in tune with the prescription of the community otherwise known as '*dharma*'. It is on the canvas of *dharma* that an individual draw the portrait of *Karma*. So the two are intimately related. In practical sense the deed of individual should be according to the wishes of the group. The wishes or the collective wisdom is the mores of the community.

Brahmins traditionally executed all individual deeds according to the mores of the community. However, the study assumes that as a result of decline of their status corresponding variations in the ideology have been occurred.

As in previous analysis in this section also association between the variables is assessed against three components of status loss, namely, loss of land, loss of economic status and loss of social status. The details of analysis and results are discussed in the ensuing section.

PATTERN OF ANALYSES

Diagram No 5.10

Relationship between Status Loss and the Ideology of Dharma and Karma.

Background Variables		Status Loss	Land Loss	Economic Status Loss	Social Status Loss	Status of Analyses
Sex	Male			√	√	Not reported
	Female			√	√	Not reported
Age	Lower Age			√	√	Not reported
	Upper Age	√			√	Not reported
Education	Primary					Not reported
	Secondary				√	Not reported
	College				√	Not reported
Income	Up to Rs 6000					Not reported
	Rs 6000-9000	√		√	√	Reported
	Above Rs 9000					Not reported
Occupation	Religious Occupations					Not reported
	Service Category	√		√	√	Reported
	Agriculture/self Employment					Not reported
Religious Duty	Othikoan/Vadhiyar					Not reported
	Thantri				√	Not reported
	No Special Duty	√		√	√	Reported

5.10.1 Impact of Land Loss on the Ideology of *Dharma and Karma*

An analysis was made to bring out the impact of land loss on the religious ideology of *dharma* and *karma*.

Table No. 5.10.1

Loss of Land and Changes in the Ideology of Dharma and Karma

Land Loss (in percentage to original holding)	Upholding belief in Dharma & Karma	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss (<50%)	30 (68.18%)	11 (25.00%)	3 (6.82%)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	89 (54.27%)	20 (12.20%)	55 (33.54%)	164 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	46 (50.00%)	9 (9.78%)	37 (40.22%)	92 (100%)
Total	165 (55%)	40 (13.33%)	95 (31.66%)	300 (100%)

Chi square value = 18.23. df =4, Table value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$.

The association is significant.

Majority (55%) of the respondents uphold faith in the ideology. 13.33% are not upholding it and 31.66 percentage did not reveal their mind.

Regarding the relationship between the loss and change in the ideology the degree of faith gradually decreases as the loss increase. 68.18% of the Low Loss group adhere to the faith while the corresponding figure relating to the high loss group only is 50%. The strength of medium loss groups comes in between the former two groups (54.27%). The test statistic indicates significant relationship between the variables. The loss of land badly affected the flow of income to Brahmin family. It resulted in

various economic problems. The analysis clearly shows that low loss group shows less change in their faith. This is because the impact of loss did not affect their belief system. In the case of the high loss group the impact was so severe that even their value system was challenged by it.

5.10.2 Loss of Land and change in the Ideology of *Dharma and Karma* of Medium Income Group.

The relation between the variables is more firm in medium income group because relationship between loss of status and change in the ideology was seen under all the three components of status loss (Land loss, Economic status loss, and Social status loss). Table No. 5.10.2 shows the analysis of data based of the medium income.

Table No. 5.10.2s
Loss of Land and change in the Ideology of *Dharma and Karma* of Medium Income Group.

Land Loss (in percentage to original holding)	Upholding belief in Dharma & Karma	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss (<50%)	23 (56.10%)	7 (17.07%)	11 (26.83%)	41 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	11 (32.35%)	9 (26.47%)	14 (41.18%)	34 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	54 (54.00%)	9 (9.00%)	37 (37.00%)	100 (100%)
Total	88 (50.28%)	25 (14.28%)	62 (35.42%)	175 (100%)

Chi square value = 9.68, df = 4, Table value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant.

The analysis reveals that 50.28% of the total respondents of the category uphold faith in the ideology, 14.28% have lost faith in the ideology and 35.42 percent give no proper response.

Among the different sections medium loss group registered lowest (32.35%) degree of faith in the ideology. 41.18% of respondents of medium loss group also did not react to the query. It is to be presumed this group (no response) also comes under the affected group.

5.10.3 Loss of Land and Changes in the Ideology of the Service Category.

Detailed description of the relationship between the variables of the service category is given in Table 5.10.3. The group satisfies the criterion for inclusion in the report.

Table No. 5.10.3
Impact of Land Loss on the Ideology of *Dharma and Karma* of Service Group.

Land Loss(in percentage to original holding)	Upholding belief in Dharma & Karma	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss (<50%)	11 (36.67%)	7 (23.33%)	12 (40.00%)	30 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	11 (33.33%)	11 (33.33%)	11 (33.34%)	33 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	53 (62.35%)	9 (10.59%)	23 (27.06%)	85 (100%)
Total	75 (50.67%)	27 (18.24%)	46 (31.08%)	148 (100%)

Chi square value = 13.95. df = 4. Table value = 9.488, P≤ 0.05

The association is significant.

The analysis indicates that the medium loss group is more affected by the loss. Only 33.33% uphold the faith. An equal proportion of them (33.33% each) come under the other two categories. The low loss group also affected substantially. Of them 36.67% uphold the belief. One exceptional result is that 62.35% of the high loss group of the service category, even after the loss, stick on to their traditional faith of Karma and Dharma. Why this contradictory finding cannot be immediately stated without further enquiries.

5.10.4 Loss of Land and Changes in the Ideology of Different Religious Sub Divisions.

Stratification of various forms is existing in Nampoothiri community. One division is *Adyan* and *Asyan* on the basis of the prestige attached to the groups. Though Nampoothiri is a priestly community the *Adyan* never play the role of the working priest. It is the role of the Nampoothiri. *Adyan* is supposed to be a religious intellectual who involves himself in learning scriptures. *Nampoothirippad* and *Nampoothiri* is another categorisation on the basis of the possessions of the groups concerned. The *Nampoothirippad* had better material and social possessions. On the basis of kind of religious duties performed the group is divided into four, namely, the *Othikkon* (Teacher), *Vaidikan* (Head Priest), *Thanthri* (The consecrator of idols) and Ordinary *Nampoothiri* who has no particular religious duty to perform. Those categories that perform religious duties are getting their income from temples and places of worship where they are attached to. The ordinary Brahmins

find out a living by executing various functions ranging from *Santhi* (Temple Priest) to cooking.

When analyses were carried out on the relationship between loss of status and changes in the ideology of the various functional groups of Brahmin against the three categories of loss (land loss, economic status loss, and social status loss) the relationship in respect of the ordinary Brahmin was seen to be significant under the three analyses. So the analysis in respect of this group is elaborately given in the section.

Table No: 5.10.4
Land Loss and Change in the Ideology of *Dharma and Karma* of Ordinary Brahmins.

Land Loss (in percentage to original holding)	Upholding belief in Dharma & Karma	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss (<50%)	24 (50.00%)	7 (14.58%)	17 (35.42%)	48 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	16 (45.71%)	11 (31.43%)	8 (22.86%)	35 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	70 (54.69%)	11 (8.59%)	47 (36.72%)	128 (100%)
Total	110 (52.13%)	29 (13.74%)	72 (34.12%)	211 (100%)

Chi square value = 12.52, df = 4, Table value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant.

The analysis indicates association between the variables in respect of the ordinary Brahmins of Malabar. The medium loss group is the more affected group. 31.43% of them do not uphold the ideology now and 22.86% did not reveal their response to the query. 36.72% of the high loss group did

not reveal what is their current position. 8.50% clearly stated that they have lost faith in the ideology. The rest, anyway, uphold their faith. (54. 60%). Hence our thesis holds well in the case of ordinary Brahmin.

The results may be easily interpreted. Those Brahmins who have definite religious functions are not worried about their material need satisfaction even after loss of their landed property because their income from the devotees thronging in the places of worship is rather hefty. The income will overcome the impact of the loss and keep them in good shape. Further, these functionaries are the steel frame of the Hindu community and if they leave aside the ideologies half way the consequences are quite known to them. On the other hand, the ordinary Brahmin has been living on whatever income got from the land and the blow of loss of the sole source of income hard hits them. The impact is more than enough to erase even the core ideologies of religious life. Moreover, even if they lose faith in the ideology, as they are not leaders, it will not affect the community seriously.

5.11. Loss of Economic Status and the Changes in the Ideology of *Dharma and Karma*.

In this study an enquiry was made to assess how the economic status loss affected the ideology of *dharma* and *karma* of the group.

Table No: 5.11

Economic Status Loss and change in the Ideology of Dharma and Karma

Economic Status Loss	Upholds faith in the ideology	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	30 (68.18%)	11 (25.00%)	3 (6.82%)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss	89 (54.27%)	20 (12.20%)	55 (33.54%)	164 (100%)
High Loss	46 (50.00%)	9 (9.78%)	37 (40.22%)	92 (100%)
Total	165 (55%)	40 (13.33%)	95 (31.66%)	300 (100%)

Chi square value = 18.23, df = 4, Table Value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$.

The association is significant.

When the data were analysed according to the objective the results obtained were the following. Majority (55%) of the respondents uphold faith in the ideology. 13.33% of the respondents revealed that they have lost their faith in principle of Karma and Dharma as it won't help them to survive in the changed condition. 31.67%, however, are not ready to reveal what is their position.

On the whole it is to be concluded that on this index of status loss too we may say that a significant portion of the community has lost faith in the traditional philosophy of Karma and Dharma.

Regarding the variation in the change of ideology with loss of status there is evidence from the empirical data to conclude that the loss of ideology is severe at the highest level of status loss. At lowest level of status loss 69.57% upholds the philosophy. The strength reduces to 50% in the case of medium loss group and further reduces to 42.31% in the case of the high

loss group. The rest of the groups either openly admit that they have lost the faith or conveniently reserve their outlook.

Low loss group is more embracing the ideology (68.18%) and the warmth decreases when we come to high loss group (50%). The medium loss group comes in between the other groups in this regard that under the group which did not responded to the query, and exactly reverse sequence to the one mentioned above is seen. Coming to the not upholding segment the strength is greater against the low loss group and the strength decreases when reach the high loss group. If we concentrated on the faith loss group the analysis subscribes to our central proposition relating to the relationship between status loss and ideology change.

5.11.1 Loss of Economic Status and the Changes in the Ideology of *Dharma and Karma* of Medium Income Group

Another analysis (Table No: 5.11.1) is made to reveal the impact of Economic status loss on the ideology of *Dharma* and *Karma* of medium income group.

Table No: 5.11.1

Impact of Economic Status Loss on the Ideology of *Dharma and Karma* of Medium Income Group

Economic Status Loss	Upholds faith in the ideology	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	16 (69.57%)	6 (26.09%)	1 (4.35)	23 (100%)
Medium Loss	50 (50.00%)	14 (14.00%)	36 (36.00)	100 (100%)
High Loss	22 (42.31%)	5 (9.62)	25 (48.08)	5 (100%)
Total	88 (50.28%)	25 (14.28)	62 (35.42)	175 (100%)

Chi square value = 14.03, df =4 Table value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant.

The analysis clearly reveals that high loss group is affected seriously and majority (48.08%) of them belong to 'No response' group.

5.11.2 Loss of Economic Status and the Changes in the Ideology of *Dharma and Karma* of Different Occupational category.

Further another analysis was made to find out the association between economic status loss and ideological change of occupational groups. The respondents belonging to service sector only qualified for being included to the report.

Table No: 5.11.2
Loss of Economic Status and Ideology of *Dharma and Karma* of Service Category.

Economic Status Loss	Upholds faith in the ideology	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	16 (57.14%)	9 (32.14%)	3 (10.71%)	28 (100%)
Medium Loss	44 (52.38%)	14 (16.67%)	26 (30.95%)	84 (100%)
High Loss	15 (41.67%)	4 (11.11%)	17 (47.22%)	36 (100%)
Total	75 (50.67%)	27 (18.25%)	46 (31.08%)	148 (100%)

Chi square value = 11.69, df = 4, Table value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant.

Analysis shows that majority of them (50.67%) uphold faith in the ideology. However, the impact of economic status loss on the ideology is clearly visible among the groups. The loss of ideology increases from Low loss group to high loss group. Even though factions under the status loss groups who have lost faith in the philosophy are getting reduced in their strength as we move from low status loss to high status loss, when those who come under the category of 'no response group' is also considered the increasing strength of the ideology changed group is perceivable. Ultimately, the central postulate is applicable to this occupational category.

5.11.3 Loss of Economic Status and changes in the Ideology of *Dharma* and *Karma* of Ordinary Brahmins.

Another analysis made to find out the impact of Economic status loss on the different groups executing different religious functions reveals that commoners (Ordinary Brahmins) attract our attention.

Table 5.11.3
Impact of Economic Status Loss on the Ideology of *Dharma* and *Karma* of Ordinary Brahmins

Economic Status Loss	Upholds faith in the ideology	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	18 (66.6%)	7 (25.93%)	2 (7.41%)	27 (100%)
Medium Loss	59 (50.86%)	16 (13.79%)	41 (35.34%)	116 (100%)
High Loss	33 (48.53%)	6 (8.82%)	29 (42.65%)	68 (100%)
Total	110 (52.13%)	29 (13.74%)	72 (34.12%)	211 (100%)

Chi square value = 12.56, df =4, Table value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant.

The analysis of data reveals that majority of respondents (52.13%) belonging to the group are devotees of the ideology still now. Only 13.74% of them have gave away the ideology and 34.12% refused to respond to the question. The analysis reveals that around 48% of the respondents have not stated that they are devotees of the ideology at present. May be either they blatantly state that they are not attracted by the ideology or reserving their response. This implies the impact of the status loss on the ideology of the group.

In this analysis also loss of economic status and ideological structure are associated with each other. Low loss group (66.67%) shows high degree of faith and High loss group shows less faith (48.53%) in the ideology. This implies that the loss of faith in the principle is lesser in the case of low loss group and high in the case of high loss group. Medium loss group comes in between the other two indicating that erosion of faith is directly related to the level of loss of economic status.

5.12 Loss of Social Status and Change in the Ideology of Dharma and Karma

Another component of status change as in the case of the other contexts was the loss of social status. Table 5.12 present the data analysis.

Table 5.12
Loss of Social Status and Change in the Ideology of *Dharma and Karma*

Social Status Loss	Upholds faith in the ideology	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	35 (79.55%)	4 (9.09%)	5 (11.36%)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss	84 (50.00%)	32 (19.05%)	52 (30.95%)	168 (100%)
High Loss	46 (52.27%)	4 (4.55%)	38 (43.18%)	88 (100%)
Total	165 (55%)	40 (13.33%)	95 (31.66%)	300 (100%)

Chi square value = 24.95, df =4, Table value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant.

The analysis shows that Majority (55%) of the respondents uphold faith in the ideology unaffected by the change in the social status. 13.33%

have left aside and 31.66% of respondents did not respond to the query. As seen in the previous analysis, majority of the respondents stick on to their age old belief. However, a significant portion has been shaken in their ideology. It is to be stated that the stimulus effect of the decline in the status is to be considered as very high because the change occurred was is the corner stone of the belief of Hinduism.

Coming to the impact occurred on the different structures, it is more visible in medium and high loss. 50% of the former group and 47.73% of the latter group have either lost faith or keeping concealed their stand on the issue. Thus the social status loss created impact on the ideology of 'Dharma' and 'Karma'. Precisely, the higher the loss greater the loss of faith.

5.12.1 Loss of Social Status and Change in the Ideology of *Dharma* and *Karma* of Different Income groups.

In order to find out the influence of social status loss on the income groups analyses were made. In the case of medium income group only association was revealed under the three components of status loss. The details of analysis are shown in Table 5.12.1

Table 5.12.1
Loss of Social Status and Change in the Ideology of *Dharma* and *Karma* of Medium Income group.

Social Status Loss	Uphold faith in the Ideology	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	23 (82.14%)	2 (10.71%)	2 (7.14%)	28 (100%)
Medium Loss	44 (44.44%)	20 (20.20%)	35 (35.35%)	99 (100%)
High Loss	21 (43.75%)	2 (4.17%)	25 (52.08%)	48 (100%)
Total	88 (50.28%)	25 (14.28%)	62 (35.42%)	175 (100%)

Chi-square value 22.93. df =4, Table value 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant

The analysis indicates that loss of social status influenced and created erosion in *dharma* and *karma*. 50.28% keep the ideology in their spiritual life. In the case of others it has been challenged by the malady happened in the social status. 14.28% openly stated that they lost faith in the ideology and the rest (35.42%) not disclosed their stand (Table 5.12.1).

Further, it can be seen from the analysis that the shift in the ideology is proportional to the extent of status loss. While 82.14% uphold the ideology among the low loss category it is 44% and 43.75% respectively in the case of the medium and high loss groups.

So we may conclude that the relationship between the status loss and ideological shift is more certain in the case of the middle income group among the different income segments and the extent of status loss and ideological change in *Dharma* and *Karma* are directly related.

5.12.2 Loss of Social Status and Changes in the Ideology of *Dharma* and *Karma* of different Occupational Categories.

This study conducted another enquiry about the social status loss and ideological change of the occupational groups. Table No. 5.12.2 presents the analysis.

**Table 5.12.2
Impact of Social Status Loss on the Ideology of *Dharma* and *Karma* of Service Category**

Social Status Loss	Uphold faith in the Ideology	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	11 (73.33%)	1 (6.67%)	3 (20.00%)	15 (100%)
Medium Loss	46 (47.92%)	24 (25.00%)	26 (27.08%)	96 (100%)
High Loss	18 (48.65%)	2 (5.41%)	17 (45.95%)	37 (100%)
Total	75 (50.68%)	27 (18.24%)	46 (31.08%)	148 (100%)

Chi-square value = 12.26, df =4, Table value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant.

According to the analysis 50.68% of the Services category is not moved in their ideology of *dharma* and *karma* due to the erosion of their social status. The rest are swinging; either stated that they do not uphold the ideology (18.24%) or undisclosed what is in their mind (31.08%). (Table 5.12.2)

So a sizable portion of the group has been affected in their ideology due to the status change it is to be indirectly concluded.

The analysis clearly discloses the impact of social status on medium and high loss groups. 47.92% of the medium and 48.65% of the high loss groups only upholds the ideology of *dharma* and *karma* while the corresponding faction in the low loss group is 73.33%. The remaining portion of the respective groups divide themselves among those who have abandoned the ideology or reluctant to reveal their present ideological stand.

The analysis supports the hypothesis that status loss created corresponding impact on the religious ideology. The statistical analysis seen (Table No 5.12.2) duly exhibits the significant relationship between the variables.

5.12.3 Loss of Social Status and Change in the Ideology of *Dharma* and *Karma* of Different Religious Subdivisions.

Another analysis was conducted to discern the relationship between social status loss and change in the ideology of Ordinary Brahmins. The Table No. 5.12.3 presents the analysis

Table No. 5.12.3
Impact of Social Status Loss on the Ideology of *Dharma* and *Karma* of Ordinary Brahmins

Social Status Loss	Uphold faith in the Ideology	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	17 (77.27%)	1 (4.55%)	4 (18.18%)	22 (100%)
Medium Loss	58 (46.77%)	26 (20.97%)	40 (32.26%)	124 (100%)
High Loss	35 (53.85%)	2 (3.08%)	28 (43.08%)	65 (100%)
Total	110 (52.13%)	29 (13.74%)	72 (34.12%)	211 (100%)

Chi-square value 18.12, df =4, Table value 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant.

Analysis (5.12.3) clearly indicates the significant relationship between the variables. The social status loss deeply influenced the loss of the ideology of the medium loss group. 53.23% of the respondents have no faith in the ideology now.

It is interesting to note that 43.08% do not comment on their present condition relating to the ideology. The social status of Brahmins was determined by the religious supremacy they possessed earlier. When their social status deteriorated it resulted in corresponding changes in the ideologies.

5.13. Loss of Status and Change in the Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*

Another principle that the Brahmins are expected to adhere to is the one relating to *Kama* and *Moksha*. *Kama* is a desire to world by matters. It may be a passion for anything including sex. *Moksha* is the state of union with the ultimate reality or *Brahmam*. According to Hindu philosophy until one is relieved of *Kama* he/she will not unite with the *Brahmam*, instead cycles

of births and deaths continue in different manifest forms. The life as a human being is the most appropriate stage to liberate oneself from *Kama* and enter into *Moksha*.

In this study enquires were made into the impact of status loss on the ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*. As in the previous cases the three components of status loss were separately correlated with the change in the ideology of different sociological segments. The analyses on those segments which reveal significant association under three components of status loss are given in the discussion part of the analyses.

PATTERN OF ANALYSES

Diagram No 5.13
Relationship between Status Loss and the Ideology of Kama and Moksha.

Background Variables		Status Loss	Land Loss	Economic Status Loss	Social Status Loss	Status of Analyses
Sex	Male		√			Not reported
	Female		√	√	√	Reported
Age	Lower Age		√			Not reported
	Upper Age					Not reported
Education	Primary					Not reported
	Secondary		√	√		Not reported
	College					Not reported
Income	Up to Rs 6000					Not reported
	Rs 6000-9000		√	√	√	Reported
	Above Rs 9000					Not reported
Occupation	Religious Occupations					Not reported
	Service Category		√	√		Not reported
	Agriculture/self Employment					Not reported
Religious Duty	Othikoan/Vadhiyar					Not reported
	Thantri					Not reported
	No Special Duty		√			Not reported

5.13.1 Loss of Land and Change in the Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*

Analysis conducted to find out the association between land loss and the change in ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha* is given Table No. 5.13.1

Table No: 5.13.1

Loss of Land and Changes in the Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*

Land Loss in percentage to the	Upholds faith in the Ideology	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss (,50%)	27 (41.54%)	6 (9.23%)	32 (49.23%)	65 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	23 (41.82%)	13 (23.64%)	19 (34.55%)	55 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	90 (50.00%)	13 (7.22%)	77 (42.78%)	180 (100%)
Total	140 (46.66%)	32 (10.66%)	128 (42.66%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 13.38, df =4, Table value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant.

The analysis shows that 46.66% of the respondents uphold the faith in the ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*. 10.66 % of the respondents are not adhering to the ideology and 42.66% of the respondents refused to reveal their present position.

We cannot consider that those who refuse to reveal their present position as a response affirming their faith in the ideology but it may be considered in the other way round. If that is the case in the situation it is to be concluded that 53.34% are affected in their ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha* as a consequence of their loss of land.

Regarding the change in the ideology of different groups who faced land loss to different extents it is seen that the loss of faith among the low and medium loss groups is higher than that of the high land loss group. The nature of association is not in tune with the central thesis of the study.

However, the analysis indicates that Land Loss and ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha* are associated.

5.13.2 Loss of Land and Changes in the Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha* of Income Groups.

Another set of analyses were conducted to bring out the impact of land loss on the ideology of different income groups.

Among different income groups medium income group showed association between the variable under the three components of status loss.

Table No. 5.13.2
Loss of Land and the Changes in the Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha* of Medium Income Group.

Land Loss in Percentage	Upholds faith in the Ideology	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	21 (51.22%)	4 (9.76%)	16 (39.02%)	41 (100%)
Medium Loss	11 (32.35%)	10 (29.41%)	13 (38.24%)	34 (100%)
High Loss	43 (43.00%)	7 (7.00%)	28 (50.00%)	100 (100%)
Total	75 (42.85%)	21 (12.00%)	79 (45.14%)	175 (100%)

Chi-square Value = 13.61. d = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant

The analysis reveals that 42.85% only of the income category upholds the philosophy of *Kama* and *Moksha*. The rest 57.15% have either detached from the philosophy or do not reveal their position. 12% have expressed that they have lost faith in the principle.

The impact of land loss on the ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha* is serious among medium loss and high loss groups. 32.35% and 43 % respectively of the medium and low loss groups responded that they still follow the principle. 51.22% of the low loss group also come under the category by thus showing that the shaken base of religious philosophy is more faced by the higher loss groups.

5.13.3 Impact of Land Loss on the Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha* of Different Occupational Groups.

Among the occupational groups those engaged in the service sector complied with the criterion for including in the report. The analysis relating to them is given in Table 5.13.3

Table No. 5.13.3
Impact of Land Loss on the Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha* of Service Category

Land Loss in percentage their original holding	Upholds faith in the Ideology	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	9 (30%)	3 (10%)	18 (60%)	30 (100%)
Medium Loss	12 (36.36%)	9 (27.27%)	12 (36.36%)	33 (100%)
High Loss	43 (50.59%)	7 (8.24%)	35 (41.18%)	85 (100%)
Total	64 (43.24%)	19 (12.84%)	65 (49.92%)	148 (100%)

Chi-square value = 11.93, df =4, Table value = 9.488, P≤ 0.05

The association is significant.

The analysis reveals that 43.24% of the respondents only subscribe their faith to the philosophy. Others (56.76%) divide among 'lost faith' group (12.84%) and 'unwilling to reveal their mind' group (49.92%). It is very interesting that the highest portion comes under the last category. It is to be presumed that the response is a manipulated form of indicating faith loss. So it is to be concluded that the status loss has eroded the ideological base of the community.

5.14 Loss of Economic Status and Changes in the Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*

To discern the impact of Economic Status loss on the ideology of '*Kama*' and '*Moksha*' an analysis was conducted. The details of the analysis are given in Table 5.14

Table 5.14
Loss of Economic Status and Changes in the Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*.

Economic Status Loss	Upholds faith in the Ideology	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	26 (56.82%)	9 (20.45%)	10 (22.73%)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss	71 (43.29%)	16 (9.76%)	77 (46.95%)	164 (100%)
High Loss	44 (47.83%)	7 (7.61%)	41 (44.57%)	92 (100%)
Total	140 (46.66%)	32 (10.66%)	128 (42.66%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 11.17, df=4 Table value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant.

The analysis shows, highest portion (46.66%) of the respondents follow the ideology even after they faced with an economic decline. 42.66% of the respondents conveniently state that they do not want to react to the issue. Regarding change in the status and loss of ideology (Table 5.14) it is seen that those who lost their economic status to the medium level have faced with greater faith loss. While 56.82% of the low loss and 47.83% of the high low group uphold their traditional faith of *Kama* and *Moksha* the group among the medium loss category is 43.29% only. So we are to conclude that the economic crisis created by the decline in their dominance has adversely affected their religious ideologies.

5.14.1 Loss of Economic Status and the Changes in the Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha* of different Income Categories.

During the secondary analysis two intervening variables revealed their influences on the relationship between the economic status loss and ideology change. These variables related analyses are given in Table 5.14.1 and 5.14.2.

**Table No; 5.14.1
Impact of Economic Status Loss on the Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha* of Middle Income Group.**

Economic Status Loss	Upholds faith in the Ideology	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	14 (60.87%)	5 (21.74%)	4 (17.39%)	23 (100%)
Medium Loss	38 (38%)	13 (13%)	49 (49%)	100 (100%)
High Loss	23 (44.23%)	3 (5.77%)	26 (50%)	52 (100%)
Total	75 (42.85%)	21 (12%)	79 (45.15%)	175 (100%)

Chi-square value = 10.42, df = 4, Table value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant.

Among the income groups the middle income category showed its influence under the three components of the analysis. It is seen that 42.85% of the category only stick on to the belief system. The rest 57.15% either have lost their faith in the principle or do not want to reveal what is their stand now. So it is to be concluded that the economic status loss has shaken their belief system.

Coming to the pattern of faith loss of the different economic status groups, the medium loss group has experienced it more. (Table 5.14.1) A

possible interpretation for this pattern has already been given in previous analysis of similar types.

5.14.2 Loss of Economic Status and Changes in Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha* of Different Occupational Categories.

Another Analysis was conducted to bring out the relationship between economic status loss and loss of ideology of Service Sector. Table No. 5.14.2 presents the analysis.

Table 5.14.2
Impact of Economic Status Loss on the Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha* of Service Sector.

Economic Status Loss	Upholds faith in the Ideology	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	12 (42.86%)	8 (28.57%)	8 (28.57%)	28 (100%)
Medium Loss	35 (41.67%)	7 (8.33%)	42 (50%)	84 (100%)
High Loss	17 (47.22%)	4 (11.11%)	15 (41.67%)	36 (100%)
Total	64 (43.25%)	19 (12.83%)	65 (43.92%)	148 (100%)

Chi-square value = 9.24, df= 4, Table value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant.

The analysis in Table 5.14.2 indicates that 43.25% only upholds their faith in the ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*. 43.92% gave no answer to the query and 12.83% straight away answered that they have lost their faith in the religious ideology. Definitely, there is perceptible impact of the status loss on the ideology of the group.

The analysis further shows that medium loss group is more deviated from the ideology. It shows lowest percentage (41.67%) under the faith upholding group and highest percentage (50%) under no response group. It is clear that medium status loss group experiences more changes in their ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*.

5.15 Loss of Social status and change in the Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*

In this study another set of enquiries were made to assess the impact of the third component of social status loss (Self assessed social status loss) on the ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*. The details of the analysis are given in Table No. 5.15

Table No. 5.15
Loss of Social Status and Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*.

Social Status Loss	Uphold faith in the Ideology	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	27 (61.36%)	6 (13.64%)	11 (25%)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss	72 (42.86%)	21 (12.50%)	75 (44.64%)	168 (100%)
High Loss	41 (46.59%)	5 (5.68%)	42 (47.73%)	88 (100%)
Total	140 (46.67%)	32 (10.67%)	128 (42.67%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 9.40, df= 4, Table value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant.

The analysis discloses the fact that 46.67% of the respondents uphold faith in the ideology. 10.67% have lost faith in the ideology and remaining 42.67% did not respond to the query. The results adduce adequate support

to the conclusion that the status loss has created shift in the traditional faith of *Kama* and *Moksha*.

Another notable result is that the medium loss group's faith has undergone severe change. 42.86% only uphold faith in the ideology. The highest portion (47.73%) of High loss group belongs to 'No response' group. These results indicate the relation between the social status loss and the ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*. The relation between these variables is significant according to the statistical test applied. So the analysis tends to conclude that social status loss created a change in the ideological base of Brahmin community in Malabar.

5.14.1 Loss of Social Status and Changes in the Ideology of Income Group

Another set of analyses to test the impact of social status loss on the religious ideologies of different income groups were conducted. Table No. 5.15.1 shows the analysis of data relating to medium income group. The other income groups did not qualify the criterion for inclusion in the report.

Table 5.15.1

Loss of Social Status and Change in the Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha* of Medium Income Group.

Social Status Loss	Upholds faith in the Ideology	Not upholding the Ideology	No Response	Total
Low loss	18 (64.29%)	4 (14.29%)	6 (21.43%)	28 (100%)
Medium Loss	38 (38.38%)	15 (15.15%)	46 (46.46%)	99 (100%)
High Loss	19 (39.58%)	2 (4.17%)	27 (56.25%)	48 (100%)
Total	75 (42.86%)	21 (12%)	79 (45.15%)	175 (100%)

Chi-square value = 11.82, df= 4, Table value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant.

42.86% of the respondents have not detached from the ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*. 12% straightly revealed that they have lost their faith in the principle and the rest (45.15%) did not reveal their mind. So it can be concluded that the status loss has affected their religious ideology perceptibly.

The Medium loss group is affected deeply and registered lowest (38.38%) percentage under the faith upholding group. The corresponding segments in the case of the low loss and high loss groups are respectively 64.29% and 39.58%. The results indicate that the loss of status has lesser impact on the ideology of the low loss group and severe impact on the medium and high loss groups; slightly higher impact was made on the medium loss group.

SUMMARY

This chapter discusses the impact of status loss on the ideology of the community. The status loss was assessed by using three components, namely, land loss, loss of economic status measured in terms of a self ascribed score and loss of social status measured in the same way as pointed out above in the case of economic status loss. The ideologies considered for impact measurement were Rebirth, Purity & Pollution, Dharma and Karma and *Kama* and *Moksha*. The analyses revealed that all the status loss components have tempted to abandon the ideologies, supporting the central thesis of the research. The impact is higher on those who have faced with high loss of status. Among the different social categories the shift in the ideology due to the impact of status loss is greater in the case of middle income group and those who constitute the Service Sector.

CHAPTER VI

IMPACT OF STATUS LOSS ON RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

In this chapter an attempt is made to study the effect of loss of status of *Nampoothiries* on their religious practices.

As everybody knows, it was the intellectual supremacy of the community that helped secure prime position in the society with regard to social status and material possessions. The land lords in the province were, by and large, *Nampoothiries*.

From early sixties there occurred bickering in the relation between the land lords and tenants. The payment of rent by the tenants became irregular and the land lords could not enforce the payment because the socio-political power attached to them became lean. The establishment of the communist government in 1957 was a bolt from the blue on landlordism in the state. In the power transactions between the lords and the tenants the government supported the latter in general. There were cunning lords too who smelt the rat and terminated the tenancy and began to cultivate the land through hired labour.

In 1969 the government passed the Landlordism Abolition Bill and the Act was implemented in 1971. The *Nampoothiries* is generally became poverty stricken lot. During the days of prosperity the community had been leading fastidious life. Religious practices were fabulously followed for which

resources were lavishly spent. However, after the erosion of the glorious past they had to constrain their fares and festivities connected with religion. In this chapter we are analyzing the impact of the status loss on the practices, namely, *upanayanam* (initiation to *vedic* studies), *Vivaham* (marriage) and *samskaram* (cremation). These practices will be analysed against the three components of status loss, namely, land loss, economic status loss and social status loss (self evaluated in terms of scores by the respondents). Those social parameters which reveal relationship with the depended variables in all the three above components are only included in the discussion.

6.1 The Status Loss and the practice of *Upanayanam*

A Brahmin male member must follow sixteen religious ceremonies called *Shodasa-kriyakal*. The *upanayanam* is the most important religious ceremony and until performance of this the boy will not get the status of the *dwijas* twice-born. It initiates a Brahmin boy to *vedic* studies and enables him to take part in other religious rites. In this ceremony the boy is ornamented with the sacred thread. This sacred thread is made of three thin threads spine together. It is worn over the left shoulder and loosely kept under the right arm with both ends tied together. The thread is blessed by chanting "*Gayathri*" over it and sprinkling holy water by *acharya* (teacher).

By the wearing of the thread the boy is called *Brahmachari* (unmarried religious student). During this time he is taught to pronounce the sacred

mantras and learn some *vedic* text. The *Brahmachari* is spending most of his time with the '*Guru*' (religious preceptor) in his (*Guru's*) house and observing certain restriction on food and daily activities.

This long ritual of conferring the status of *Brahmanan* consists of four stage of studying *veda*. Generally it took more than three years to complete. It is called *Anduvrutham* (an year long rite). The major *anduvrutham* are

- 1) ***Mahanamneevrutham***: A year long process of studying *vedam* by chanting it under strict guidance.
- 2) ***Mahaavrutham***: studying *Brahmanam* and *Aranyakam* through chanting under the guidance of *guru*.
- 3) ***Upanishad vrutham***: Time for studying major *Upanishads*
- 4) ***Godanam***: Rites as part of thanks – giving to the *Acharya* (teacher)

After the completion of these four stages a boy enter into next stage called *Samavarthanam*. The rituals connected with *Upanayanam* are quiet long and expensive.

In this study an enquiry was made to assess, whether there occurred any changes in the practices connected with *Upanayanam* consequent upon the changes occurred in the status of Brahmin community. It has been seen that there is drastic reduction occurred in the practice to save both time and material resources. Analyses have been conducted to find out association, if

any, existing between the status change and changes brought about in the ritual performances.

PATTERN OF ANALYSES

Diagram No 6.1
Relationship between Status Loss and the Practice of *Upanayanam*

Background Variables		Status Loss	Land Loss	Economic Status Loss	Social Status Loss	Status of Analyses
Sex	Male	✓	✓	✓	✓	Reported
	Female					Not reported
Age	Lower Age				✓	Not reported
	Upper Age	✓	✓	✓	✓	Reported
Education	Primary					Not reported
	Secondary	✓				Not reported
	College					Not reported
Income	Up to Rs 6000				✓	Not reported
	Rs 6000-9000					Not reported
	Above Rs 9000					Not reported
Occupation	Religious Occupations				✓	Not reported
	Service Category					Not reported
	Agriculture/self Employment					Not reported
Religious Duty	Othikoan/Vadhiyar					Not reported
	Thantri			✓		Not reported
	No Special Duty	✓			✓	Not reported

6.1.1 Loss of Land and Change in the practice of *Upanayanam*.

The relationship between land loss and change in the practice of *Upanayanam* is shown in Table 6.1.1.

Table 6.1.1
Loss of Land and change in the Practice of *Upanayanam*

Land Loss (in percentage to the original Holding)	Reduced to one day (High change)	Reduced to Four days (Medium change)	Cut short to vacation time (Low change)	Total
Low Loss (<50%)	27 (41.53%)	24 (26.92%)	14 (21.53%)	65 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	20 (36.36%)	16 (29.09%)	19 (34.54%)	55 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	70 (38.88%)	84 (46.66%)	26 (14.44%)	180 (100%)
Total	117 (39.00%)	124 (41.34%)	59 (19.67%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 12.55, df = 4, Table Value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The analysis in Table 6.1.1 reveals that 41.34% (highest portion) reduced minimum three years long *upanayanam* ceremonies to four days. 39% reduced to mere one day and 19.67% percent cut short them to convenient time.

The analysis indicates that the community has reduced the pomp and show of the practice and reduced them to a mere ritualistic level. Of course, we cannot say that the status loss is the sole reason for the change. However, the land loss is one of the factors which necessitated the reduction. Let us take the high land loss group. Within this group only 14.44% conduct the ceremonies connected with *upanayanam* in an elaborate manner during

vacation of their children. 46.66% conduct it in 4 days and 38.88% did it in an insignificant manner, confining the whole thing to a single day. On a consolidation of the results it can be concluded that the extend of land loss and the change in the practice are positively associated.

The analysis further reveals that the extent of loss and the extent of change in the practice are related.

In this study the relationship between the variables in respect of the categories, namely, age, sex, education, income, occupation was analyzed. The analyses were separately considering the three components of status loss, i.e. that is, land loss, economic status loss and social status loss. Analysis in respect of those sociological categories which showed association between the variables under the three components are only included in the report. This selective reporting was adopted since association between the variables is certain when the three analyses give positive results. Simultaneously the volume of analyses will be reduced.

6.1.2 Loss of Land and Change in *Upanayanam* Ceremonies.

Analyses were conducted to find out the association between the variables in respect of different age categories, namely, low age group, medium age group and old age group. Of these analyses the one is respect of old age category qualified the condition fixed for inclusion in the report. The details of the analysis are given in Table 6.1.2

Table 6.1.2
Loss of Land and Changes in *Upanayanam* Ceremonies of Old Age Group

Land Loss (in percentage to the original holding)	Reduced to single day (High Change)	Reduced to Four days (Medium Change)	Cut short to vacation time(Low Change)	Total
Low Loss (<50%)	8 (26.66%)	14 (46.66%)	8 (26.66%)	30 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	6 (23.07%)	8 (30.76%)	12 (46.15%)	26 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	36 (39.13%)	42 (45.66%)	14 (15.21%)	92 (100%)
Total	50 (33.79%)	64 (43.24%)	34 (22.98%)	148 (100%)

Chi-square value = 11.92, df = 4, Table Value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The analysis reveals that 33.79% of the respondents reduced the *upanayanam* ceremonies to a single day and 43.24% to four days and 22.98 % (according the convenience of the family and the child concerned). This statistics show that 78.02% of the respondents have reduced the ceremonies to one/four days. It is to be remembered that in the past the ceremony was conducted with much gaiety stretching out to many days. So we may conclude that the loss of socio economic status is one of the reasons for this change in the religious practice.

Further this analysis supports the proposition that the extent of land loss and reduction the religious practices is related. Among the high loss respondents 39.13% reduced the ceremonies connected with *upanayanam* to a single day. Another significant fact that is to be highlighted is that 46.15% of medium loss group cut short their festivities connected with the

ritual to suit their convenience. The results indicate that land loss and reduction in the religious practice are associated.

6.1.3 Impact of Land Loss on the Practice of *Upanayanam* of Male Headed households.

The relationship between land loss and changes in the practice of *upanayanam* in respect of male and female categories was analysed. The analyses indicate that the relationship between the variables exists only in the case of male head households. The details of the analysis are shown in Table 6.1.3.

Table No: 6.1.3

Impact of Land Loss on the Practice of *Upanayanam* of Male Headed Households.

Land Loss (in percentage to the original holding)	Reduced to one day (High change)	Reduced to Four days (Medium change)	Cut short to vacation time (Low change)	Total
Low Loss (<50%)	20 (40%)	19 (38%)	11 (22%)	50 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	14 (34.14%)	13 (31.70%)	14 (34.14%)	41 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	52 (36.87%)	70 (49.64%)	19 (13.47%)	141 (100%)
Total	86 (37.07%)	102 (43.96%)	44 (18.97%)	232 (100%)s

Chi-square value = 12.55, df = 4, Table Value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant

The analysis shows that the largest segment 43.96% reduced the ceremonies to four days. 37.07% of respondents reduced *upanayanam* to a mere single day and the remaining portion (18.97%) confined the ceremonies to convenient period of vacations.

The analysis support the view that land loss and reduction in the religious practices are associated. Only 18.97% conduct the ceremony in an elaborate manner but selecting convenient time. Majority have reduced the ceremonies considerably.

6.2 Loss of Economic Status and Change in the Practice of *Upanayanam*

The study also enquired into whether the economic status loss and reduction in the ceremonies related to *Upanayanam* are associated. Table 6.2 gives details of the analysis.

Table 6.2
Loss of Economic Status and change in the conduct of *Upanayanam*

Economic status loss	Reduced to one day (High change)	Reduced to Four days (Medium change)	Cut short to Vacation time (Low change)	Total
Low Loss	13 (29.54%)	27 (61.36%)	4 (9.09%)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss	72 (43.90%)	58 (35.36%)	34 (20.73%)	164 (100%)
High Loss	32 (34.78%)	39 (42.39%)	21 (22.82%)	92 (100%)
Total	117 (39%)	124 (41.34%)	59 (19.67%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 11.22, df = 4, Table Value = 9.488, P ≤ 0.05
The association is significant

Analysis reveals that the largest portion 41.34% of the respondents reduced the ceremonies to four days and 39% reduced to a single day and remaining 19.67% made changes to suit their convenience.

The impact of economic status loss is clearly visible in the conduct of the ceremonies related to *upanayanam*. It is seen that higher proportions of the higher loss groups have reduced the ceremonies to a single day. While 29.54% of the low loss group reduced the celebrations to a single day 43.90% of the medium loss and 34.78% of the high loss group follow suit. It is to be noticed that 61.36% of the low loss confined the ceremonies to four days. Among them there who conduct the ceremonies according to their convenience is a meager portion of 9.04%. When we consolidate the results we can conclude that the relationship between economic status loss and style of conducting the practices are associated.

6.2.1 Loss of Economic Status and change in *Upanayanam* ceremonies of Gender categories.

The study further enquired into the type of relationship existing between the variable in male / female categories. Association between the variable was revealed in the case of the male category. The details of the analysis are shown in Table 6.2.1.

**Table 6.2.1
Loss of Economic Status and Change in *Upanayanam* Ceremonies of Male Headed Household**

Economic Status Loss	Reduced to one day (High change)	Reduced to Four days (Medium change)	Cut short to vacation time (Low change)	Total
Low Loss	9 (26.47%)	23 (67.64%)	2 (5.88%)	34 (100%)
Medium Loss	51 (40.15%)	50 (39.37%)	26 (20.47%)	127 (100%)
High Loss	26 (36.61%)	29 (40.84%)	16 (22.53%)	71 (100%)
Total	86 (37.06%)	102 (43.97%)	44 (18.97%)	232 (100%)

Chi-square value = 10.16, df = 4, Table Value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The analysis shows that 43.97% of respondents reduced *upanayanam* ceremonies to four days. 37.06 percentage reduced to a single day and remaining 18.97 cut short the practice to suit their circumstances.

In terms of the present index of socio economic status loss, when analysis was conducted similar results that of 6.1 are obtained. That is, 81.03% of the respondents reduced the ceremonies to one/four days (78.02% was the corresponding figure in the analysis 6.1, land loss). In term

of this index too the status loss and ceremonies reduction are proved to be associated.

Regarding relationship between extent of economic status loss and ceremonies reduction, almost similar results as in the case of analysis 6.1 (extent of land loss and ceremonies reduction) are revealed. Higher portions of the high loss groups cut short the ceremonies related to *upanayanam*. Majority of the low loss group (67.64%) have reduced the celebrations to four days. Around 40% each of the medium and high loss groups also come under the category of those who have reduced the ceremonies to four days. On the whole, the results are in tune with the central hypothesis of the investigation.

6.2.2 Loss of Economic Status and Changes in *Upanayanam* of Old Age group.

In this study an enquiry was conducted to reveal the relationship between Economic status loss and the change in the practices of age structures. The enquiry reveals that old age group exhibits positive association between different status loss and the dependent variable. Other age groups did not qualify the criterion for inclusion in the text of the report. Table no 6 2.2 shows the details.

Table No. 6.2.2
Economic Status Loss and Changes in *Upanayanam* of Old Age Group.

Economic Status Loss	Reduced to one day (High change)	Reduced to Four days (Medium change)	Cut short to vacation time (Low change)	Total
Low Loss	5 (27.77%)	13 (72.22%)	0 (0%)	18 (100%)
Medium Loss	33 (37.50%)	31 (35.22%)	24 (27.27%)	88 (100%)
High Loss	12 (28.57%)	20 (47.61%)	10 (23.80%)	42 (100%)
Total	50 (33.78%)	64. (43.25%)	34 (22.97%)	148 (100%)

Chi-square value = 10.74, df = 4, Table Value = 9.488, P ≤ 0.05
The association is significant

The analysis of data clearly exposes the relation between the variables. The association between the variables supports the core postulate of the study. That is, the status loss created corresponding changes in the religious practices of the community.

The major segment 43.25% of the respondents reduced the prolonged rituals of *upanayanam* to four days. 33.78% reduced them to one day and remaining 22.97% introduced changes according to their convenience.

Analysis further shows that the medium Loss group has more reduced their celebrations. 37.50% of them reduced to one day and 35.22% to four days. The portions of the low loss and high loss groups under the category are respectively 27.77% and 28.57%.

Another projecting feature of the results is that no one in the low loss group has reduced the ceremonies according to their conveniences. Further

72.22% of the group celebrates the ritual in four days. All these results imply that the lower loss category is more committedly observes *upanayanam*.

6.3 Loss of Social Status and changes in *Upanayanam*

Another set of analyses were carried out to find out the impact of social status loss on the religious practice of *upanayanam*. The details of the primary analysis are given in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3
Loss of Social Status and Change in *Upanayanam*

Social Status Loss	Reduced to one day (High change)	Reduced to Four days (Medium change)	Cut short to vacation time (Low change)	Total
Low Loss	17 (38.63%)	25 (56.81%)	2 (4.54%)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss	70 (41.66%)	62 (36.90%)	36 (21.42%)	168 (100%)
High Loss	30 (34.09%)	37 (42.04%)	21 (23.86%)	88 (100%)
Total	117 (29%)	124 (41.34%)	59 (19.67%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 10.39, df = 4, Table Value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The analysis indicates that 41.34% of respondents reduced the ceremonies to four days and 39%, to a single day. The remaining portion (19.67%) cut short the religious ceremonies to suit their conveniences.

The analysis by taking the social status loss component also reveals that, the loss is associated with the reduction in the ceremonies connected with the religious practice of *upanayanam*.

The extent of status loss and reduction in the celebrations are associated, the analysis reveals. Relatively the proportions that have reduced the ceremonies to one day are greater among the medium loss group (41.66%). Majority of the low loss group (56.81%) reduced the observances to four days. A lesser portion (38.63%) of the low loss group reduced the ceremonies to one day. So on a consolidation of the findings it is to be pointed out that the constraints of status loss is seen in the pomp and show shown with the religious practice of *upanayanam*.

6.3.1 Loss of Social Status and Changes in the Practice of *Upanayanam* of Gender Categories

This study made further analysis of collected data to identify the nature of impact of social status loss on the religious practice of *Upanayanam* of male/female group. The analysis reveals that the loss and the behaviour of conducting *upananyanam* in the families headed by male members are associated. Table 6.3.1 shows the analysis.

Table No. 6.3.1
Loss of Social Status and Changes in the Practice of *Upanayanam* of Male Group

Economic Status Loss	Reduced to one day (High change)	Reduced to Four days (Medium change)	Cut short to vacation time (Low change)	Total
Low Loss	12 (35.29%)	21 (61.76%)	1 (2.94%)	34 (100%)
Medium Loss	51 (39.84%)	52 (40.62%)	25 (19.53%)	128 (100%)
High Loss	23 (32.85%)	29 (41.41%)	18 (25.71%)	70 (100%)
Total	86 (37.07%)	102 (43.97%)	44 (18.97%)	232 (100%)

Chi-square value = 9.82, df = 4, Table Value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

43.97% of the male headed households have reduced their observances connected with *upanayanam* to four days. 37.07% reduced to a single day and 18.97%, cut short to suit their conveniences.

The analysis further shows that the loss and change in the observances in connection with the ritual are more intimately related in the case of the medium loss group. 39.84% of the group reduced the rituals to a single day. The corresponding figures in the case of the low loss and high loss are respectively 35.29% and 32.85%.

6.3.2 Loss of Social Status and Changes in *Upanayanam* of Old Age Group.

The following analysis reveals relation between the loss social status and the behaviour of conducting *upanayanam* in old age Group. Table 6.3.2 shows the analysis.

Table No: 6.3.2
Loss of Social Status and Changes in the *Upanayanam* of Old Age Group

Social Status Loss	Reduced to one day (High change)	Reduced to Four days (Medium change)	Cut short to vacation time (Low change)	Total
Low Loss	13 (41.93%)	16 (51.66%)	2 (6.45%)	31 (100%)
Medium Loss	26 (33.76%)	27 (35.06%)	24 (31.16%)	77 (100%)
High Loss	11 (27.50%)	21 (52.50%)	8 (20.00%)	40 (100%)
Total	50 (33.78%)	64 (43.25%)	34 (22.97%)	148 (100%)

Chi-square value = 9.65, df = 4, Table Value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The preposition of those who reduced the celebrations to one day decreases as we pass from low loss to high loss through medium loss. This some what contradictory to our expectations further the behaviour of the low and high loss groups under the category of reduced to four days is similar. Another important result is that the proportion of those who have reduced the ceremonies to suit their conveniences is higher from the medium loss and high loss group.

6.4 Reasons for Changing the Practice of *Upanayanam*.

Investigations were carried out to delineate the reasons for pruning the practice of *upanayanam*. The respondents have given various reasons. For the sake of effective analysis of the data the reasons are group

Under three heads, namely, religious reasons (lack of faith in the ritual, lack of getting proper guidance to conduct the ritual), economic reasons (deteriorated economic condition, expensiveness of the performance) and social reasons (occupational inconveniences, feeling of uselessness)

The relationship between the extend of loss of socio-economic status (measured using three indices) and the reasons was found out using chi-square test. The details of the analyses are given in table 6.4.1, 6.4.2 and 6.4.3.

6.4.1 Loss of Land and Reasons for the Changing the Practice of *Upanayanam*.

The association between the extents of loss of land reasons for changing the practice of *upanayanam* is establish in the analysis shown in Table No.6.4.1

Table 6.4.1
Loss of Land and Reasons for Changing the Ceremonies of
***Upanayanam*.**

Land Loss (in percentage to Original Holding)	Religious Reasons	Social Reasons	Economic Reasons	Total
Low Loss (<50%)	14 (21.53%)	29 (33.84%)	22 (33.84%)	65 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	7 (12.72%)	20 (36.36%)	28 (50.90%)	55 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	54 (30.00%)	66 (36.66%)	60 (33.33%)	180 (100%)
Total	75 (25%)	115 (38.34%)	110 (36.67%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 10.01, df = 4, Table Value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The analysis (6.4.1) shows 38.34% of the respondents have changed the practice due to social reason. They have to attend to their occupation that feed them and their family. Earlier they were not engaged in outside employment. So they got plenty of time to conduct the practices in whatever elaborate manner. Moreover, they are not very obstinate regarding the spiritual gains of such practices. Their educational attainment and rationality prompt them to think about the pay-off of such practices.

36.67% revealed that they are forced to reduce the ceremonies on account of their impoverishment and the expenses of the ceremonies. Only 25% cited religious reasons for reducing the ceremonies. They believe that competent performers are absent to guide the rituals and they have no faith in quacks who lead the ceremonies for securing cash benefits.

When we put together the results of earlier analyses (6.1, 6.3 and 6.4) we see that they are mutually reinforcing. In the first set of analyses we have

seen that the status loss and extent of reduction in the performances are associated. In 6.4, 75% state that their adverse economic and social conditions influencing them to reduce the performance.

A comparison of the reason stated by the different status groups reveals that the highest portions of low and high loss groups stated social reasons for reducing the extent of the performances (44.61% and 36.66%) respectively. Majority of the medium loss group (50.90%) cited economic reasons for cutting short the performances.

6.4.2 Loss of Economic Status and Reasons for the Change.

Another enquiry was made to bring out the relationship between economic status loss and reasons for changing the practices of *upanayanam*. The analysis given in table no.6.4.2 shows the details.

**Table No: 6.4.2
Loss of Economic Status and Reason for the Changes**

Economic Status Loss	Religious reasons	Social Reasons	Economic Reasons	Total
Low Loss	10 (22.72%)	23 (52.27%)	11 (25%)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss	47 (28.65%)	63 (38.41%)	54 (32.92%)	164 (100%)
High Loss	18 (19.56%)	29 (31.52%)	45 (48.91%)	92 (100%)
Total	75 (25%)	115 (38.34%)	110 (36.67%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 10.01, df = 4, Table Value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The extent of economic status loss and reasons for the changes are associated. Low and medium economic loss groups cited prominently social

reasons for reducing the performances of the ritual (52.27% and 38.41% respectively). In the case of the high loss group the major reason is economic problems. The low and medium loss group may not be finding it difficult because they have that much resource with them to spend on such religious practices. But social constraints are coming on their way. The high loss group may be finding it difficult to make both ends meet with. Then how they can spend lavishly on the rituals?

6.4.3 Loss of Social Status and Reasons for the Changing the Practices

The study further enquired into whether the social status loss and changes in the rituals are associated. Table No. 6.4.3 shows the details of the analysis.

Table 6.4.3
Loss of Social Status and Reasons for the Changes

Social Status Loss	Religious Reasons	Social Reasons	Economic Reasons	Total
Low Loss	13 (29.54%)	25 (56.81%)	06 (13.63%)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss	39 (23.21%)	61 (36.30%)	68 (40.47%)	164 (100%)
High Loss	23 (26.13%)	29 (32.95%)	36 (40.90%)	92 (100%)
Total	75 (25%)	115 (38.34%)	110 (36.67%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 12.86, df = 4, Table Value = 9.488, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The analysis shows majority (56.81%) of the low loss category have social reasons for detaching themselves from elaborate celebrations of

Upanayanam rituals. Economic reasons are predominant among medium and high loss categories. (40.47% and 40.90% respectively). The low loss group may be having economic resources to spend for such rituals but their present situations may not be allowing them to conduct such rituals which take months together for their completion. In the case of medium and high loss group economic recessions may be the major confronting factors in the elaborate celebration of the rituals.

6.5 Status Loss and Changes in the Practice of Marriage.

In this study another enquiry was made to bring out the impact of status loss on the practice of marriage followed by the community.

Usually the marriage ceremonies of the community last for four days. The ceremonies start with a feast at the bride grooms residence. It is called *ayanioonu*, (meal before the journey). The groom with his relatives and friends goes to the bride's house where he is received with *arpu* and *kurava* (Sound produced in ovation by men and women respectively) by the bride's father in the courtyard of his house and requests him formally to accept his daughter in marriage. He carries with him clothes for his bride and articles for *homa*.

The first rite is *udakapurvakam* pouring of water into grooms hands by the bride with chanting the mantra "*Sahadrarmam Charata*" – please led a life partnership. According to custom, the moment the first drop of water falls

into the groom's hands the girl becomes his wife and her ties with her parents are severed.

Panigrahanam is the next important ceremony. The groom accepts the girl as his life partner and holds her hand, with permission of *Bhaga*, *Aryama*, *Savita* and *Brihaspathi* as the goddesses of *garhapatyam* (householder's life). Unlike among other Southern Brahmin communities the *talikettu* is done by the girl's father. Then she is sent out fully veiled with a *manthracodi* (off-white dhoti).

Mukhadarsanam (seeing face to face) is an important rite. The bride and the groom on this occasion see each other for the first time in their life.

Saptapadam after the conclusion of the *homa* rites the husband helps the wife to take seven steps to lead a virtuous married life.

Another important ceremony is *Grihapravesam* (home coming). Women are assembled in the courtyard of the grooms' house and the bride is led in and seated before the family deity.

According to *Rigveda*, a girl on her marriage is the exclusive 'property' of *Soma*, *Gandharva*, and *Agni* for the first three days. During these days she comes out in the morning and evening to take part in the marriage ritual. *Sekam* (consummation) takes place on the fourth day. The fire installed on the first homecoming ritual is kept burning until the death of the husband whose funeral must be lit from this fire.

In this study the respondents were asked whether they have changed the traditional practices of marriage. The responses were analysed as shown in Table 6.5.1. It is seen in the analysis that only 22.34% of them follow the traditional practices and the major hunk of them (77.66%) do not follow the traditional way of solemnizing marriage. This analysis indicates that the marriage practices of the community have been changed.

PATTERN OF ANALYSES

Diagram No 6.5
Relationship between Status Loss and the
Practice of *Marriage*

Background Variables		Status Loss	Land Loss	Economic Status Loss	Social Status Loss	Status of Analyses
Sex	Male	✓	✓	✓	✓	Reported
	Female					Not reported
Age	Lower Age		✓	✓	✓	Not reported
	Upper Age	✓				Not reported
Education	Primary	✓	✓			Not reported
	Secondary	✓				Not reported
	College					Not reported
Income	Up to Rs 6000					Not reported
	Rs 6000-9000	✓	✓	✓	✓	Reported
	Above Rs 9000					Not reported
Occupation	Religious Occupations	✓	✓			Not reported
	Service Category				✓	Not reported
	Agriculture/self Employment					Not reported
Religious Duty	Othikoan/Vadhiyar					Not reported
	Thantri	✓				Not reported
	No Special Duty	✓	✓	✓	✓	Reported

6.5.1 Land Loss and Changes in the Marriage Practices of the Community.

Further analysis about the land loss and the changes occurred in the marriage practices was carried out as shown in Table No. 6.5.1

**Table 6.5.1
Loss of Land and Changes in the Marriage Practices of the Community.**

Land Loss (in percentage to original holding)	Practices are not much changed	Very much changed	Total
Low Loss (<50%)	20 (30.76%)	45 (69.23%)	65 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	4 (7.27%)	51 (92.72%)	55 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	43 (23.88%)	137 (76.11%)	180 (100%)
Total	67 (22.34%)	233 (76.66%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 10.12, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The impact of land loss on the practices is clearly visible in the analysis. It is seen that the impact is maximum on the medium loss group. In the case of low loss group there occurred very much in the practices of 69.23% of the group. The figure in respect of the high loss group is 76.11%. But the case of medium loss group the correspondent figure is 92.72%. So it is evident that land loss affected the practices very much and the impact is maximum in the middle loss group.

6.5.2 Loss of Land and Changes in the Practice of Marriage of Male Headed Family.

Again this study enquired into the association between the status loss and change in the practice of conducting marriages in respect of the sociological categories.

The present analysis was conducted to find out the impact of Land loss on the practices of male and female headed families. Only analysis relating to male headed families showed association between the variables.

Table given below (Table 6.5.2) shows the details of the analysis

Table 6.5.2
Loss of Land and Changes in the Practice of Marriage of Male Headed Family

Land Loss (in percentage to original holding)	Practices are not much changed	Very much changed	Total
Low Loss (<50%)	16 (32%)	34 (68%)	50 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	4 (9.75%)	37 (90.24%)	41 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	35 (24.82%)	106 (75.17%)	141 (100%)
Total	55 (23.70%)	177 (76.30%)	232 (100%)

Chi-square value = 6.42, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, P ≤ 0.05
The association is significant

The analysis in the table shows, in the case of 76.30% of the families the practices connected with marriages is very much changed. The rest (23.70%) still continue the traditional practices of marriage. The low loss group has less (32%) changed the practices. Medium loss group (90.24%)

changed the practices very much. The test statistics confirms the relation between the variables.

6.5.3 Land Loss and Changes in Marriage Practices of Income Groups.

To enquire into the impact of Land Loss on changes in marriage practices among different income group analyses were carried out (Table 6.5.3). The medium income group revealed association between the three components of status loss and marriage practices. Table No. 6.5.3 shows details of analysis of medium income group.

Table No: 6.5.3
Loss of Land and Changes in Marriage Practices of Medium Income Group.

Land Loss (in percentage to original holding)	Practices are not much changed	Very much changed	Total
Low Loss (<50%)	14 (34.14%)	27 (65.85%)	41 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	1 (2.94%)	33 (97.05%)	34 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	24 (24%)	76 (76%)	100 (100%)
Total	39 (22.28%)	136 (77.73%)	175 (100%)

Chi-square value = 10.85, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant

The analysis shows that majority (77.73%) of the respondents are not following their marriage practices that the community followed earlier.

Further the analysis to establish relation between the variable reveals that, between the Low loss and higher loss groups there is a systematic pattern in the relationship between the variables. The low loss group has

lesser changed the practices. In the case of the medium loss group such comparison is not possible. It is seen that 2.94% only still stick on to the earlier marriage practices and the rest 97.06% have introduced changes in the practices to suit their present situations.

6.5.4 Loss of Land and Changes in the Practice of Marriage of Different Denominations

In this study the religious duty performed by the respondents was considered as a background variable. They are categorized as *Othikkoan*, *Vaidhikkan*, *Thanthri* and Ordinary Brahmins.

Othikkoan teaches Vedas to the younger generation. *Thantri* is head priest who consecrates idols. Majority of Brahmins do not belong to these categories and they are ordinary Brahmins with no special religious duties. The data collected relating to the changes in the practices and ceremonies related marriage was analysed to find out the relationship between the variables under consideration. It was seen that association between the three components of socio-economic Status loss, namely, land loss, economic status loss and social status loss and changes in the practices was revealed in the case of the ordinary Brahmins. Table No. 6.5.4 shows the relationship between land loss and changes in marriage ceremonies of ordinary Brahmins.

Table No: 6. 5.4

Loss of Land and Changes in Marriage Practices of Ordinary Brahmins

Land Loss (in percentage to original holding)	Practices are not much changed	Very much changed	Total
Low Loss (<50%)	13 (27.08%)	35 (72.91%)	48 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	1 (2.85%)	34 (97.14%)	35 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	27 (21.09%)	101 (78.90%)	128 (100%)
Total	41 (19.44%)	170 (80.57%)	211 (100%)

Chi-square value = 8.17, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant

The analysis shows that 27.08% of the low loss group is still now observing the traditional ceremonies and practices. In the case of the other two groups the corresponding figure is respectively 2.85% and 21.09%. The other fractions of the respective groups have accepted changes in the ceremonies and practices. So if we set apart the middle loss group it can be concluded that the changes in the practices are more among the high loss group and the result is in tune with the central postulate of the study.

6.6 Loss of Economic Status and Changes in the Practices of Marriage

In accordance with the general pattern of analysis followed in the study a series of analyses was carried out to find out the relationship between the economic status loss (in terms of self assessed scores) and changes in the ceremonies and practices relating to marriage in respect of the various categories. Table No. 6.6 shows the master analysis.

Table 6.6
Loss of Economic Status and Changes in the Marriage Ceremonies

Economic Status Loss	Practices are not much changed	Very much changed	Total
Low Loss	18 (40.90%)	26 (59.09%)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss	35 (21.34)	129 (78.65%)	164 (100%)
High Loss	14 (15.21%)	78 (84.78%)	92 (100%)
Total	67 (22.34%)	233 (76.66%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 11.54, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The analysis shows that the economic status loss created changes in the practices and ceremonies of marriage. Table 7.6 shows that 40.90% of the low loss group 21.34% of the medium loss group and 15.21% of high loss group only stick on to the traditional ceremonies and practices of marriage. The rest of the groups have changed the style of marriage considerably. The results show that the extent of change in the status and practices are associated, the higher the loss the greater the change.

6.6.1 Loss of Economic Status and Changes in the Practices of Marriage of the Male and Female Headed Families

Another enquiry was made to find out the impact of economic status loss on the practices of marriage of male and female headed families of the community. Only male category shows association between the variables under all the components of the status loss. Table No. 6.6.1 shows the details of analysis.

Table No. 6.6.1
Loss of Economic Status and Changes in Marriage Practices of Male Headed Families

Economic Status Loss	Practices are not much changed	Very much changed	Total
Low Loss	15 (44.11%)	9 (55.88%)	34 (100%)
Medium Loss	29 (22.83)	98 (77.16%)	127 (100%)
High Loss	11 (15.49%)	60 (84.50%)	71 (100%)
Total	55 (23.71%)	177 (76.29%)	232 (100%)

Chi-square value = 10.54, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The analysis shows that majority of (76.29%) the respondents have changed their practices. The relation between the status loss and change in practices is highly systematic. Low loss group has lesser changed (44.11%) and high loss group greater (84.50%) changed the practices. The medium group comes in between the other groups.

6.6.2 Loss of Economic Status and Changes in the Practice of Marriage of the Income Groups.

Again the study enquired about the impact of economic status loss on the practices related to marriage of different income categories. Association between the variables is confirmed in the case of medium income group on the basis of criterion followed. Table 6.6.2 shows the relation between the economic status loss and changes in the practices of marriage of the medium income group.

The analysis reveals that 77.71% of the income group has changed their marriage practices according to their conveniences. The rest (22.29%) still follow the traditional celebrations and ceremonies of marriages of the community.

Table 6.6.2
Loss of Economic Status and the Changes in Practice of Marriage of Medium Income Group

Economic Status Loss	Practices are not much changed	Very much changed	Total
Low Loss	10 (43.47%)	13 (56.52%)	23 (100%)
Medium Loss	20 (20.00%)	80 (80.00%)	100 (100%)
High Loss	9 (17.30%)	43 (82.69%)	52 (100%)
Total	39 (22.29%)	136 (77.71%)	175 (100%)

Chi-square value = 7.02, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The results of the analysis indicate that 43.47% of the low loss group, 20% of the medium loss group and 17.30% of the high loss group only observe the traditional practices and ceremonies of marriage. The rest of the categories have changed the ceremonies and observances of marriages according to their present economic status.

6.6.3 Loss of Economic Status and Changes in the Marriage Practices of Different Denominations

This study further enquired about the impact of economic status loss on different denominations of Brahmins, namely, *Othikoan* (teacher) *Vaidhikan* (Head priests) *Vadayar* (Priests) and ordinary Brahmins. These categories are based on religious duties performed. The ordinary Brahmins have no specific religious duty.

When enquires about the association between the status loss (Economic) and changes in the practices were carried out relating to the different denomination it was seen that the ordinary Brahmins only qualified the criterion for inclusion in the report (Association between the variables under the three components of status loss). Table No. 6.6.3 shows the details of the analysis in respect of the ordinary Brahmin.

The analysis shows that an overwhelming majority (80.50%) have changed their style of conducting marriages. However, 19.43% still stick on to tradition in this matter.

Table 6.6.3
Loss of Economic Status and Changes in the Practice of
Marriage of the Ordinary Brahmin

Economic Status Loss	Practices are not much changed	Very much changed	Total
Low Loss	11 (40.74%)	16 (59.25%)	27 (100%)
Medium Loss	22 (18.96%)	94 (81.03%)	116 (100%)
High Loss	08 (11.76%)	60 (88.23%)	68 (100%)
Total	41 (19.43%)	170 (80.57%)	211 (100%)

Chi-square value = 10.41, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, P ≤ 0.05
The association is significant

The analysis further shows that the loss and practices are very intimately associated.

Among the low loss group 4.74% uphold the tradition. The corresponding figures in respect of the medium and high loss groups are respectively 18.96% and 11.76%. That is, as the loss increases the retention of the traditional approach in conducting marriages is severely missed.

6.7 Loss of Social Status and Changes in the Practices of Marriage Ceremonies

The third component of status loss (social status loss self assessed in terms of scores) was considered for analysis in this context too.

Table No. 6.7 shows the details of analysis.

Table 6.7

Loss of Social Status and Changes in the Practice of Marriage Ceremonies

Social Status Loss	Practices are not much changed	Very much changed	Total
Low Loss	21 (47.72%)	23 (52.27%)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss	32 (19.04%)	136 (80.95%)	168 (100%)
High Loss	14 (15.90%)	74 (84.09%)	88 (100%)
Total	67 (22.34%)	233 (76.67%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 19.50, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The analysis in undisputed terms indicates that the ceremonies have been considerably changed. 77.67% stated that they have introduced sea change in the ceremonies as they are to suit the present situation including the loss of status. However, it is seen that 22.34% are still following the traditional ceremonies of the institution of marriage.

Coming to the association between the variables there is sufficient support for the proposition that the status loss is associated with the changes in the ceremonies. Those who have suffered high status loss have changed the ceremonies to suit their present condition. The low status loss group is more sticking on to the tradition. Medium loss group come in between the two groups.

6.7.1 Loss of Social Status and Changes in the Ceremonies of Marriage of Male Headed Families.

This study further analysed the impact of social status loss on male and female headed families. The former category satisfied the criterion for selection of the results. Table No.6.7.1 shows the details of analysis.

Table 6.7.1
Loss of Social Status and Changes in the Practice of Marriage of Male Headed Families.

Social Status Loss	Practices are not much changed	Very much changed	Total
Low Loss	17 (50.00%)	17 (50.00%)	34 (100%)
Medium Loss	26 (20.31)	102 (79.68%)	128 (100%)
High Loss	12 (17.14%)	58 (82.85%)	70 (100%)
Total	55 (23.71%)	177 (76.29%)	232 (100%)

Chi-square value = 15.48, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The analysis reveals the fact that majority (76.29%) of the male head families have changes their practices. Only 23.71% of the samples stick on to the traditional practices associated with marriages. The change in the practice and loss of social status are associated. Between the dichotomous responses that there have been occurred much changes in the marriage ceremonies and not occurred much changes, majority of all the categories fall under the former response. 50% of the low loss group, 79.68% of the medium loss group and 82.85% of the high loss group reduced the practices and ceremonies.

Changes in practice are increasing steadily from low loss to high loss groups. The analysis provides enough support to the major postulate of the study.

6.7.2 Loss of Social Status and Changes in the Ceremonies and Practices of Marriage of Income Groups.

This study further enquired into the impact of social status loss on the practices of marriage of different income categories, namely, low income group, medium income group and high income group. Among these categories medium income group shows association between the variables under all the three components of the status loss. Table 6.7.2 gives the details of the analysis.

**Table 6.7.2
Loss of Social Status and Changes in the Practices of Marriage of Medium Income Group**

Social Status Loss	Practices are not much changed	Very much changed	Total
Low Loss	14 (50.00%)	14 (50.00%)	28 (100%)
Medium Loss	16 (16.16%)	83 (83.83%)	99 (100%)
High Loss	9 (18.75%)	39 (81.25%)	48 (100%)
Total	39 (22.28%)	136 (77.72%)	175 (100%)

Chi-square value = 14.90, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The analysis shows 77.22% of respondents changed their marriage practices and the rest (22.28%) not. The social status loss and the change in marriage practices are associated positively.

The table shows that 50% of the low loss group, 83.83% of the medium loss group and 81.25% of the high loss group have considerably changed the ceremonies and practices related marriages. As revealed by the test statistic there is clear association between the variables.

6.7.3 Loss of Social Status and Changes in Marriage Ceremonies of Ordinary Brahmins

The impact of social status loss on marriage ceremonies among the different sections within the community was analysed. The association between the variables of the ordinary Brahmins was seen to be significant under the three components of status loss considered. Hence the association is discussed in analysis 6.7.3

Table 6.7.3
Loss of Social Status and Changes in the Practices of Marriage Ceremonies of Ordinary Brahmins

Social Status Loss	Practices are not much changed	Very much changed	Total
Low Loss	11 (50.00%)	11 (50.00%)	22 (100%)
Medium Loss	22 (17.74%)	102 (82.25%)	124 (100%)
High Loss	08 (12.30%)	57 (87.69%)	65 (100%)
Total	41 (19.44%)	170 (80.56%)	211 (100%)

Chi-square value = 15.47, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

50% each of the loss group fall under the categories of those who have changed the ceremonies and not changed them. In the case of the medium loss group only 17.74% stick on to the traditional festivities

connected with marriages. In the case of the high loss group those who follow the conventional practices are still lesser (12.30%). That is there is association between the extent of change in the status and change in the practices.

6.8 Loss of Status and Nature of Changes Introduced in Practice of Marriage Ceremonies.

In this study enquiry was carried out as to what all major changes have been occurred in the practices related to marriage as a result of the change in the status of the community.

The changes introduced are, confining the whole ceremonies to a single day. Analysis of the collected data reveals that 46.67% of the respondents have reduced the whole programme to one day instead of the usual four days celebrations. 19.67% cut short the details of the rituals, 6% omitted unnecessary rituals and 5.34% reduced the rituals only to show others. 22.33% are still now observing the conventional practices related to marriage ceremony. So we may say that the community is primarily concerned about saving time and resources by reducing the detailed edition of Brahmin marriage to a short one containing the whole thing in one day. Traditionally, the members of the community are seldom engaged themselves in any sort of outside occupation and they had sufficient material resources. Now the changed status of the community members compels

them to take up gainful vocation and as such they have no much time to spare for prolonged religious practices. Similarly, they could spend lavishly to conduct marriages prolonging to any number of days during their glorious days. Now their resources are the income from their vocation. Naturally, the implication of the analysis is that their status loss is one of the major reasons for the changes, introduced in the marriage ceremonies.

The changes occurred were analysed against under the three components of status change, namely land loss, economic status decline and social status loss. Each of these analyses is presented in the ensuing three sections.

6.8.1 Loss of Land and Nature of Changes in the Marriage Practices

Present analysis explains the relation between land loss and nature of changes in the practice of marriage. Table No. 6.8.1 shows the details of analysis.

Table No. 6.8.1
Land Loss and Nature of Changes in the Marriage Ceremonies.

Land loss (in percentage to original holding)	Reduced to one day programme	Cut short rituals	Omitted rituals	Performance only for to show others	Not applicable	Total
Low Loss (<50%)	27 (41.53%)	10 (15.38%)	3 (4.61%)	5 (7.69%)	20 (30.76%)	65 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	24 (43.63%)	18 (32.72%)	6 (10.90%)	8 (5.45%)	4 (7.27%)	55 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	89 (49.44%)	31 (17.22%)	9 (5.00%)	8 (4.44%)	43 (23.88%)	180 (100%)
Total	140 (46.67%)	59 (19.67%)	18 (6.00%)	16 (5.34%)	67 (22.33%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 18.21, df = 8, Table Value = 15.507, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The analysis shows relation between land loss and types of changes in the practices. The major segments of all the land loss categories come under those who have confined the marriage ceremonies to a single day. Under this section we can observe a pattern. That is, the higher the land loss, the greater the change introduced. 41.53%, 43.63% and 49.44% respectively of the low land loss, medium land loss and high land loss groups fall under the category. These findings also support our central proposition.

6.8.2 Loss of Economic Status and Nature of Changes in the Practice of Marriage

Another analysis was carried out to assess the association between the loss of economic status of and nature of changes in the practices. Table No. 6.8.2 shows the details.

Table No. 6.8.2
Economic Status Loss and Nature of Changes in the Practice of Marriage

Economic Status Loss	Reduced to one day programme	Cut short rituals	Omitted rituals	Performance only for to show others	Not applicable	Total
Low Loss	13 (29.54%)	9 (20.45%)	2 (4.54%)	2 (4.54%)	18 (40.90%)	11 (100%)
Medium Loss	80 (48.78%)	27 (16.46%)	12 (7.31%)	10 (6.09%)	35 (21.34%)	164 (100%)
High Loss	47 (51.08%)	23 (25.00%)	4 (4.34%)	4 (4.34%)	4 (15.21%)	92 (100%)
Total	140 (46.67%)	59 (19.67%)	10 (3.33%)	16 (5.34%)	67 (22.33%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 15.91, df = 8, Table Value = 15.507, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant

The analysis shows that Economic status loss and nature of changes in the marriage practices are related. As in the case of the previous analysis (Table no: 6.8.1) the pattern is the higher the economic status loss the greater the tendency to reduce the festivities.

6.8.3 Loss of Social Status Loss and Nature of Changes in the Practices of Marriage.

Another analysis was conducted to identify the relation between social status loss and nature of changes in the practices related to marriage. Table 6.8.3 shows the details.

Table 6.8.3

Loss of Social Status and Nature of Changes in the Practices of Marriage

Social Status Loss	Reduced to one day programme	Cut short rituals	Omitted rituals	Performance only for to show others	Not applicable	Total
Low Loss	17 (38.63%)	2 (4.54%)	3 (6.81%)	1 (2.27%)	21 (47.72%)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss	71 (42.26%)	42 (25%)	11 (6.54%)	12 (7.14%)	32 (19.04%)	168 (100%)
High Loss	52 (59.09%)	15 (17.04%)	4 (4.54%)	3 (3.40%)	14 (15.90%)	88 (100%)
Total	140 (46.67%)	59 (19.66%)	18 (6%)	16 (5.34%)	67 (22.34%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 30.07, df = 8, Table Value = 15.507, $P \leq 0.05$
 The association is significant

The analysis further shows the social status loss and nature of changes in marriage practices are associated. The major change as reported by the respondents is the reduction of days of celebration of marriage to a single day. The low loss group is smaller in proportion (38.63%) than the medium loss group (42.26%) and the high loss group (59.09%) in the category. The pattern discernible in the analysis goes in tune with the primary hypothesis of the study, the greater the loss the greater the changes in the marriage practices.

6.9 Status Loss and Major Reason for the Changes in the Practice of Marriage

The study further about, enquired what are the major reasons for the changes in the practice associated with the marriage of the community. The analyses are explained below:

6.9.1 Land Loss and Major Reason for the Changes in Marriage Practice

The analysis focused on the land loss and the major reasons for the changes in the marriage practice. Table 6.9.1 shows changes in marriage practice.

Table 6.9.1

Land Loss and Reasons for the Changes in Marriage Practice.

Land loss (in percentage to original holding)	Economic Burden/ expense	Occupational system	Time factor	Lack of interest and knowledge	Not applicable	Total
Low Loss <50%	21 (32.30%)	11 (16.92%)	8 (12.30%)	5 (7.69)	20 (30.76%)	65 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	21 (38.18%)	17 (30.90)	8 (14.54%)	5 (9.09%)	4 (7.27%)	55 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	54 (30%)	28 (15.55%)	19 (10.55%)	36 (20.00%)	43 (23.88)	180 (100%)
Total	96 (32%)	56 (18.67%)	35 (11.67%)	46 (15.34)	67 (22.34%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 21.23, df = 8, Table Value = 15.507, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The analysis reveals that higher portions (32%) of the respondents have the opinion that 'Economic Burden' and expense for days long rituals forced the members to reduce the practices into single day. 18.67% have opinion that modern occupation is the cause of the changes. 11.67% told that 'Time' is the costly, the speed of modern world is not suitable for long rituals and remaining 11.67 told lack of interest and knowledge in rituals and practices may be the reason.

The study also enquired whether the loss of land influenced the changes in the practice. The relation between the variables exhibits positive association and hence the conclusion is that the loss of land created corresponding changes in the practice.

6.9.2 Economic Status Loss and Major Reasons for the Changes in the Practice of Marriage

Again the study enquired in to relation between economic status loss and the reason for the changes in the practice of marriage Table No: 6.9.2 shows the details of the analysis.

Table No. 6.9.2
Economic Status Loss and Reasons for the Changes in the Practice of Marriage.

Economic Status Loss	Economic Burden/ expense	Occupational system	Time factor	Lack of interest and knowledge	Not applicable	Total
Low Loss	5 (11.36%)	7 (15.90%)	2 (4.54%)	12 (27.27%)	18. (40.90)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss	58 (35.36%)	28 (17.07%)	21 (12.80%)	22 (13.41%)	35 (21.34%)	164 (100%)
High Loss	33 (35.86%)	21 (22.86%)	12 (13.04%)	12 (13.04%)	14 (15.21%)	92 (100%)
Total	96 (32%)	56 (18.67%)	35 (11.67%)	46 (15.34)	67 (22.34%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 24.13, df = 8, Table Value = 15.507, P ≤ 0.05
 The association is significant

Economic status loss and reasons for the changes of marriage ceremony is related. The analysis shows that the higher portion (32% of respondents) that economic burden is the major cause for the changes in the practice. Low loss group is less affected (11.36%) and high loss group is affected to the maximum extent (35.86%).

6.9.3 Social Status Loss and Reasons for the Changes in the Practice of Marriage

The relationship between social status loss and the major reasons for the changes occurred in the practice of marriage was also analysed in the study. Table no 6.9.3 give the details of analysis.

Table No. 6.9.3
Social Status Loss and Reasons for the Changes in the Practice of Marriage

Social Status Loss	Economic Burden/ expense	Occupational system	Time factor	Lack of interest and knowledge	Not applicable	Total
Low Loss	12 (27.27%)	5 (11.36%)	4 (9.09%)	2 (4.54)	21 (47.72%)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss	58 (34.52%)	33 (19.64%)	19 (11.30%)	26 (15.47%)	32 (19.04%)	168 (100%)
High Loss	26 (29.54%)	18 (20.45%)	12 (13.63%)	18 (20.45%)	14 (15.90%)	88 (100%)
Total	96 (32%)	56 (18.67%)	35 (11.67%)	46 (15.34)	67 (22.34%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 22.86, df = 8, Table Value = 15.507, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

New occupational system is the second (18.67%) reason for the change. Time factor (11.37%) and lack of interest and knowledge in rites (15.33%) are the third and fourth reasons respectively.

The analysis further enquired about the relationship between the variables (Status Loss and Change). Low loss group is least changed in the matter (47.72%). The medium loss group shows higher change in (34.52%) the practice due to economic reasons. Low and High Social status loss groups show less change in the practices due to economic reasons. The analysis shows positive association between the variables.

6.10 Religious Practices Related to Death

The rituals related to death are considered to be very important. *Moksha* is the ultimate aim of human living on the earth and death is the threshold to enter eternity. However, death by itself is not sufficient for the

salvation of the soul. Instead, good deeds during life time and the completion of the sacrament related to death by the progeny are necessary. So the observances by sons and grand sons are considered by the community as unavoidable.

Just before the death, the body is being laid on the floor which is carpeted by sand and *dharbha* (a variety of grass). Spiritual hymns are recited in the ear of the dying person in order to spiritualise him at the time of death. Water (holy *Ganga* water if possible) is poured into the mouth of the person by his/her close relatives. After the confirmation of death step by step rituals prescribed in the *Chadangupusthakam* are conducted in accordance with the tradition of the sect.

The funeral pyre is arranged in north-south corner of the courtyard using logs of mango tree. Several rituals are to follow before and after lighting the pyre. After the cremation purification bath is taken by the members of the team who conducted the ceremonies. It is called *udakakriya*. First ten days are observed as *pula* (pollution) for all family members. On the 11th day sons and grand sons perform *pindam* and the daughters *bali*. Next is *Deeksha* (penance) period. It is flexible, may be opted for 12 days, 41 days or even one year. *Sapindi* is the next ritual which includes the process of integrating the inner soul to God Vishnu's abode. *Deeksha Veedal* means the process of closing the death ceremonies. *Sradham* is next step

performed by the sons and grand sons on the death anniversary day every year.

In this section the analyses relate to the changes that are occurred in the death ceremonies. The changes have been analysed in relation to the changes occurred in the socio-economic status of the respondents. Analyses stated above were conducted in respect of all the Sociological categories. But those analyses relating to the categories which revealed relationship between the variables under the three components of status loss are only included in this report.

The following diagram represents the pattern of analyses.

PATTERN OF ANALYSES

**Diagram No 6.10
Relationship between Status Loss and the
Practices of Death Ceremonies**

Background Variables		Status Loss	Land Loss	Economic Status Loss	Social Status Loss	Status of Analyses
Sex	Male			√		Not reported
	Female	√		√	√	Reported
Age	Lower Age					Not reported
	Upper Age	√		√	√	Reported
Education	Primary					Not reported
	Secondary					Not reported
	College			√		Not reported
Income	Up to Rs 6000					Not reported
	Rs 6000-9000					Not reported
	Above Rs 9000			√		Not reported
Occupation	Religious Occupations					Not reported
	Service Category				√	Not reported
	Agriculture/self Employment					Not reported
Religious Duty	Othikoan/Vadhiyar					Not reported
	Thantri					Not reported
	No Special Duty	√				Not reported

6.10.1 The Loss of Status and Death Ceremonies

Our presumption on the basis of which the analyses are attempted is that the decline in the status of the community is associated with the change in the religious practices. Analysis (Table 6.10.2) indicates that 91% of the respondents are resorting to conducting the death ceremonies at a stretch instead of spreading them over in one year or even more. Informal enquiries revealed that present economic status is not permitting to incur such huge expenses for the purpose. Further, now many of them are securing a life by attending to outside employment and it is practically difficult to detach them from their employment situation for such longer time.

Another 9% are not considering the ceremonies as religiously significant. So they do not observe any practice related to death. The dead body is disposed off giving due respect to the dead as an individual. So the practices have undergone sea changes.

The study enquired into the impact of the status loss on the changes in the practices by taking the three components of status loss separately and conducting statistical analyses. The analyses are show in the following sections.

6.10.2 Loss of Land and Death Ceremonies

The study enquired into the impact of land loss on the practice of death ceremonies. Table no. 6.10.2 provides the details of the analysis.

Table No 6.10.2
Impact of Land Loss on the Practice of Death Ceremonies

Land loss (in percentage to original holding)	Conducted all ceremonies	Do not conduct death ceremonies	Total
Low Loss (<50%)	64 (98.46%)	1 (1.53%)	65 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	52 (94.54%)	3 (5.45%)	55 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	157 (87.22%)	23 (12.77%)	180 (100%)
Total	273 (91%)	27 (9 %)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 8.40, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The analysis shows that an overwhelming majority (91%) of respondent conducts all death ceremonies but at a stretch only 9% of respondents do not conduct the ceremonies.

Further the analysis reveals the relation between land loss and change in the ceremonies. 98.46% of the low land loss group conducts death ceremonies. In the case of the medium loss group the figure gets reduced to 94.54% and in the case of high loss group the figure still gets reduced to 87.22%. The remaining portion of the respective groups does not observe death ceremonies. Thus the analysis reveals that the higher the land loss the lesser the interest to observe death ceremonies. Again analysis carried out to assess the impact of the loss on the practices of different sociological groups revealed that in the case of two groups, namely, old age group and females, the association is very strong.

6.10.3 Loss of Land and Change in the Practice of Death Ceremonies of Old Age Group.

The analysis which enquired into the nature of relationship between land loss and change in the practices connected with death is given Table 6.10.3.

Table 6.10.3
Land Loss and Changes in Practices of Death Ceremonies of Old Age Group.

Land loss (in percentage to original holding)	Followed ceremonies related to Death	Do not conducted ceremonies related to Death	Total
Low Loss <50%	30 (100%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	25 (96.15%)	1 (3.84%)	26 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	79 (85.86%)	13 (14.13%)	92 (100%)
Total	134 (90.55%)	14 (9.45%)	148 (100%)

Chi-square value = 6.44, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The analysis shows that majority (90.55%) of the respondents conduct death ceremonies but at a stretch and 9.45% do not conduct them at all. Further analysis reveals that all of the low loss groups is particular to conduct the ceremonies. In the case of the medium and high loss groups 96.15% and 85.86% respectively carry out their spiritual responsibilities to their predecessors. This reveals that the extent of the loss and changes in the practices are associated. That is the lesser the loss the greater the practices followed.

6.10.4 Land Loss and Changes in Observances Relating to Death of Female Headed Families.

Analyses were conducted to reveal the differences if any, in the observances relating to death due male-female break-up. Association between the variables exists only in the case of female. Table No. 6.10.4 shows the details of analysis.

Table 6.10.4
Land Loss and changes in the Practice Relating to Death of Female Headed Families.

Land loss (in percentage to original holding)	Followed ceremonies related to Death	Do not conducted ceremonies related to Death	Total
Low Loss (<50%)	15 (100%)	0 (0%)	15 (100%)
Medium Loss (50-75%)	13 (92.86%)	1 (7.14%)	14 (100%)
High Loss (75% and above)	32 (82.05%)	7 (17.95%)	39 (100%)
Total	60 (88.24%)	8 (11.76%)	68 (100%)

Chi-square value = 6.75, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

Here 88.24% of the females conduct death ceremonies and 11.76% are not interested in the matter. The analysis gives valid evidence for the relationship between the variables. 100% of low loss group conducted all ceremonies while 82.05% of the high loss group conducts them for the benefit of their dead relatives. Hence the results support the central proposition of the study.

6.11 Loss of Economic Status and Death Ceremony

Similar analyses were conducted to reveal the impact of economic status loss on the death ceremonies being conducted by the community members. Table No. 6.11 shows the details of the analysis.

Table No: 6.11
Loss of Economic Status and Changes in the Death Ceremony

Economic Status Loss	Followed Ceremonies related to Death	Do not conduct Ceremonies related to Death	Total
Low Loss	38 (86.36%)	6 (13.23%)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss	145 (88.41%)	19 (11.58%)	164 (100%)
High Loss	90 (97.82%)	2 (2.17%)	92. (100%)
Total	273 (91%)	27 (9%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 7.73, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The results obtained in the analysis were very similar to those of the previous section (Table 6.11). Only a meager portion (9%) do not take care in conducting the religious prescription. 91% attend to the prescribed practices but the significance of the result is that the practices are done in 'package' manner at a stretch. They are to be conducted within one year in a spread out manner. This is, in fact, a prominent change in the practices brought about by the changes in the status loss of the community.

Further the analysis relating to the relationship between the variables shows that they are related. The dichotomy between conducting and not conducting is associated with the status loss. The higher the loss the lesser the practice being adhered to.

6.11.1 Loss of Economic Status and Changes in the Practices Relating to Death of Old age group.

Another analysis was made out to establish the relation between economic status loss and change in the practice relating to death among old age group. Table No. 6.11.1 present the analysis.

**Table 6.11.1
Loss of Economic Status and Change in the Death Ceremony among Old Age Group**

Economic Status Loss	Conduct all ceremonies related to Death	Do not conduct ceremonies related to death	Total
Low Loss	17 (95.45%)	1 (5.56%)	18 (100%)
Medium Loss	77 (87.50%)	11 (12.50%)	88 (100%)
High Loss	40 (95.24%)	2 (4.76%)	42 (100%)
Total	134 (90.55%)	14 (9.45%)	148 (100%)

Chi-square value = 6.42, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

Among the old age group 90.55% conduct the ceremonies and remaining 9.45% do not conduct them. The analysis further shows the

impact of economic status loss on the practices relating to death. The medium status loss distinguishes itself among those who are not interested in conducting the rites of the death. Among the other groups around 5% only fall under this category.

6.11.2 Loss of Economic Status and Changes in Practices Relating to Death of Female Headed Families.

Analysis on the relationship between the variables in respect of female and male head families revealed that the association is significant in the case of the former category. Table No. 6.11.2 shows the details.

**Table No. 6.11.2
Loss of Economic Status and Changes in the Practice of Death Ceremony of Female Headed Families.**

Economic Status Loss	Conducted all ceremonies related to Death	Do not conduct ceremonies related to death	Total
Low Loss	10 (100%)	0 (0.00%)	10 (100%)
Medium Loss	30 (81.08%)	7 (18.91%)	37 (100%)
High Loss	20 (95.24%)	1 (4.76%)	21 (100%)
Total	60 (88.23%)	8 (11.77%)	68 (100%)

Chi-square value = 7.59, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The analysis shows that 88.23% of the female headed families conduct death ceremonies and the rest do not. Regarding the relationship

between the status loss and change in the ceremonies, the analysis indicates that the medium loss group is more affected by the change in the status. 18.91% of the do not conduct death ceremonies. The corresponding figure in respect high loss group is 4.76%. None of the low loss group comes under the category.

6.12 Loss of Social Status and Changes in the Death Ceremonies.

Following the usual pattern of analysis, probing was carried to find out the relationship if any existing between the social status loss and change in the religious practices relating to situation of death. The usual results with slight fluctuations here and there were obtained. Table No. 6.12 shows details of the analysis.

Table No. 6.12
Loss of Social Status and Practice of Death Ceremony

Social Status Loss	Conduct death ceremonies together	Do not conduct death ceremonies	Total
Low Loss	45 (95.45%)	2 (.4.54%)	44 (100%)
Medium Loss	146 (86.90%)	22 (13.09%)	168 (100%)
High Loss	85 (96.59%)	3 (3.40%)	88 (100%)
Total	273 (91%)	27 (9%)	300 (100%)

Chi-square value = 7.87, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The analysis reveals that 91% conduct death ceremonies and only 9% do not conduct them. Analysis further shows the relation between the variables, loss of social status created impact on the religious practices. Medium loss group is more affected by the loss and shows 13.09% of them

do not conduct the ceremonies while the corresponding figures in respect of this low and high loss groups are 4.50% and 3.40% respectively.

6.12.1 Loss of Social Status and Changes in the Death Ceremony Among Old Age group

Among the age groups association between the status loss and change in the death ceremonies was revealed only in the case of old age group. The details of the association are shown in table No 6.12.1.

**Table 6.12.1
Social Status Loss and Changes in the Death Ceremony Among Old Age Group**

Social Status Loss	Conduct Death ceremonies together	Do not conduct death ceremonies	Total
Low Loss	30 (96.77%)	1 (3.22%)	31 (100%)
Medium Loss	65 (84.41%)	12 (15.58%)	77 (100%)
High Loss	39 (97.50%)	1 (2.50%)	40 (100%)
Total	134 (90.55%)	14 (9.45%)	148 (100%)

Chi-square value = 7.05, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The analysis reveals that majority (90.55%) of the respondents conducts death ceremonies and a small portion only 9.45 percent does not conduct the ceremonies.

Further, the analysis shows that the social status loss adversely affected the practices most in the case of the medium loss group. 15.58% of the group is not bothered to conduct the ceremonies.

6.12.2 Social Status Loss and Observances of Death Ceremony among Female Headed Families.

Sex wise analysis of the relationship between the variables identified that the relationship exist in the case of the female heads of households. Analyses 6.12.2 reflects the details of the analysis.

**Table No: 6.12.2
Loss of Social Status and Changes in the Death Ceremonies of Female Headed Families.**

Social Status Loss	Conduct Death ceremony together	Do not conducted death ceremonies	Total
Low Loss	10 (100%)	0 (0%)	10 (100%)
Medium Loss	32 (80.00%)	8 (20.00%)	40 (100%)
High Loss	18 (100%)	0 (0.00%)	18 (100%)
Total	60 (88.24%)	8 (11.76%)	68 (100%)

Chi-square value = 6.34, df = 2, Table Value = 5.991, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant

The analysis shows that those who conduct the ceremonies are slightly lower than the category among age groups. Here 88.24% observe the traditional prescriptions and 11.76% do not. The analysis also reveals

that the medium loss group is highly affected in this matter. 20% of the group is disinterested in conducting the ceremonies. It is also to be noted that none from the other two groups falls under the category of non observers of death ceremonies.

Summary:

In this chapter enquiries were conducted about the impact of the status loss of the community on its religious practices. The results show that the decline in the status has affected the religious practices of the community. The members of the community have modified the practices to suit their present socio-economic conditions. The impact is more prominent on medium status loss group. The probable reason for the result was explained in the chapter on ideological change created by the status loss (Chapter V).

CHAPTER VII

THE NEW FACE OF THE COMMUNITY

The analysis of literature related to the socio-economic background of the community, the case analysis given in chapter VIII and the first hand information of the researcher (being a member of the community) reveal in undisputed terms that the Community had a very glorious past, particularly before the implementation of the land reforms in Kerala.

The analyses contained in the thesis and the sources cited in the previous paragraphs portray the down fall of the community's glorious past to the painful present.

Now this chapter discusses analyses which reveal the present conditions of the community. These analyses are, it is hoped, capable of reflecting the methods of adapting of the community to the decline it has faced.

7.1 Acceptance of modern Education.

In the beginning of the 20th century progressive thinkers and reformers of the community realized the need for modern education and started a special school at Kochi and later it was shifter to Edakkuni in Trissur. Later started several schools in Travancore area. The modern education helped

the community to cope with the crisis they faced by several land reforms. Following analysis reveals the outlook of the community towards modern education.

Table 7.1

Acceptance of Modern Education of the Community

Acceptance of Modern Education	Frequency	Percentage
Accepted modern education to cope with the situation	292	97.34%
Not accepted modern education	8	2.66%
Total	300	100%

Analysis 7.1 shows that the lion's share (97.34%) of the respondents believes that modern education helped the community to tide over the crisis brought about by the landslides of land reforms. Negligibly small section (2.66%) only believes in the other way round.

7.2 Occupational Shift of the Community

As pointed out earlier, *Nampoothiries* were land lords. They were also considered as the holiest of human beings and the representatives of God on earth. A Nampoothiri doing hard work was even beyond imagination.

But things were changed rapidly with in the beginning of 20th century. The sea change occurred pushed them to novel ways of earning a livelihood.

Following analyses mainly focus on the occupational shift occurred in the aftermath of land reforms in Malabar. The Acts improvised the Community and many of them sought new job opportunities. They required English education to facilitate this way out.

However, it is seen in Table 7.1 that modern education helped only 18.66% in the sense that the faction only got government employment. The largest portion has to satisfy themselves by accepting sacred occupation like, *pooja, santhi*, etc. 46.67% accepted such vocation. Earlier *Nampoothiries* were not in the habit of accepting even sacred jobs for consideration of any form. The felt need for subsistence pressed them hard to accept the job. Another 32.33% turned to agriculture which was earlier a prohibited vocation for *Nampoothiries*. It required physical stress and strain which were not ordained for a Brahmin. A meager 2.34% are engaged themselves in business. Traditionally *Nampoothiries* are expected to be the fountain head of spiritual matters of the society and they confined their life to such matters as teaching and practicing Vedas, advice people on spiritual matters and thus to be the master of the communities around. It is any body's guess that how painful changes that are occurred as a result of the redefinition of the relations of production.

Table 7.2

Occupational Shift of the Community.

Occupation Accepted	Frequency	Percentage
Religious	140	46.67%
Service	56	18.66%
Agriculture	97	32.33%
Business	7	2.34%
Total	300	100%

7.3 Social Reform Movement and Outlook Towards It

Social decay of the community touched its nadir during the dawn of 20th century. However, the brewing of a reform movement had been going on among the English educated young members of the community. By 1914 the movement became prominent. The young turks formed an organization called, “*Unni Nampoothiri Sangam*”. Leaders, namely VTB, MRB, EMS are products of the movement

The ‘*Yogakshema Sabha*’ is claimed as a decedent of the movement which stands for the welfare of the community. In this study an enquiry was conducted to reveal the community’s outlook towards the role played in the past by the organization (*Yogakshema Saba*) in the upliftment of the community. The reactions are given Table 7.3.

Table 7.3

Role Played by Yogakhema Sabha for the Upliftment of the Community

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Did much for the upliftment of the community	117	39%
Did very little	183	61%
Total	300	100%

Analysis shows that majority (61%) opined that the role of *Yogashema Sabha* was not much appreciable. Only 39% stated the contribution of the *Sabha* helped the community. That is, the community is thoroughly unsatisfied with the role played by the organization in the welfare of the community.

7.4 Interest in the Political Affairs

An enquiry was also made to unravel the political mind of the community. The data collected reveal that the community is disinterested in the political affairs of the society.

Table No. 7.4 which analyses the data reveals that only 10.64% of the sample are interested in participating in the State's political processes. The rest are having an indifferent attitude towards it.

Table 7.4

Current Participation in Political Affairs.

Political Participation	Frequency	Percentage
Not interested in politics	268	89.33%
Interested in Politics	32	10.64%
Total	300	100%

7.5 Transformation of Religious Ideologies and Practices:

It is highly perceptible that the religious ideologies and practices of the community have undergone changes. An investigation into these changing aspects reveals that 90% of the respondents are of the view that the changes are shock absorbers for the drastic changes that are occurred in the socio-economic status of the community. A negligible portion (10%) of the sample looks upon the changes in the other way round.

Table 7.5

Perception on the change in the Ideologies and Practices.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Change in the Ideologies and Practices helped to cope with the change.	270	90%
Not helped much	30	10%

Total	300	100%
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The analysis shows that 90% of respondents opined that changes in the practices helped the community to cope with modern trends. Only 10% do not uphold such a view.

So we have to conclude that the community is, on the whole, in favour of the changes in the ideologies and practices.

7.6 Loss of Religious Supremacy of the Community

Another interesting analysis was related to the Community's perception on the religious supremacy. When the data was analysed it was revealed that 80.67% of the sample believe that the community has lost its religious supremacy over the society and the remaining portion (19.33%) do not believe so. On generalisation of the result we may say that the community has realized the decline of its dominance in religious matters.

The table 7.6 shows the analysis.

Table 7.6

Perceptions on the Religious Supremacy of the Community

Response	Frequency	Percentage
<i>Nampoothiries</i> will lost Religious Supremacy	242	80.67%

Not lost religious Supremacy	58	19.33%
Total	300	100%

7.7 Reason for Decline of Religious supremacy

The reason behind the belief on the decline of the supremacy was also revealed by the respondents. The responses are classified and given Table 7.7

The Table shows that 30.66% of the respondents (the largest segment) believe that the community has lost proper understanding of the *Sastras* and *Sanskrit*. Another 28.34% believe that those who carry out the performances are doing them just for money. So it has been reduced to the status of any other vocation. Again, 19% point out those other castes has become capable of executing the practices connected with their religious life. A meager 2.66% subscribe to the view that the social change that has engulfed the society is responsible for the decline of the religious dominance of the community. However, 19.34% did not respond to the mater.

Table No: 7.7

Reasons for Loss of Religious Supremacy

Reasons for Loss of Religious Supremacy	Frequency	Percentage
Other castes learn religious rituals and practices	57	19%
Religious practices are reduced only for money	85	28.34%

Lack proper knowledge in Sanskrit and <i>Sastras</i>	92	30.66%
Due to the socio-political change	8	2.66%
Not applicable	58	19.34%
Total	300	100%

Summary:

The analyses in the chapter reveal that modern education was a big support for the community to tide over the crisis situation brought along by the land reforms. Coupled with this the willingness of the community to accept new vocation helped it a lot to withstand the crisis. The community is not much impressed by the reform movement introduced by such organisations as *Yogakshema Sabha*. The study reveals that the changes which took places in the religious ideologies and practices helped the community to adapt to the new situation. The study implies that the deterioration of true knowledge in *sastras* and *Sanskrit* is one of the major reasons which hinder the regaining of the superiority of the community.

CHAPTER VIII

CASE ANALYSES

In this chapter the researcher would like to analyse the decline of three *Illams* as a sequel to the introduction of land reforms in the state. These three *Illams* are selected from different parts of Malabar, namely, Kannur (Northern region), Kozhikode (Middle region) and Palakkad (Southern Region).

CASE – I

Geographical Location and Brief History:

This particular *Illam* under study is situated in Manissery *desom*, Perumanna *amsom*, Velluvanad *Taluk*, Palakkad district. Generally in the southern parts of Malabar a *Nampoothiri* household is called “MANA”. It is said that the *Nampoothries* of this region must have migrated from the northern parts of Kerala (Payyannur, Kasargode ect..) and settled down here. They were in the good looks of king of Travancore and the *Zamorins* of Calicut. As a token of regard, the *Zamorins* gave large estates to them. Logan is of the opinion that majority of landed property of Velluvanad *Taluk* belong to *Nampoothiri* community. This particular family under reference had the title to the major land in Valluvanad. They were considered big *Janmies* and enjoyed *Adhya* status among fellow *Nampoothiries*.

The *Mana* is an imposing double storied building of 40 to 50 rooms. It is believed that the base structure of the house was designed by Perumthachan about 150 years ago. The structure of the *Mana* is a blend of

aesthetics sense and architectural skill. This *Mana* has served as a suitable locale for shooting many Malayalam movies and its celluloid representation has popularized its architectural splendor.

A Sreekrishna temple is attached to this *Mana*. Near by there is a pond for bathing with *Kulappura*. The two big storied buildings in front of the house called '*Pathayapura*' are intended for storing and processing paddy. The out house also serves as the office of the *Karyastans* (Stewards). There were 25 *Karyastans* working in different sections in this *illam*.

Family Structure

The researcher could gather from one of the senior members of the family, a few pertinent hints about the family structure. According to the interlocutor, his father was the eldest son of the family which consisted of five sons and two daughters. Tradition has it that only the senior most member of *Mana* married from the same community. The younger one were asked to practice celibacy and devote themselves to the pursuit of Vedic and religious studies. However, the system changed in due course and all the members are allowed to marry from the same community.

The Title to Land

Most of the Land of Velluvanad Taluk belongs to this particular *Mana*. More than 45000 measures (Para) of paddy were collected as *Pattam* from the tenants or *Kudiyans*. Large scale paddy cultivation was also undertaken directly by the *Mana*. It had seven big centers for paddy collection in different parts of Palakkad district. The land was given to the tenants either as *Kanam* or as lease. Beside these paddy fields the *Mana* also possessed large stretches of barren land in the hill regions.

The main source of income was paddy, obtained as *pattom*. Seven stewards were in charge of paddy collection. There existed a hierarchy among the stewards and this was very effective for it facilitated the smooth functioning of the house holds. In addition to this there were several servants and assistants working in the kitchen, temple etc). The paddy thus collected was stored and processed in the *Pathayapura*.

The first partition of the *Mana* and its properties among its rightful descendants was affected in 1962. However the partition was based, not on the extent of land, but on the yield from the property.

Religious Structure and Practices:

This particular family belongs to *Viswamitra gothram* and its members were rigid followers of *Rigveda*. All the male members learned *veda* in the traditional way. All their religious customs were strictly in accordance with *vedic* perceptions.

This particular family maintained a big Sreekrishna Temple and many other small temples; it had two elephants for the purpose of temples festivals. The main festival of the temple was the day of the consecration, which fell in *Chingam* (September). This festival was celebrated with grate pomp and splendour culminating in a sumptuous feast given to all. However the women folk of the *Mana* observed a fast on that day and they could have their share of the feast on a day in *Kanni* (October). Thus they were two rich traditional feasts every year.

The rituals and ceremonies observed by the *Nampoothiries* are very elaborate and complicated. For example their marriage ceremony lasted for four days and consisted of a large number of Vedic rites and rituals. The

Upanayana which was mandatory for every Nampoothiri was yet another religious observance. The aspirant was subjected to a life of austerity and asceticism for three long years. Such rigid practices were meticulously followed in the *Mana*.

Major Changes and their Impact

Land reforms effected changes in the family system, religious practices and social identity of the Nampoothiri Brahmins of Malabar. The introduction of land reforms resulted in the decrease in the source of income. It was a great blow to the patriarchal joint family system of *Nampoothiries*. The members of the family began searching for new sources of income through outside employment, Business etc. The members of this particular family failed to face the challenges forced by the reforms and fell into deep economic crisis. The joint family started to breakup; *aphanmar* (the younger brothers of the head of the family) who were not supposed to marry, began to marry from the same community. Reduction in the family income forced the *Nampoothiries* to turn to new means of raising income, like occupation outside job, and business. They were deprived of the ownership of vast stretches of land and had to conduct themselves with small plot of land. The joint family disappeared giving rise to nuclear families, and the head of the nuclear family had to bear the responsibility of maintaining his dependents. The financial crisis rendered them incapable of following their traditional religious practices and *vedic* injections.

In the transformed social atmosphere, it was impossible for them to follow and practice the traditional religious customs, even in a partial or limited way. This can be illustrated from the ceremonies of *Upanayanam* and

Marriage, as they are performed these days. The ceremonies are considerably shortened. The sixteen traditional rites called *ShodasaKriyakal* which were mandatory for every Brahmin are seldom observed. Owing to financial constraints the study of *Vedas* and Sanskrit was given up. The new generation of *Nampoothiries* is totally unaware of the traditional customs and practices. Nobody in this *Mana* knows Sanskrit or the Veda. The temples are in ruins. At present, the elderly members of the *Mana* find hard to make both ends meet. Thus the impact created by the land reforms on this *Mana* and its inmates was awfully detrimental. The tragedy is that the members of the family miserably failed to face the new challenges.

CASE – II

Geographical Location and a Brief History

This *Illam* is situated at Kurumathur desam in Thaliparamba *taluk*, Kannur District. The members of this *illam* are generally known as '*Nayiker*'. The members of the family are considered the highest authority of non-spiritual matters pertaining to the Brahmins of Kerala. *Aazhuvancheri Thampurakkal* has acknowledged them as the custodians of spiritual matters. The *Nayikers* actually wielded considerable power in the society and played the role of local judges, sitting in judgment over disputes. There was a special seat for them known as *Mandapam* on which they are seated while listening to the issues and drawing a verdict. The public referred to them referentially as *Nampoothiripad*. What is more; they were acknowledged as *Adya* Brahmins.

The *Nayikers* were the owners of vast area of land, not only in Kerala but also in Kudak district of Karnataka. Many precious materials were brought to them from Kudak. There was a big strong room built in front of the *illam* in which they kept the valuables thus received. The strong room is still found there. It is said that when an attempt was made to demolish the strong room a fierce serpent appeared and hence the attempt was given up.

Family Structure

The members of this family are *Yajurvedies* who belong to *Kasyapagotra*. There are six other *Illams* which are genealogically related to this family. Only the eldest son of the family had the right for endogamy. There were only very few male members in the family and this created problem of the inheritance. Hence, the senior most member of the family decided to offer a ceremonial feast of 1000 *Nampoothiries*. It was performed in the hope that consequent on the holy ceremony sufficient member of male children would be borne. These 1000 *Nampoothiries* were given a rupee each as *Dakshina*. May be it is a mystery that out of the nine children born after the ceremony five were boys.

Physical Structure of Illam

This particular *Illam* was two storied building consisting of over 50 rooms. It is a sprawling structure of architectural excellence. This structure is called *Nalukettu*. The rooms are very spacious provided with huge windows. There were separate rooms for women. The unmarried male members of the family were to occupy an out house called *Pathayapura*, built on the precincts of the *Illam*. The ground floor of the *Pathayapura* functioned as the store room and the first floor served as the office of stewards and

guest rooms. The family temple was situated near the *pathayapura* with a *Mandapam* in front of it.

Ownership of Land:

The *Nayikers* had landed property in 64 *Amsoms*, and they were acknowledged owners or *Jenmies*. They used to receive more than 50000 measures of paddy as *pattom* in olden days. There were 9 *Karyasthans* appointed to look after revenue administration. These officials were placed in a hierarchical order. All property and administrative processes were supervised by the eldest son of the family. There were vast areas of land under their control.

Religious Background

There was a room called '*Palliyara*' inside the *illam*. This room was indented to performing religious rites; the major deities were installed and worshiped here. Outside the *illam* there was temple and a *Nampoothiri* was in charge of performing the rites of worship in the temple. All the male members of the *illam* well acquainted with *vedas* in the traditional way. All important ceremonies such as *Upanayana Vivaha* etc were performed according to strict religious prescriptions. Usually on the occasion of *Upanayanam* and *Vivaham* sumptuous feasts were arranged. Marriage ceremony lasted for 4 days. On each day delicious feasts were arranged. Most of the invited members stayed in the *illam* on these days. Every year a religious ritual called *Theyyam* was performed. The main characters performed in the *Theyyam* were *Kuttichanthan* and *Bagavathi*. The eldest member of the family was privileged to perform the *Alinganapushapanjali*, offered at *Kottiyur* temple. Before performing the ritual the member is

required to undergo a period of strict fasting. This unique practice is related to the episode of '*Dakshayaga*' in which it is presumed, said in order to appease the anger of lord Shiva who killed *Daksha*, a Brahmin must embrace him. No other member of the family other than the eldest male member is permitted to perform this unique rite of *Alinganapushapanjali*.

Major Changes:

The land reforms introduced in Kerala since 1950 had their impact on the Nampoothiri community of Kerala. Due to these reforms the main sources of income got dwindled. Naturally, it had its repercussions on their social and religious life. They had to undergo severe struggle for existence and different *illams* did overcome the same through different ways. This particular *illam* made it a point to impart English education to its young generation, by which it could secure jobs in government services. This *illam* had the credit of producing the first Nampoothiri graduate of Kerala. The income they derived from the new sources was meager when compared to the income they received from earlier sources.

This reduction in the income adversely affected their religious practices and social supremacy. The traditional marriage ceremony which lasted for four days replaced by a shorter one which could be completed in a day. Marriage ceremonies were usually followed by sumptuous feast. But in the wake of land reforms such extravagance was unaffordable, since the community constrained to leave a frugal existence.

Another example is *upanayana* an important ceremony by which a male member became a 'Brahmin'. Formerly it required three long years, for the completion of all the rites connected by the ceremony. Besides, the long

drawn out functions needed a lot of expenditure. With the emergence of new socio-cultural set up, the *upanayanam* ceremony was limited into for 4 days. This was also an indirect influence of the land reform movement.

When the old joint family branched off into nuclear families as a result of new social set-up performance of elaborated *vedic* ceremonies became impossible. The main problem was that of earning a livelihood and hence they had little time to study the Vedas in the traditional way.

Religious rites like the performance of *Theyyam* and *Thira* which exerted a lasting influence in the community were also abandoned due to the huge expenditure involved. The common family fund from which these expenses were met existed no more. Consequent on the deprivation of the community of vast areas of land.

This particular family managed to overcome the difficulties by securing jobs in government services. English education enables them to secure government job. At present nobody lives in the *Illam*. However the traditional house is maintained though not to the extend it ought to be.

CASE -III

Geographical Location and a Brief History:

The Brahmins of Malappuram district traditionally belong to *Karikkad* and *Sukapuram gramams*. There is an agglomeration of *Desams* known as *Irupathonnu desam* (21 Villages). The case under study is one of the most significant of the six *illams* situated in Pathanapuram *desam* near Arecode Malappuram district.

The members of this particular *Illam* are known as *Nampoothiripad*. The term *Nampoothiripad* signifies a special social status. Such a status emerged on account of religious economic reasons. This particular *Illam* family belongs to *Vasisttagothram* and its members are *Yejurvedies*. They are great *Thantries*.

This *illam* is situated on the banks of river *Chaliyar*. *Areconut*, coconut and paddy are the main crops cultivated.

Subsequently the *illam* was divided in to two. In 1948 yet another partition was affected. Thus the original family was branched in to three families. The members of these three families are treated as members of same '*griha*'.

Physical Structure of the Illam

The *illam* was constructed using timber and laterate stone in accordance with *Thachu sastra*. The *Palliyara*, were the family deities are consecrated, was at the centre of the *illam*. This imposing structure was known as *Ettukettu*. In front of the *illam* there was a big *Kalapura* and an office for the stewards. The Kitchen and its precincts were kept for women folk.

Religious Background

The major deities worshiped were Shiva, Vishnu and *Bagavathi*. Till the introduction of Land Reform Acts large number of *poojas* on special occasions was conducted. On certain special occasions, sumptuous feast

known as *Othoot* (recitation of Veda followed by feast to which only *Nampoothires* are invited) was conducted.

In addition to the feast, *Murajapam* also was conducted without fail. *Murajapam* means the recitation of the entire *veda*. A lot of offerings were given to the *Namboodiries* coming for *Murajapam*. For the performance of the daily rituals priests were appointed who stayed in the *illam* itself.

Ceremonies such as Upanayanam, Marriage, Choroonu etc were conducted in all pomp and splendour. A lot of people were invited for the feast and they are given *Dakhina*. *Upanayanam* was conducted observing all ceremonies including the observation of *Anduvrutham* and Vedic studies. The rules pertaining to *Brahmacharya* were strictly followed. The aspirant was forbidden from having food from outside. This practice was probably responsible for keeping many of the *Nampoothiri* children away from school.

The marriage ceremony lasted for four days it was conducted along with *Dasameni* and *Panchameni*. The first day was that of *Veli* and last that of *Kalyanam*. On all the four days feasts were served and many of the guests stayed in the *illam* for four days.

Major Changes

The ensuing generation faced financial difficulties because of land reforms which dwindled their revenue to nothing. Most of the ceremonies were abandoned. Vedic rituals were performed as a mere name sake service. The *Nampoothiries* appointed to officiate the *Pooja* were dispensed with and the services were performed directly by the young members of the family. Feasts, special *Poojas* etc were completely given up due to financial crisis.

Gradually the stewards, who used to look after and supervise agricultural land and collect revenue from it were discharged. With a view to circumvent the provisions of Land Reform Act and to evade the payment of Agricultural Income Tax, the landed property was again sub divided. By 1970 all the land became under the direct possession of the tenants. Only the land that was under direct cultivation could be retained. The respondent and his sons directly cultivate the land now.

The impact of the nose dive in the income structure is reflected not only in religious matters but also in social relations. The traditional high status of the *illam* is only a myth. None of the members of the family unfortunately, went in for higher education. Their education stopped at the secondary level. They haven't realized how English education equips them with a potential to face boldly the challenges of life. The servants in the house and the cooks were sent away because it was a luxury to maintain them. The task was taken up by the women folk of the *illam*. At present there are 22 members living in the *illam*; six men six women and ten children.

Perceptible changes are occurred in the concept of purity and pollution. However, the concept of purity is less observed inside the *illam* by the members. Those members who are in charge of farming, come directly to *illam* at lunch time and have their lunch without taking a bath. However the non *Nampoothiries* are forbidden to enter the *illam*.

These *illam* however could not play any significant role in the social activities. Their status was rather passive. They failed to maintain their status quo. The *illam* is a treasure house of valuable scriptures, but they remain unread, since the members are very poor in to learning Sanskrit.

In Brief:

The chapter analyses three typical cases of *Illam* which faced decline and down fall of socio-economic status. The status loss affected the religious observances and ideologies of their members-the analyses reveal.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

The changes occurred in the socio-economic infrastructure of the society reflect in the religious ideologies and practices. This study attempts to portray the impact of socio-economic status loss on the religious ideologies and practices of Brahmin Community of Malabar region of Kerala state.

Methodology in Brief

Traditional Brahmin house hold, called *Illam* or *Mana* is the unit of study. Malabar region consists of six revenue districts of Kerala, namely Kasarkode, Kannur, Kozhikode, Malappuram, Wayanad and Palakkad. From each district 50 Brahmin house holds were selected by using random sampling method.

Heads of the house holds were selected as respondent and they were interviewed with the help of a semi-structured interview schedule. The interviews enquired deeply into the impact of status loss which was differentiated into Land loss, Socio economic status Loss on their religious ideologies and practices. Enquiries were also made into the methods of adaptation of the community to the changed situation. For statistical inferences chi-square test was used.

The major objectives of the study are:

- a) to analyse the nature and extent of status loss faced by Brahmin Community in Malabar area.
- b) to assess the effect of the status loss on their religious ideologies and practices.
- c) to analyse the ways in which the community accommodates itself in the new transformed society.

Under these objectives the following hypotheses were formulated in this study.

- 1) The religious ethic of the Brahmin community played an important role in keeping itself aloof from direct management of their material resources.
- 2) The changes in the land relation which occurred in the state created decline in the socio-economic status of the community.
- 3) The type of hegemony enjoyed by the community over material resources decided their religious ideologies and practices.
- 4) The decline in the status of the community changed its religious ideologies and practices.
- 5) In the accommodation of their ideologies and practice in the changed socio-economic situations the community adopted new methods.

In the following sections the major findings are summarized.

1. The status Loss of the Community

In this study the status loss of the community is assessed on the basis of Land loss, Economic status loss and social status loss.

1.1 Land Loss

The analysis enquired into the extent of land loss faced by the community. The analysis established the fact that majority (60%) lost more than 75% of land originally owned by the households, as a result of the land reforms introduced by the Government.

1.2 Economic Status Loss (Other than landed property)

The loss of economic status loss was assessed in term of a self ascribed score by the respondents. 14.66% of the respondents face low loss, 54.67% medium loss and the rest (30.67%) face high loss. Majority feel (54.67%) that they faced Medium loss in the their economic condition compared with pre land reform period

1.3 Social Status Loss

Social status loss also was assessed in terms of a self assessed score Majority (56%) opined that they faced Medium loss in their social status. Remaining 29.34% and 14.66% faced high loss and low loss respectively.

2 Impact of Status Loss on Religious Ideologies

One of the major objectives of the study was to find out the impact of status loss on the religious ideologies of the community. In depth enquiries were conducted into the matter. The ideological basis of the community consists of such important concepts as Rebirth, Purity and Pollution, *Dharma* and *Karma*, *Kama* and *Moksha*.

This study probed into the changes occurred in the ideologies as a result of the status loss. The status loss was compartmentalized into three segments, namely, Land Loss, Economic Status Loss and Social Status Loss. How the relationship between the status loss and ideological changes was affected in the case of the sociological categories was analysed by examining the relationship in respect of various sex, age, education, income, occupation and religious duty groups. Since there are three status loss indices, four ideology indicators and six sociological segments differentiated into various groups (like age into low age, middle age and high age; sex into male and female) a large number of analyses were made in this chapter. In order to limit the volume of the report the researcher selectively included analyses in this chapter. The criterion for selection was that if relationship between the variables is statistically established in respect of a segment of a sociological category it is admitted to the report.

2.1 Land Loss and Change in the Ideology of Rebirth.

The analysis reveals that loss of land highly changed the religious ideologies of the medium loss group. The criterion was satisfied by three sociological segments in the case of the ideology of rebirth namely, male (under sex groups), medium income (under income category and service segment (under occupational category).

It is seen that 74.66% follow the ideology of rebirth though they have lost their status considerably as a result of the alienation of land. However, the rest (25.44%) faced ideology erosion.

Further, it was seen that the shift on the ideology was maximum for the land loss group. 46.34% of the loss medium of the group comes under the category. In the case sociological groups, male, middle income group and service section uphold the result. That is, among the groups those who have lost land to the tune of 50% - 75% of their original holding (medium loss group) the faith loss is maximum

2.2 Loss of Economic Status and Change in the Ideology of Rebirth

Study further analysed the economic status loss and change in the ideology. The analyses reveal that 74.66% upholds the ideology; the rest (25.34%) lost their faith in the ideology. It further shows that the medium loss category is more prone to ideology shift (29.27%). As stated in the previous analyses the association between the variables in the case of males, medium income groups and service section was only discussed in the report. Among these groups the medium status loss group distinguish themselves by showing maximum shift in the ideology.

2.3 Loss of Social Status and Change in the Ideology of Rebirth

Another component of status loss was social status loss. The study enquired into the impact of social status loss on the ideology of rebirth. The loss and loss of faith in the ideology are inversely associated.

Coming to the sociological categories which revealed significant association between the variables, among the males higher loss in faith was occurred in the case of high status loss group. The result is the same in the case of service section and medium income group.

3 Status loss and Change in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution.

Change in the ideology of purity and pollution was analysed against the status loss.

Association between land loss and change in the ideology of purity and pollution was established. The change in the ideology was seen to be high for the medium loss group.

3.1 Land Loss and Changes in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution

On category wise analyses the association between the variables was significantly revealed in the case of two sections, namely, male and service category. The medium loss group among the males forced higher change in the purity and pollution principle. 38.56% of the group lost their faith in the principle as a sequel to the loss of land. A different result is seen in the case of the service category. Here the high land loss group faced the shift in their ideology to the maximum extent.

3.2 Loss of Economic Status and Changes in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution

Analyses on loss of economic status and change in the ideology of purity and pollution goes in tune with the central theme of the thesis; the higher the loss the greater it's impact on the ideology 23% of the low loss, 30% of medium loss and 26.92% of the high loss groups lost their faith in the concept of purity and pollution.

In this context, among males the high loss group is more affected in their ideology. 40.21% of the group is not upholding the faith after their status loss. In the case of the low loss group and medium loss group the corresponding figures are respectively 31.82% and 22.56%. Within the service section (occupational category) the high loss group is more affected 58.34% of the group was affected in their ideology of pollution and purity. Only 39.28% of the low loss group and 28.52% of the medium loss group were affected in their ideology.

3.3 Loss of Social Status and Change in the Ideology of Purity and Pollution.

Regarding the association between the third component of status loss, social status loss (measured in term of a self ascribed score) and change in the ideology it was seen that the high loss group has changed in their purity – pollution principle more. While 15.91% of the low loss and 25.9% of the medium loss groups have lost their faith in the ideology, the figure is 43.18% in respect of the high loss group. Only 29.33% of the total sample was affected in their ideology.

Regarding the effect of the change on the sex groups and occupational groups, male members and service segment are to be specially mentioned. Among the status loss group of males, the high loss group has

lost their faith in the concept to the greatest extent. 43.22% of the group has lost faith in the purity-pollution concept. 41.69% of their female counter parts have lost the faith. Among the service segment the high loss group indicates high loss (62.18%) of their faith in purity-pollution concept. The central theme of the thesis is supported by the results.

4. Change in the Ideology of *Karma* and *Dharma*

Analysis on the changes taken place as a sequel to the status loss gives similar results as the one obtained in the previous section. It was seen that the higher the status loss the greater the ideological change. Only 50% of the high status loss group now subscribe to the faith of *Karma-Dharma*. The figures in respect of the low and medium loss groups are respectively 31.82 % and 45.74 %. The association between the variables is established.

Coming to analysis under the different loss indicators (land loss, economic status loss and social status loss) four sociological categories require special attention. They are middle income group, service segment and ordinary Brahmin (Category based on religious duty).

4.1 Land Loss and Changes in the Ideology of *Dharma* and *karma*

Regarding the association between Land Loss and change in the ideology of *Dharma* and *Karma*, it was seen that high loss group has changed their ideology more (50%). While 45.74% of medium loss and 31.82% of low loss groups have lost faith in the ideology. 45% of the total sample affected in their ideology.

While considering the effect of the change on ordinary Brahmins, the results show medium loss group is more affected. 54.29% lost faith in the ideology.

Among the medium income group medium loss group is more affected 67.66% lost faith in the ideology.

In case of service segment of occupational group also medium loss group indicates high loss (66.66%) of their faith in the concept of *Dharma* and *Karma*. The central theme of the thesis is supported by the results.

4.2 Loss of Economic Status and Changes in the Ideology of Dharma and Karma.

Analysis on loss of economic status and changes in the ideology of Dharma and Karma goes in tune with the central theme of the thesis the higher the loss the greater its impact on the ideology. 31.82% of the low loss, 45.74% medium loss and 50% of the high loss groups lost faith in their ideology.

In case of ordinary Brahmins, the high loss group is more affected in their ideology after their status loss. Among low loss and medium loss groups corresponding figures are respectively 33.34% and 49.13%

Within the medium income group (income category) the high loss group is more affected. 57.69% of the group was affected badly. Only 50% of the medium loss group and 30.43% low loss group are affected in their ideology.

Among service section (occupational category) also high loss group is more affected. 58.33% affected in their ideology of *Dharma and Karma*. Only

47.62% of the medium loss group and 42.86% low loss group are affected in their ideology.

4.3 Loss of Social Status and Changes in the Ideology of *Dharma* and *Karma*.

Regarding the association between the third component of status loss, social status loss (measured in terms of a self ascribed score) and change in the ideology it was seen that the medium loss group has changed more (50%). While 47.73% of high loss and 20.45 low loss groups have lost their faith in the ideology.

Considering the effect of change on ordinary Brahmins medium loss group indicates high change in their faith. 53.23% lost faith in the ideology of *Dharma* and *Karma*. 22.73% of low loss and 46.15% high loss group lost their faith. The results support the thesis.

Among the medium income group (category of income group) high loss group badly affected. 17.86% of low loss and 56.25% of medium loss groups also lost faith in the ideology.

Considering Service sector (occupational Category) medium loss group is more affected by social status loss. 52.08% of them are not following the ideology of *Dharma* and *Karma*. While considering low loss and high loss groups the corresponding figures are 26.67% and 51.35% respectively.

5. Loss of Status and Change in the Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*.

The relationship between Status loss and change in the ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha* was also studied under the usual three segments, Land loss, social status loss and economic status loss.

5.1 Land Loss and Changes in the Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*.

It was revealed that 53.34% of the respondents have no much faith in the ideology and the rest uphold the ideology intact. Those who lost land to the extent of 50-75% of their original possession (medium loss group) revealed higher loss of faith 67.75% of the respondent stated that they have no much faith in the ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha* at present.

5.2 Loss of Economic Status and Change in the Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*.

Regarding the association between economic status loss and change in the ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*, it was seen that medium loss group has changed the ideology more. 56.71% of them lost faith in the philosophy. 43.18% of low loss group and 52.17% of high loss group have lost faith in the ideology.

Medium income group (income category) is more affected by the economic loss. 62% of them are not upholding the ideology.

In the case of Service Group (occupational category) medium loss group is more affected by the loss. 57.14% lost their faith in the ideology. 38.64% and 53.41% of low loss and high loss groups respectively uphold the faith in the ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*.

5.3 Loss of Social Status Changes in the Ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*.

Analysis on the association between social status loss and the ideology of *Kama* and *Moksha*, reveals that medium loss group is more affected. Majority (57.14%) of them do not believe in the philosophy of *Kama* and *Moksha*. The corresponding figure in respect of low loss group and high loss group are respectively 38.64% and 53.41%.

Analyses that investigated into the influence of the social categories on the relationship indicated that only one category; Service Section (among various occupational groups) has significant association under the three components of status loss.

It is further seen that the medium land loss group of the category (Service) lost faith in the ideology to the maximum extent. The result is applicable to the three components of the status loss considered.

6. Impact of Status Loss on Religious Practices

Another important objective of the study was to assess the impact of the status loss on the religious practices of the Nampoothiri Community. The major practices analysed in this study are those related to *upanayanam* (initiation into *vedic* studies), *vivaham* (Marriage) and *samskaram* (cremation).

6.1 Status Loss and Changes in the Upanayanam Ceremony

Enquiries were conducted into the changes that took place in the practices related to *upanayanam* in the backdrop of the changes in the social status. It was seen that there is association between the two variables. That is, the result is in tune with the hypothesis of the study.

Originally the ceremonies were conducted in three years. The study revealed that there have been occurred drastic changes in the practices. 39% of the respondents stated that they have reduced the period of the ceremonies to a single day (merely to satisfy the ritualistic needs). Another 41.34% observe the practices in four days. The rest of the respondents 19.66% stated that they conduct ceremonies as and when it becomes convenient for them. No one is now observing the practice in the original manner keeping all its fervour.

Subsidiary analyses were carried out in the same manner as we did under the previous section. That is, the loss of status was differentiated into three segments, namely, land loss economic status loss and social status loss.

Under each of these segments the status loss and changes in the practices were associated in respect of each of the sociological categories and identified those categories which confidently revealed the association. The confirmation is determined by the criterion that the association between the variables in respect of the sociological category should be seen under all the three components.

Among the various sociological categories which revealed association between the two variables under consideration under the three components of status loss are male and old age categories.

6.2 Land Loss and Changes in Practice of *Upanayanam*

Within the male category the low loss group showed more reduction in the ceremonies conducted in with *Upanayanam*. 40% of the group reduced

them to a single day. The corresponding figures in respect of the medium and high loss groups are respectively 34.14 % and 36.87%.

Similarly in the case of old age group the high loss category cut short the ceremonies very much. 29.13% of the group reduced the whole ceremonies to one day.

6.3 Economic Status Loss and Changes in the Practice of *Upanayanam*

Coming to the second component of status loss (loss of economic status assessed in scores) we have indicated that male and old age categories showed firm association between the variables.

Among the males medium loss group was seen much affected in the behaviour under consideration. 40.15% of the group reduced the practices of *upanayanam* to a single day. Regarding the old age group medium loss group is much affected in their *upanayanam* practices. 37.50% of them reduced the practice to a single day.

6.4 Social Status Loss and Changes in *Upanayanam*

Analysis based on the Social Status revealed almost similar results as those got under the economic status loss section. Among the males, the medium loss group is much affected in their religious practices connected with *Upanayanam*. 39.84% of them finish the whole ceremonies in a day. 35.29% of the low loss and 32.85% of the high loss groups come under the category that has reduced the ceremonies to one day.

Regarding the old age category medium loss group is much affected in their *Upanayanam* practices. 33.76% reduced the whole ceremonies to a single day.

7 Reasons for Changes in the Practice of *Upanayanam*.

Detailed investigation was carried out to bring out the reasons for changing the age old practices. The major reasons are found to be religious, economic and social matters.

28.36% of the respondents have changed the practice due to social reasons. They have attended to their occupation that faced them and their family. 36.67% revealed that they were forced to reduce the ceremony due to their impoverishment and the expensiveness of the ritual. Only 25% cited religious reasons for reducing the ceremonies.

7.1 Land loss and Reason for Change in the Practice of *Upanayanam*.

It is found that the loss of land reasons for changing the practice of *upanayanam* is associated. 38.34% of the respondents have changed the practice due to social reasons.

36.67% revealed that they are forced to reduce the ceremonies on account of their impoverishment and the expenses of the ceremonies. Only 25% cited religious reasons for reducing ceremonies.

7.2 Economic Loss and Reasons for Changing the Practice of Upanayanam.

Further the study enquired in to the relation between economic status loss and reasons for the changing the practice of *upananyanam*. It is found that economic status loss and reasons for changes are associated. Low and medium economic status loss groups cited prominently social reason for reducing the performance of the ritual.

7.3 Loss of Social Status and Reasons for Changing the Practice

The study further inquired into whether the social status loss and changes in the rituals are associated. Majority (56.81%) of the respondents of low loss category have social reasons for detaching themselves from elaborate celebrations of *upanayanam*. Economic reasons are predominant among medium loss group and high loss categories. The figures were 40.47% and 40.90% respectively.

8. Status Loss and Changes in the Ceremonies of Marriage.

Another enquiry shows the impact of Status loss on the ceremonies of marriage. Analysis shows that only 22.34% of them follow the practices conducted earlier. Majority (77.66%) do not follow the traditional way.

The impact of land loss is clearly visible on medium loss group. 92.72% of them very much changed the ceremonies. The corresponding figure is respect of the high loss group is 76.11%.

Relationship between land loss and changes in the practices was analysed in respect of the sociological categories. The pattern of confirming

relationship between the variables in respect of a sociological group was the same that was followed in the earlier section. That is, the relationship should be statistically significant under the three components of loss of status (land loss, economic status loss and social status loss). Relationship between the variables was confirmed under the three components in respect of the male headed house holds, medium income group and group with no sacred duties (Ordinary Brahmins).

8.1 Land Loss and Changes in the Ceremony of Marriage

In the case of the male headed households the medium land loss group has changed the traditional observances of conducting marriage to the maximum extent. 90.24% have cut short the practices and by that reduced the spending of resources. In the case of low loss group the changed category is constituted by 32%. In the case of high loss group the figure is 75.17%. The behaviour of the medium loss group is persisting in the case of the medium income group and ordinary Brahmin. 97.06% of the medium loss group among the middle income category has reduced the ceremonies of marriages. 97.14% of the corresponding category among the ordinary Brahmins also changed the practices related to marriage. No other segment of the respective groups has changed so much.

8.2 Economic Status Loss and Changes in the Practices of Marriage Ceremony.

Economic status loss and the change in the practices are highly positively associated. 59.10% of the low loss group, 78.66% of the medium loss group and 84.79% of the high loss group have abandoned many of the

practices connected with marriage. This finding is highly supportive of the central thesis of the study.

In case of male headed family maximum (84.50%) changes have occurred among high loss group. The corresponding figure among medium loss group and low loss groups is 77.16% and 55.88% respectively.

Further, the loss of economic status and the changes in the practices of marriage of medium income group were analysed. 82.69% of High loss group changed very much in their marriage practices. 80% of the medium loss group and 56.52% of the low loss group changed their marriage practices.

In the case of ordinary Brahmin category high loss group changed their practice very much (88.23%). The corresponding figures in respect of medium loss and low loss groups are 81.03% and 59.25% respectively.

8.3 Social Status Loss Changes in the Practices of Marriage Ceremony

The social status loss and changes in the practices of marriage are highly associated. 84.09% of high loss group, 80.95% of medium loss group and 52.27% of low loss group changed their practice very much.

In the case of male headed families high loss group is more affected (82.85%) changed their practices. 79.68% medium loss group and 50% of low loss group reduced the practices and ceremonies.

Among the medium income category middle loss group is affected more. (83.83%) have changed very much. The corresponding figures of high loss and low loss groups are 81.25% and 50% respectively.

Among ordinary Brahmins high loss group is more affected (87.69%). 82.85% of medium loss group and 50% of low loss group also reduced their marriage ceremonies very much.

This analyses support the central postulate of the study. That is, there is association between the extent of changes in the status and in the religious practices.

9. Loss of Status and Nature of Changes Introduced in the Practice of Marriage.

The major changes introduced in the practices of marriage ceremonies are, confining the whole rituals to a single day, omitting the number of rituals, reducing the length of the rituals.

When the land loss and nature of changes in the marriage practices are analysed, it is seen that the association between the land loss and types of changes in the practices exists. Analysis reveals that high land loss group shows more changes in the practices. 49.44% of them reduced the whole rituals to single day, 46.63% and 41.53% of the medium loss group and low loss group respectively follow suit. That is, the higher the land loss the greater the changes introduced. The results support the major hypothesis of the thesis.

Economic status loss and changes in marriage practices are analysed. It reveals that the loss and changes are related. The higher the economic status loss the greater the tendency to reduce the practice to single day. .

In case of Social Status Loss the pattern of change is the same as revealed in previous analyses. All three findings given above support the central assumption of the study.

10. Status Loss and Changes in the Practice Related to Death.

The study reveals that the effect of status loss on the ceremonies related to death is considerable. Majority 91% conducted the ceremonies in a minimum manner. Remaining 8% do not follow any ceremony after the death of their dear ones.

The impact of status loss on death ceremonies was analysed separately under the three categories of loss namely, land loss, economic status loss and social status loss. Among the various sociological categories two revealed association between the variables, under the three components of status loss. They are female and old age categories.

10.1 Loss of Land and Changes in Death Ceremonies

Land loss and changes in death ceremonies were analysed and found positive association between the variables.

The impact of land loss is high among high loss group. They show lesser interest to perform the ceremonies. Among high loss group 87.22% observe the ceremonies. Corresponding figures of medium loss group is 94.54% and low loss group is 98.46%

In the case of female category high loss group showed more changes in the ceremonies conducted after death. Among high loss category 82.05% follow the ceremonies. The corresponding figures in respect of medium and low loss groups are 92.86% and 100% respectively.

Analysis was conducted in respect of the old age group. In their case also high loss group changed very much. 85.86% of the group follows the ceremonies for the benefit of their dead relatives. The corresponding figure of medium loss group and low loss group are respectively 96.15% and 100%.

10.2 Loss of Economic Status and Changes in Death Ceremonies.

Similar analyses were conducted to reveal the impact of economic status loss on death ceremonies.

It is found that medium loss group is more affected. 86.36% of them follow the traditional practices. In case of low loss and high loss groups the figures are respectively 88.41% and 97.82%.

In case of female headed families medium loss group was affected very badly. 81.08% follow the practices related to death. Corresponding figure in the case of low loss group is 100%.

In old age group also medium loss group is more affected by the economic loss. 87.50% follow the death ceremonies. The corresponding figures in respect of the high loss and medium loss groups are 95.24% and 95.45% respectively.

The above stated results established positive association between the variables under consideration and support the thesis.

10.3 Loss of Social Status and Changes in the Practices of Death Ceremony

Another usual set of analyses was carried out to assess the impact of social status on death ceremonies.

In the case of female headed families medium loss group is affected more. 80% of them follow the ceremonies. All the respondents in the other two groups follow the traditional observances.

Among old age group, analysis shows that the impact is greater on medium loss group. 84.41% conduct ceremonies related to death.

The results show that the decline in the social status has affected the religious practices of the community. The impact is more prominent on the medium loss group.

In Brief:

Analyses reveal that the Brahmin Community has lost its past glory due to the after effects of the Land Reforms Act. Land was alienated from them. Consequential economic and social status losses are significantly revealed. The status loss has affected both their age old religious beliefs and practices.

They respond to the challenges by getting themselves educated and accepting gainful, secular jobs.

The study gives conclusive proof for the validity of the hypotheses tested.

The study reveals a very significant fact that the status loss affects the middle income group to a greater extent. Their Religious ideologies and practices are much changed to cope with the changed situation.

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APPENDIX-I

TRADITIONAL BRAHMIN SETTLEMENTS IN KERALA

(A) Between rivers Perumpuzha and Karumpuzha:

1 Payyanur, 2 Perumcellur, 3 Alathur, 4 Karanthol, 5 Choram, 6 Panniyur,
7 Karikkatu, 8 Isanamangalam, 9 Trissivaperur and 10, Peruvanam.

(B) Between rivers Karumpuzha and Churni: -

11 Chamunda, 12 Irungatikkutal, 13 Avittiputtur, 14 Paravur, 15
Airanikkalam, 16 Mulikkalam, 17 Kularur, 18 Atavur, 19 Chenganatu, 20
Ilibhyam, 21 Uliyanur and 22 Kalutantu and

(C) Between river Churni and Cape Comorien:-

23 Ettumanur, 24 Kumaranellur, 25 Katamaruku, 26 Chenganur, 30
Kaviyur, 31 Ve nmani and 32 Nirmanna.

APPENDIX-II

TRADITIONAL BRAHMIN SETTLEMENTS IN MALABAR

The following Gramams are situated in Malabar region:

- 1 *Payyanur*
- 2 *Perumcellur*
- 3 *Alatur*
- 4 *Karanthol*
- 5 *Cokiram*
- 6 *Panniyur*
- 7 *Karrikkadu*
- 8 *Isanamangalam*

Among these eight *grammams* *Karanthol* and *Isanamangalam* are extinct

APPENDIX-III

GOTHRAM	PRAVARAM
<i>Bharadwajam</i>	: <i>mgirasrm;Bharadwajam;Bhaarhaspathyam.</i>
<i>Kousikam</i>	: <i>Viwamithram; Akhamarshanam; Kousikan</i>
<i>Vaastsam</i>	: <i>Bhargavam,Chyavanam;Apathavanam; Durvam;Jamadagnyam.</i>
<i>Koundinyam</i>	: <i>Vaasishtam;Maithravaarunam;Koudilyam.</i>
<i>Kasyapam</i>	: <i>Kasyapam;Avastsaaaram; Naidruvam.</i>
<i>Vaasishtam</i>	: <i>Vaasishtam;Indrapradamam;Abharaswath.</i>
<i>Jaamadagnyam</i>	: <i>Bhaargavam;Chayvanam;Ourvam.</i>
<i>Viswamithram</i>	: <i>Viswamithram;Devaraatham;Oudalam.</i>
<i>Gouthamam</i>	: <i>Amgirasam;Asyasyam;Gouthamam.</i>
<i>Athri</i>	: <i>Aathreyam;Archanaanasam;Syavaaswam.</i>

APPENDIX- IV

SHODASAKRIYAKAL

The term “*Shodasakriyakal*” refers to sixteen rites to be performed by all Nampoothiries, as structured through “*Smruthi*”. A Nampoothiri male member, after performing these sixteen *Grihya* (or household) rites, becomes eligible to perform *Sroutha* rites like *Yaagams*. Some of them are meant also for female members.

Shodasakriyakal are:

1. *Sekom* (Garbhaadhaanam): A rite to be performed just before the first sexual intercourse after marriage.
2. *Pumsavanom* : To be performed just after conception.
3. *Seemantham* : Performed after Pumsavanom.
4. *Jathakarmam* : Performed just after birth.
5. *Naamakaranam* : Christening.
6. *(Upa)nishkramanam (Vaathilpurappadu)* : Involves taking the child out of the house for the first time.
7. *Choroonu* : The first ceremonial intake of rice by the child.
8. *Choulam* : The first hair-cut ceremony of the boy/ girl.
9. *Upanayanam* : (Only for boys) A fairly long ritual of converting/ confirming a Nampoothiri boy into a *Brahmanaan* and for initiating him to *Brahmachari*.
10. *Mahaanamneevrutham (Aanduvrutham)* : An year-long process of studying Vedam by chanting it under strict guidance. *Muthalmura* is part of it. Those Nampoothiri classes which are excluded from Vedam, perform this but stops at *Muthalmura*.

11. *Mahaavrutham* : Study of *Braahmanam* and *Aaranyakam* through chanting under strict guidance. Those Namboothiri classes which are excluded from veda do not perform this.
12. *Upanishadvrutham* : Studying *Upanishads*. Namboothiries who are excluded from Veda, do not perform this.
13. *Godaanam* : Rites as part of thanks-giving to the *Aacharyan* (priest or teacher).
14. *Samaavarthanam* : A long ritual for the completion of the above said Vedic education.
15. *Vivaham* : Marriage
16. *Agniadhaanam*: A rite performed as an extension of *Aupaasanam* and introduction to *Sroutha* rites.

APPENDIX -V

QUESTIONNAIRE

IMPACT OF THE STATUS LOSS ON THE RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGIES AND PRACTICES OF BRAHMIN COMMUNITY IN MALABAR AREA.

I. PERSONAL DATA

1. Name And Address

.....

.....

.....

2. Sex Male Female

3. Age Years

4. Educational Status Primary Secondary

Degree P.G. & above

Others (.....)

5. Marital Status Single Married

Separated Divorced

6. Occupation (Main) Priest hood Govt. Employment

Private Employment Agriculture

Self Employment Other than Agriculture

Retired No Particular Employment

Others (.....)

7. Subsidiary Occupation

8. Monthly Income of the

Respondent

Rs.

9. Family Composition (Details of Members residing under the roof)

Sl No.	Name of the Member	Relation to the Respondent	Age	Marital Status	Education	Occupation	Monthly Income

10. Traditional Gramam to which you belong :

11. Your Traditional Desam :

12. Traditional Gothram and Pravarm :,

.....

13. Traditional Griham :

14. Traditional Yogam :

15. Traditional Chadangu :

16. Traditional Vedam :

17. Religious Duty Thamprakal . Vaidhikan
 Vadhyan . Othikkan
 Bhattathiri . Thanthri
 Santhi No special duty

18. Sub Caste if any Thangal Grahmini
 Nambi Potti
 Elayath Atigal
 Ashtavaidhyan Moos
 Ooril Parisha Moos

II. PRESENT SOCIO ECONOMIC STATUS

19. Extent of Land Owned

Wet Land.....Hecters
Garden Land..... Hecters
Plantation..... Hecters
Barren.....Hecters
Total.....

20. Annual Expenditure on Agriculture Rs.

21. Annual Income from Agriculture Rs.

22. Who is Managing the Property now . Direct Management

Servants/Karyasthan

23. Details of Agricultural Implements

Tractor Tiller

Pump Set (a) House hold Use
(b) Agricultural Purpose

Sprayer Others.....

24. Details of Domestic Animals

Oxen No..... Cows No.....

25. Are you using Animal Power In

Agriculture

Yes No

26. Type of House

Traditional Type (Nalukettu)

Modern (RCC.)

Ordinary Tiled

27. Number of Rooms

.....

28. Toilet Facilities

Attached to room:

Attached to Home:

Away from Home

Others.....

29. House holds Appliances

Refrigerator

Washing machine

T.V. Music System

30. Vehicles

Computer Telephone

Two Wheeler

Four Wheeler

31. Source of Drinking Water

Own pipe system

Drawing from Well

Others

32. Type of Fuel L.P.G. Kerosene
 Firewood Others (.....)

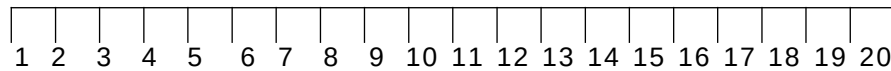
III. PAST ECONOMIC STATUS (PRE LAND REFORM PERIOD)

33. Land owned by the family Wet Garden
 Plantations.....
 Barren land
 Total

34. Total members of the family

35. How did your land property get
 Alienate from your family?

36. How do you rate the change in your economic status between the 70's and now (Please give score)



(Assure 10 is the position of your family before 70's)

37. Before the land reform was introduced, was your property directly managed Yes No

38. If no, who was responsible Servants Relatives
 For the management Head of the family

39. Do you know what prevented them from Lack of time
 Direct management of the property Biological factor
 Religious factor
 Social factor
 Large amount of property
 Others (.....)

40. Do you believe that management by others resulted in the decline of the Economic status of the family Yes No NA

41. If yes, Can you explain the Loss of money due to in proper accounting
 mismanagement

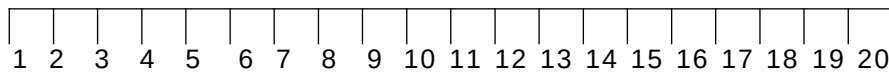
- Taken by stewards
- Trapped by money lenders
- Mismanagement, prodigality
- Not applicable

42. Whether your family enjoyed a good social recognition then Very much Some what No

43. What sorts of recognition the family enjoyed

- Settling dispute
- Protecting poor section
- Religious festival organizing
- Others

44. Would you rate the loss of your families social status over the past 50 years, if such loss happened



(Assure 10 is the position of your family before 70's)

45. Could you give the reason / reasons for the decline in the families Social status

- Loss of property
- Others improved over the time
- Other reasons

IV. RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGIES

46. Are you upholding faith in rebirth? Yes No No clear idea

47. Your faith as firm as that of your fore fathers Yes No

48. If no, do you feel any reason for the Change

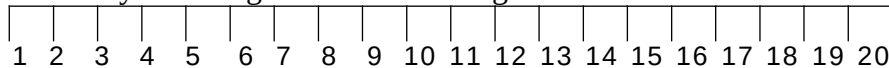
- The ideology block progress
- Meaningless
- Not scientific
- Others (.....)

49. Do you have faith in following ideologies?

Religious ideologies	Yes	No	Can't Say
Purity and Pollution			
Dharma and Karma			
Kama and Moksha			
	xx		

50. Is your faith as firm as that of your forefathers? Yes No
Somewhat
51. If No, do you feel any reason for the change Changes in Social scenario
Unscientific
Not suitable for present day life
Other reasons
52. Do you consider the above stated beliefs/ Ideologies in your day to day matters?. Yes No
Rarely Occasionally

53. Please denote your changes on the following scale



(Assure 10 is the position of your family before 70's)

54. Do you consult Astrologers before taking important decision? Yes No
55. Do you think vegetarianism as an ideal one Yes No

V. RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

56. Do you practice/perform sixteen Important rites and practices with same Strictness as followed by your forefathers Yes No
57. If you are not practicing the rites please mention them with reasons.
.....
58. Do you perform rites meant for girls? Yes No
59. What are the major changes occurred In Upanayanam and other important rites Reduced for one day
Reduced to Four days
Just before marriage
Cut short to vacation time
60. What are the reasons for changes Lack of time, new education?
Type of occupation

- Lack of proper knowledge in Rites and rituals
- Lack of interest and economic Condition

61. Do you feel any changes in present Day marriage rites and practices which Community commonly followed earlier? Yes No
62. If yes, what are the changes taken places? Reduced to one day
Rites are cut short
Rites are only for video
- 63 What are the major reasons for such Changes Time factor
Lack of interest
Economic expense/burden
New occupational system.
64. Do you perform *Sandhya Vadhanan* daily Yes No
Only at illam
65. If no why Time factor
Lack of interest
Gradually ceased
New occupational system.
66. Do you know how to perform *pooja* Yes No
67. Do you practice any daily rituals (*Thevaram*)Yes No
68. If yes duration.mints
69. If no, give reasons Time factor
Lack of faith in rituals
Lack of proper knowledge
Laziness, disinterested.
70. Do you conduct temple worship daily Yes No
71. Do you perform special *poojas* on your birth days? Yes No

72. If no, give reasons Lack of time to visit
Lack of faith
Temple worship is unscientific
Other reasons
73. Have you acquired basic knowledge in Sanskrit Yes No
74. Have you studied Veda in traditional way. Yes No
75. If yes, do you practice Veda daily Yes No
76. Do you read any other epics?
upanishads etc, daily Yes No
77. If yes, which one
78. If no, give reasons No time for reading and chanting
Reading epics is a waste of time
Not applicable
79. Do you perform posthumous ceremonies Yes No
80. Do you perform *Sradha* annually Yes No
81. If yes, list them All *Sradhas*
Selected ones
Father and mother only
82. If not why Lack of proper time
Occupational problem
Unscientific
83. Is there a *Paradevatha* temple attached
to your *illam* Yes No
84. If yes, Do you perform daily *pooja* Yes No.
85. If no, what are the reasons Family lost economic back
ground to conduct such rites
Disintegration of joint family
Temple transferred to local
Committee
New political and social currents
86. Is there a '*Sarpakavu*' well protected in
Your *Illam* Yes No
87. If yes do you perform *pooja* in *kavu* Yes No
88. If no, give reasons Changes occurred in Agrarian

Social setup.

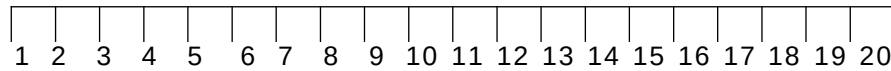
Joint family system degenerated

The gradual extinction of Sarpakavu

89. Do you perform *Sandhya Namam* with your family everyday

Yes No

90. Please indicate changes in religious matters occurred in your family



(Assure 10 is the position of your family before 70's)

91. Did your family observe impurities like Echil,

Vattu, Birth, death and Menstruation etc.

Yes

No

92. Are you a pure Vegetarian

Yes

No

93. Do you take food from outside

Yes

No

94. Do you think that there is lack of interest among Brahmin Community in studying

Vedas and related rituals

Yes

No

95. If yes, what do you consider main reason for the same

Studying of Vedas not lucrative

Decrease in economic Status

Modern education and Job opportunities

Scientific technological development

Others (.....)

96. If economic condition is sound, will you go to learn veda?

Yes

No

97. Do you think that the interest in the performance of religious rituals is on the decline

Yes

No

98. If yes, what do you consider as the

Changes in social structure main reasons

Huge economic burden

Lack of proper training

Others (.....)

99. Has the activities of *yogakshemasabha* helped the community to overcome the socio-economic degradation which took place after 70's? Yes No
100. If yes, how? Upliftment of women
Modernisation through Education
New socio-political awareness
Propagana against superstitions
101. Has new English education, Job Opportunity and others helped Community to overcome its problems? Yes No
102. Has your community gained development through the reforms of rituals and Religious Rites? Yes No
103. Has engaging in the agriculture, business, foreign trade etc. helped community to overcome its problems? Yes No
104. Have *pooja, mathravadam* etc, helped Nampoothiries to gain economic prosperity? Yes No
105. How does the community cope up with the drastic changes that took place in 70's Yes No
106. Do you thing Nampoothiries will lose their religious supremacy? Yes No
- 107 If yes, what are the major reasons?
108. Do you have anything additional to describe?
-