

CURRENT PHYSICAL ASSET HOLDINGS AND ITS UTILISATION PATTERN AMONG THE NAIR COMMUNITY IN KERALA

Ms.Seethalakshmi.K	<i>Chennai, Tamil Nadu, India</i>
Dr. Zabeena Hameed. P	<i>Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, University of Calicut, Dr. John Matthai Centre, Aranattukara, Thrissur, Kerala, India</i>

ABSTRACT

DOI URL: <https://doi.org/10.36713/epra3010>

This paper attempts to analyse the pattern of ownership of current physical assets and its utilisation among the Nair community of Kerala. Review of studies on asset holdings in India and secondary data reveals that physical assets form the most important asset type owned by the households both in rural and urban areas. A study on current physical asset holdings assumes more relevance and historical significance when we consider the Nair community, which is historically known for their relatively better asset position. This paper considers all the physical assets as given by the NSSO in the All India Debt Investment Survey and addresses the source of obtaining these physical assets. As land is the physical asset which lays foundation to all other physical as well as financial assets, emphasis is given to land holdings, its size and the extent of fragmentation of holdings. The study reinforces the affinity of Nair households towards physical assets. The study also brings into notice, the existence of undivided land holdings untouched by partition over generations among some Nair households even now, in the era witnessing the cropping up of nuclear families. However, the study confirms the generally observed shift in preference of households from traditional assets like land, buildings, agricultural and business implements towards modern, ever changing and constantly updating physical assets like transport equipments and durable household goods among the Nair households too.

KEY WORDS: *Nair community, Physical Assets, Land holdings, Matrilineal system, Consolidation of land, Undivided land*

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Entitlements, as defined by Amartya Sen include “the set of alternative commodity bundles that a person can command in a society using the totality of rights and opportunities that he or she faces” (Devereux, 2001). Entitlements depend on two elements : 1) the personal endowments, which are the resources a person legally owns such as house, livestock, land and non-tangible goods and 2) the set of commodities the person can have access to through trade and production, that is, the exchange entitlement mapping (Burchi and Muro, 2012). Physical assets like land, house and livestock are vital elements that determine the entitlement set obtainable for a person. Anything owned by a person, company etc. that has money value and that may be

sold to pay debts is termed as an asset (Hornby, Gatenby, Wakefield, 1948).

Household’s asset represents all that are owned by the household and has money value. This include physical assets like land, buildings, livestock, agricultural machinery and implements, non-farm business equipment, all transport equipment, durable household goods and financial assets like dues receivable on loans advanced in cash or in kind, shares in companies and cooperative societies, banks, etc., national saving certificates and the like, deposits in companies, banks, post offices and with individuals (NSS 70th Round, 2013; AIDIS Report, 2014). As per All India Debt Investment Survey report 2014, in rural areas of India, physical assets constitute 98.15 percent share of total value of assets whereas in urban areas, 95.2 percent of total value of assets are physical

assets. Another notable fact from the report is that, Land and Buildings together form 93.73 percent and 91.81 percent of total assets in rural and urban areas respectively. This data reveals that physical assets like land and buildings form an important part of material possessions of households irrespective of whether they belong to rural or urban area. (NSS 70th Round, 2013; AIDIS Report, 2014).

1.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

As far as a household is concerned, land is the most important type of physical asset which in turn gives rise to other physical assets like residential as well as non-residential buildings, livestock, agricultural machinery and implements to be used in the agricultural land, water bodies like pond, well etc., and non-farm business equipments based on the type of business activity carried on. Thus land is the main form of initial endowment which determines the form and extent of other assets acquired. Studies have been conducted on the ownership of physical asset holdings, especially land, from the point of view of marginalised communities like the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. A study on the physical assets as a whole, from the point of view of the early prominent property owning community like Nairs in Kerala, who are also known to be followers of matrilineal system of inheritance, seems important, but is lacking and it can give us a different story. Hence, the present study is an attempt to obtain a picture of the ownership of current physical asset holdings and its utilisation pattern among Nairs of Kodungallur Taluk of Thrissur District of Kerala. This study assumes significance, as it also examines the source, size and extent of consolidation of land holdings among the sample households.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study is pursued with the following two objectives.

1. To examine the pattern of ownership of current physical assets and its utilisation among Nairs in the study area.
2. To examine the source, size and extent of consolidation of land holdings of the Nairs in the study area.

1.4 DATA SOURCE AND METHODOLOGY

The study is mainly based on primary data collected from 72 Nair sample households. In the present study, Nair community is chosen because they were one of the prominent assets owning class in Kerala. Kodungallur Taluk in Thrissur district is purposively selected as the study area. In the Kodungallur Taluk Nair Service Society (NSS) Union, there are 22 actively functioning Karayogams (village level units). The total number of families altogether in the 22 Karayogams

was found out, and its 7.5 percent was chosen as the number of sample households. Three Karayogams, having less than 50 households were not considered. From the remaining 19 Karayogams, 72 sample households were surveyed. The number of samples surveyed from a particular Karayogam was based on the proportion of number of families in that Karayogam to the total number of families multiplied by 75. From the 72 sample households, a family member, mostly the head who is middle aged or above, or a senior citizen was purposively selected to respond to the queries, so that he/she could trace the details of physical assets. The primary survey was conducted using a detailed structured interview schedule.

For defining the concept of physical asset holdings, the definition used by the National Sample Survey Office (NSSO) in All India Debt Investment Survey (AIDIS) report is followed. For the purpose of collecting and analysing data on physical asset holdings, except durable household goods, classification followed by the National Sample Survey Office (NSSO) for conducting All India Debt Investment Survey (AIDIS) was used. In the case of the durable household goods, the classification followed by the NSSO for conducting the All India Household Consumption Expenditure Survey was used. For the purpose of identification of sample households, the unpublished data provided by Nair Service Society (NSS) Kodungallur Taluk Union office were used.

1.5 PATTERN OF OWNERSHIP OF PHYSICAL ASSETS AMONG THE SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS

Pattern of physical asset holdings gives us a picture of ownership of these assets among the sample households and also their preference towards various assets. This is shown in Table – 1. Among the seven broad classifications of physical asset holdings, land, buildings and durable household goods are owned by all the 72 sample households (100 percent). With regard to the agricultural machinery and implements, 97.2 percent of the households own machineries and implements related to agricultural activities. However, only 12.5 percent of the households own one or other kind of livestock. In the case of transport equipment, 87.5 percent households own some type of transport equipment. Rest of the households does not own any vehicle not because they can't afford it, but are inhabited by old aged husband and wife, whose children have settled out of the state or country. Among our sample households, only 4.2 percent possess one or the other type of non-farm business equipment. As indicated by the early writings on Nairs (Padmanabhamenon, 1914; Madhavan Nair, 2011), this study also confirms that Nairs are not very much interested in business or trade related activities.

Table -1 Pattern of Ownership of Physical Assets among the Sample Households

Type of Physical Asset	Owns	Does not own	Total
Land	72 (100%)	0 (0%)	72 (100%)
Buildings	72 (100%)	0 (0%)	72 (100%)
Livestock	9 (12.5%)	63 (87.5%)	72 (100%)
Agricultural Machinery and implements	70 (97.2%)	2 (2.8%)	72 (100%)
Non-farm business equipment	3 (4.2%)	69 (95.8%)	72 (100%)
Transport equipment	63 (87.5%)	9 (12.5%)	72 (100%)
Durable households goods	72 (100%)	0 (0%)	72 (100%)

Source: Sample Survey

1.6 UTILISATION PATTERN OF THE CURRENT PHYSICAL ASSETS AMONG THE SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS

Households own different types of physical assets. But mere ownership will not give us an idea about whether the assets are used or not, and if used, the purpose to which these assets are used. Hence, current utilisation pattern of each physical asset assumes relevance. The utilisation pattern of land, buildings, livestock, agricultural machinery and implements, non-farm business equipment, all transport equipment and durable household goods are examined here.

Purpose of utilisation of Land

The purpose for which the Nair sample households utilize their landholdings at present is shown in Table - 2. All households possess residential land area, including a house. Among our samples, 48 (66.7 percent) are having irrigated

crop area and 49 (68.1 percent) use their land as orchards and plantations. A majority of 67 (93.1 percent) households have water bodies in their land. Only 8 (11.1 percent) households have unirrigated crop area. Only 1 household (1.4 percent), possess land area with water bodies for fishing and aquaculture. There are 4 (5.6 percent) families who own land used exclusively for non-farm business. There are also families who use their land for other non agricultural purposes related to their culture and heritage like maintenance of Abode of Snakes (Sarpa Kavu in malayalam), where a small temple is located, which they call as their Family Deity ('Paradevatha' in malayalam). There are 14 (19.4 percent) families who use a part of their land for non agricultural purposes. Also, 11 (15.3 percent) families have land area which remains barren and unutilized.

Table- 2 Purpose for which land is utilised by the sample households

Purpose	Number of sample households
Crop area, irrigated	48 (66.7%)
Crop area, unirrigated	8 (11.1%)
Orchards and Plantations	49 (68.1%)
Water bodies for fishing and aquaculture	1 (1.4%)
Water bodies	67 (93.1%)
Exclusively for non- farm business	4 (5.6%)
Other non-agricultural uses	14 (19.4%)
Residential area including house site	72 (100%)
Barren / Unutilized	11 (15.3%)

Source: Sample Survey

Purpose of utilisation of Buildings

All the families surveyed have own residential buildings. Apart from this, they have buildings and constructions used for farm, non – farm, religious and other purposes. Here, other constructions include bore well, tube well etc. There are 30 (41.7 percent) households who still have buildings used for farm business. Buildings used as shelter for livestock (Thozhuthu in malayalam), store house for paddy, fuel etc. come under this classification. Mere presence of these buildings in their land does not mean that these constructions are actively used for the purposes for which they were built. Most of the buildings for farm purpose were inherited and at present, they are not used at all. Among our sample, only 4 (5.6 percent) households possess buildings for non-farm business indicating that Nairs are not very much interested in business or trade related activities. The buildings used for non-farm activity includes two oil mills, one lodge and one hotel. The lodge and hotel are functioning well but the oil mills are closed. Only its buildings are remaining. There are 14 (16.7 percent) families who have buildings for religious purposes and are used for maintaining Abode of Snakes and Family Deity.

Purpose of utilisation of Agricultural Machinery, Implements and Livestock

Out of the 72 families surveyed, 70 (97.2 percent) households own manually operated agricultural implements and tools and most of them inherited these from their forefathers. Ownership of these implements doesn't mean that, the households are actively involved in agriculture. Except a few households who still view agriculture seriously and continue agricultural activities, majority keeps the tools and machineries needed for a kitchen garden or a small or medium size garden land. There are only 2 (2.8 percent) households who do not have enough space for agriculture related activities

and they do not possess any kind of agricultural implements. Out of 72 households, 53 (73.6 percent) possess water lifting equipment like electric motor. There are implements which forms inevitable components of professional agriculture. As no household surveyed is engaged in agriculture in a full-fledged manner, there are none with power tiller, other power driven machinery and equipment, other machineries for irrigation and furniture and fixtures especially meant for agriculture. Only 3 families who still have paddy fields use specialised implements when required on a rental basis.

Out of the 72 sample households, only 9 households (12.5 percent) possess one or the other type of livestock. Among the households who own livestock, 5 possess cows, 3 have goats and one household have a poultry farm. Among those who own livestock, only 2 families use their livestock both for family needs as well as for commercial needs. One family is having a poultry farm, and they sell out chicken. Another family is having a number of cows and the milk obtained is sold out after meeting family needs and it is one of the main sources of their income. Majority of the households, who own livestock, keep them to meet family needs such as milk and organic manure for agricultural activities. Thus, it is seen that the use of livestock as a source of income is rare among the Nair households.

Purpose of utilisation of Non-farm Business Equipments and Transport Equipments

Non-farm business equipments are relatively rare among the Nairs. Only 3 (4.2 percent) of the sample households runs non-farm businesses like lodge, hotel and medical laboratory and own equipments like Xerox machine, fax machine and medical equipments for the medical laboratory. All the three households have the necessary furnitures and fixtures required for their respective business activities. Out

of the total sample households, 63 (87.5 percent) owns one or the other type of transport equipment. Among those who own vehicles, 49 (68 percent) households possess two wheelers like motorcycles or scooters and 34 (47.2 percent) households have own motor car which they use for domestic purposes. Only two households use means of transportation like auto-rickshaw and a hand-driven cart as a source of income. Out of the 72 households, only 15 (20.8 percent) possess a bicycle. The households who do not own bicycles are mostly of the old aged, whose children are permanently settled separately.

Possession and utilisation of Durable Household goods

There are innumerable broad classifications and sub classifications of the durable household goods as per the classification given in the All India Household Consumption Expenditure Survey conducted by the National Sample Survey Office (NSSO). But, in the present study, only nine selected items representing several broad categories are incorporated. Out of the 72 households surveyed, all the households are having almost all types of furniture and fixtures, goods for recreation like television, radio etc. and crockery and utensils. Out of the total sample households, 70 (97.2 percent) families have refrigerators, 62 (86.1 percent) families possess washing machines, 51 (70.8 percent) households own electric heating appliances like induction, heater etc., 27 (37.5 percent) households have air conditioner at home and 6 (8.3 percent) households have sewing machine at home. There are 45 (62.5 percent) families who have Personal Computer/Laptop/Other peripherals including software. All these items are used by the households only for domestic purposes.

1.7 SOURCE OF OBTAINING LAND, ITS SIZE AND THE EXTENT OF CONSOLIDATION OF LAND HOLDINGS

As land is the main form of initial endowment which determines the form and extent of other assets acquired, more emphasis is given to land in this study. In this section, an attempt is made to examine the source of obtaining land, its size and the extent of consolidation of land holdings.

1.7.1 Source of obtaining the land holdings by the sample households

Among the 72 sample households surveyed, 38 respondents (52.8 percent) were males and 34 (47.2 percent) were females. There are different sources of acquiring land and the major ones can be classified as maternal (inherited from mother), paternal (inherited from father), inherited by spouse from mother, inherited by spouse from father, purchased, gifted and reverse transfers. Table -3 shows the source of obtaining the land holdings by the sample households. A majority of 46 households (63.9 percent) have inherited land from their mother whereas 15 (20.8 percent) of the total sample have inherited land from their father. Maternal inheritance is significantly higher in the inherited land for the sample. Also it is high in the inherited land obtained from his/her spouse. There are 13 (18.1 percent) and 9 (12.5 percent) households who have land which was inherited by spouse from mother and father respectively. In terms of area, land inherited from mother is 33.73 acres and land inherited from father is 13.72 acres, which forms 71.09 percent and 28.91 percent of the total inherited land, i.e., 47.45 acres. This indicates the prevalence of matrilineal system of inheritance among the Nairs. Among the sample households, 30 (41.7 percent) have purchased land of their own. There are 2 (2.8 percent) households who have received land as a gift from unmarried or childless relatives. There is also 1 (1.4 percent) household who has received transfer of land from son to father.

Table-3 Source of obtaining the land holdings by the sample households

Source of obtaining land	Number of Sample households
Inherited from mother	46 (63.9%)
Inherited from father	15 (20.8%)
Inherited by spouse from mother	13 (18.1%)
Inherited by spouse from father	9 (12.5%)
Purchased	30 (41.7%)
Gifted	2 (2.8%)
Reverse transfer	1 (1.4%)

Source: Sample Survey

1.7.2 Size of land holdings of sample households

Based on the size, land holding is classified in India into marginal, small, semi-medium, medium and large and, is expressed in hectares. In this study, size of land holdings is also given in cents and acres because in Kerala, we use these units more frequently than the unit hectare. One hectare is equal to 2.471 acres and one acre is equal to 100 cents. Table

- 4 shows that 67 (93.06 percent) of Nair households have marginal holdings of less than one hectare of land and the rest 5 (6.94 percent) have small holdings of 1-2 hectares. This is in contrast to the earlier notion that Nairs are owners of large holdings (Padmanabhamenon, 1914, Madhavan Nair, 2011). It is striking to observe that, out of 72 sample households, none have semi-medium, medium or large holdings.

Table -4 Size of land holdings of sample households

Type of Land Holding	Range in Hectares	Range in Acres	Range in Cents	Number of sample households
Marginal	0-1	0 - 2.471	0 – 247.1	67 (93.06 percent)
Small	1-2	2.471 - 4.942	247.1 - 494.2	5 (6.94 percent)
Semi-Medium	2-4	4.942 - 9.884	494.2 – 988.4	0
Medium	4-10	9.884 – 24.71	988.4 – 2471	0
Large	10 & above	24.71 & above	2471 & above	0

Source: Sample Survey

Among the 72 households, more than half (54. 2 percent) have land less than 50 cents. This is shown in Table-5. Among the rest of the households, 14 (19.4 percent) own land ranging from 50-100 cents and 19 sample families have 100 or more than 100 cents of land. There are 10 (13.9 percent) sample

households who have land ranging from 100 -150 cents. Two families each have land ranging from 150-200 cents and 200-250 cents. Five (6.9 percent) households have land area of 250 cents and above.

Table – 5 Size of land holdings of sample households (in cents)

Land	Number of sample households
0-50	39 (54.2%)
50-100	14 (19.4%)
100-150	10 (13.9%)
150-200	2 (2.8 %)
200-250	2 (2.8%)
250 and above	5 (6.9%)
Total	72 (100%)

Source: Sample Survey

Size of land holdings of sample households with less than 50 cents of land

More than half of the households had less than 50 cents of land. The details regarding the size of land holdings of these households are given in Table - 6. Out of the 39 sample households with size of land holdings below 50 cents, 3 (7.7 percent) have land less than 10 cents, 17 (43.6 percent) have land between 10-20 cents and 12 (30.8 percent) households

have 20-30 cents respectively. Only 2 (5.1 percent) families have land holdings ranging from 30-40 cents. There are 5 (12.8 percent) households with land holdings ranging from 40-50 cents. Thus, among those who own less than 50 cents of land, majority (82 percent) had land of size less than 30 cents.

Table – 6 Size of land holdings of sample households with less than 50 cents of land

Land (in cents)	Number of Sample households
<10	3 (7.7%)
10-20	17 (43.6%)
20-30	12 (30.8%)
30-40	2 (5.1%)
40-50	5 (12.8%)
Total	39 (100%)

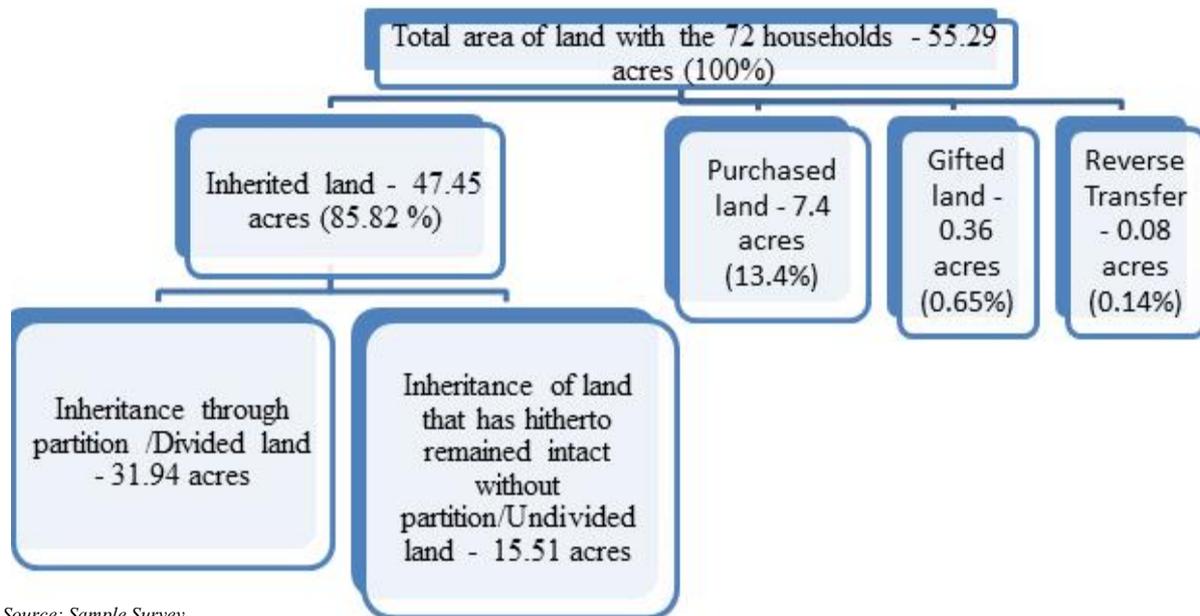
Source: Sample Survey

1.7.3 Classification of area of landholdings of sample households into divided and undivided land

The 72 households under study presently have a total area of 55.29 acres of land, of which a lion's share of 47.45 acres (85.82 percent) is inherited land. Out of the total land area, 7.4 acres (13.4 percent) is purchased/self acquired, 0.36 acres (0.65%) is gifted land which was received as a gift from unmarried or childless relatives and 0.08 acres (0.14%) is reverse transferred land which was given by a son to his father.

Out of the total inherited land of 47.45 acres, only 31.94 acres (67.31 percent) is divided through the process of partition. The rest consisting of 15.51 acres (32.69 percent) of the total inherited land is maintained intact and untouched by partition. It is noteworthy that, even now, there is undivided land maintained by a minority of Nairs with some good intentions and that, this practice was carried forward during the era of increasing number of partitions supported by legislations like land reforms by the Communist government in Kerala in 1957 fixing a land ceiling (approximately 15 acres on an average), The Kerala Land Reforms Act, 1963, which came into force in January 1970 and The Kerala Joint Hindu Family System (Abolition) Act, 1975.

Figure - 1
Classification of area of landholdings of sample households into divided and undivided land



Source: Sample Survey

Number of households with Undivided land and its reasons

The reasons behind keeping the land intact over generations without partition are shown in Table- 7. Out of the 72 households, 12 households (16.67 percent) have land that has not yet undergone partition. Out of the total undivided land i.e., 15.51 acres, 3 joint family households have 6.55 acres of land which form 42.23 percent of the total undivided land. Thus it is evident that joint family system is an important determinant of land being kept intact. There are four households who are maintaining the inherited land as a part of tradition, with the desire of keeping it within the family and transferring it to the next generation for maintenance, having an area 5.81 acres, which is 37.46 percent of the undivided land. There are another 4 households with 2.9 acres (18.7 percent) who have only one offspring/heir, hence the land was undivided. One Nair household has kept the land intact by giving monetary compensation to sibling, thereby avoiding partition.

The desire to bequeath apart from maintaining the ancestral property intact has lot of socio-economic implications. Still during this era of nuclear families, there are some households who uphold the principles of joint living, undivided property and other traditional practices unique to Nairs. It also reflects that at least some Nairs are not using their ancestral property for meeting their day to day lives, and have refrained from its sale, and are contented with what they have. This great value attached to ancestral property has helped to reduce the wastage of land by avoiding subdivision and fragmentation of land. Existence of joint family and the desire to maintain and bequeath the ancestral property, and the resultant undivided property has created an image that the Nairs are still holders of big holdings. In contrast to this, the present study finds that not even a single household possesses semi-medium, medium or large holdings (Table-4). Among the 72 households, 67 (93.06 percent) possess marginal holdings and the rest possess small land holdings (6.94 percent).

Table - 7 Number of households with undivided land and its reasons

Reason for keeping undivided land	Number of households	Area of land (in acres)
Joint family	3	6.55 (42.23%)
To maintain the ancestral property intact	4	5.81(37.46%)
Only one offspring/heir	4	2.9 (18.7%)
To avoid division of land	1	0.25 (1.61%)
Total	12	15.51 (100%)

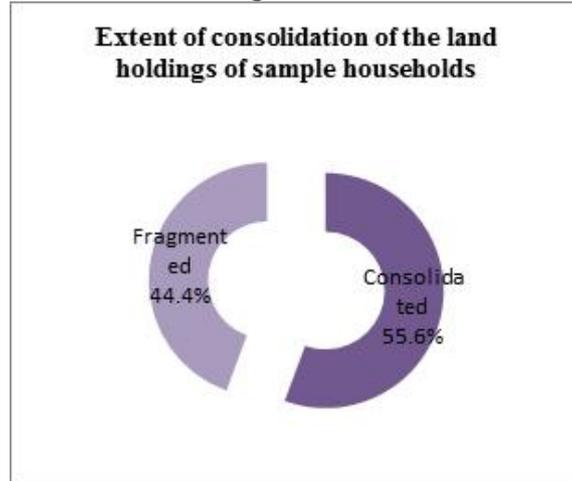
Source: Sample Survey

1.7.4 Extent of Consolidation and Fragmentation of land holdings

The classification of the sample households based on whether their land holdings are consolidated or fragmented is shown in Figure - 2. A majority of 40 (55.6 percent) out of

the 72 households have their land holdings as consolidated into a single piece of land. In the case of the remaining 32 (44.4 percent) families, their land holdings are located in different places.

Figure -2



Extent of fragmentation of land holdings of sample households

In order to understand the extent of fragmentation of the land holdings of the 32 sample households, a classification is done based on the geographical location of the land holdings. The classification is done on the basis of whether the land holdings are within the ward, within the Local body (Panchayat/Municipality), within the District or within the

State. Table – 8 gives the details of fragmentation of holdings. There are 6 (18.75 percent) sample households who have land holdings fragmented within the Ward. Households who have their land holdings fragmented within the local body to which they belong and within the District to which they belong come to 10 each. There are 6 (18.75 percent) households whose land holdings are fragmented within the State.

Table – 8 Extent of fragmentation of land holdings of sample households

Extent of fragmentation	Number of sample households
Within the Ward	6 (18.75%)
Within the Local body	10 (31.25%)
Within the District	10 (31.25%)
Within the State	6 (18.75%)
Total	32 (100%)

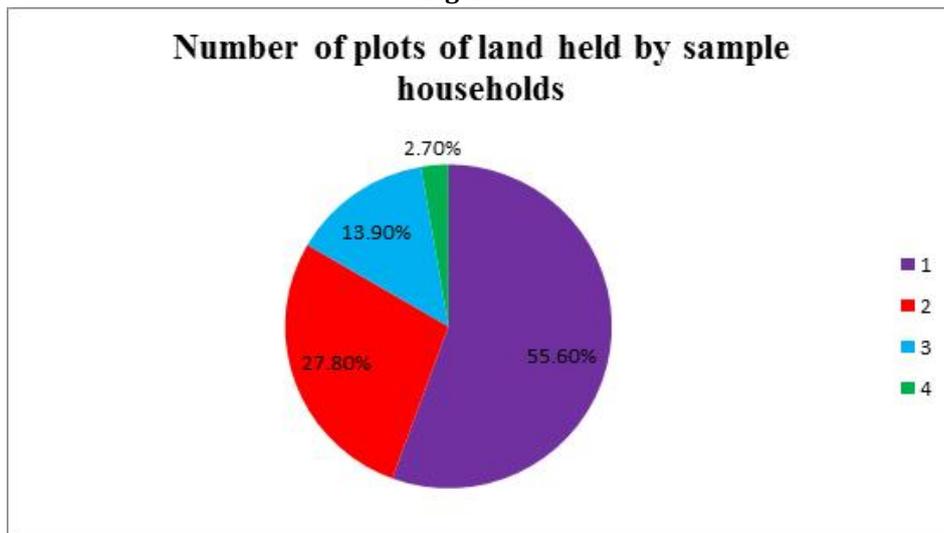
Source: Sample Survey

Number of plots of land held by sample households

The number of plots of land held by the sample households is shown in Figure-3. Among our sample households, 40 (55.6 percent) households are having only a

single plot of land, 20 (27.8 percent) and 10 (13.9 percent) families are holding 2 and 3 number of plots of land respectively. Only 2 (2.8 percent) sample households are having 4 or above number of plots of land.

Figure- 3



Source: Sample Survey

1.8 CONCLUSION

Analysis of the ownership and utilization of current physical assets among the Nair households helps us to observe that there is lack of interest towards agriculture as a profession, as seen from the possession and maintenance of agricultural machinery and implements for name's sake with less number of livestock holding households. The study confirms the low affinity maintained by the Nair community towards business from olden times. Just like any other household in Kerala, the Nairs too own transport equipments and basic durable household goods. The physical asset holding pattern of Nair households is indicative of the shift in preference from traditional assets like land, old residential buildings, agricultural machinery and equipments and livestock to modern buildings, modern transport equipments and durables, which are ever changing and are the constantly updating physical assets. The presence of majority of households with a single plot and a majority with less than 50 cents of land within the traditionally property owning community is striking. Existence of joint family (though its importance has declined), and the desire to maintain and bequeath the ancestral property; and the resultant undivided property has created an image that the Nairs are still holders of big holdings. In contrast to this, the study finds that not even a single household possesses semi-medium, medium or large holdings and that 93 percent owns marginal holdings and the rest have small holdings. In the era of nuclear families and rapid partition and division of land holdings, and increasing consumerism; it is noteworthy that there are significant number of Nair households who in line with the matrilineal system of inheritance, still attach great value to their ancestral property and maintain it undivided and intact without using it for their day to day chores, thereby, avoiding sub-division and fragmentation of land.

REFERENCES

1. Burchi, Francesco, & Muro, Pasquale De (2012). A Human Development and Capability Approach to Food Security: Conceptual Framework and Informational Basis. (Working Paper 2012-009: February P.10). United Nations Development Programme, Regional Bureau for Africa. Retrieved 14 September 2016 from <http://www.undp.org/content/dam/rba/docs/Working%20Papers/Capability%20Approach%20Food%20Security.pdf>
2. C.R., Yadu (2014). Land Question and Mobility of the Marginalized: A Study of Land Inequality in Kerala (MPhil Dissertation). Thiruvananthapuram: Centre for Development Studies.
3. Devereux, Stephen (2001). Sen's Entitlement Approach: Critiques and Counter-Critiques. (Vol. No.29, No.3). (p.246). London: Oxford Development Studies. Carfax Publishing Company.
4. Fuller, C.J. (1976). The Nayars Today. Great Britain: Cambridge University Press.
5. Hornby, A.S., Gatenby, E.V & Wakefield, H (1948), The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English (p.51). London: Oxford University Press.
6. Nair.K., Madhavan (2011). Nairpazhama. Thrissur: Current Books.
7. Nair Service Society (NSS). Retrieved 26 March 2016 from www.nss.org.in.
8. National Sample Survey Office. (2014). Key Indicators of Debt and Investment in India (NSS 70th Round 2013). Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India.
9. National Sample Survey Office. (2014). Household Consumption of Various Goods and Services in India 2011-12 (Report No:558 (68/1.0/2) NSS 68th Round). Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India.
10. Osella, Fillipo & Osella, Caroline (2000). Social Mobility in Kerala: Modernity and Identity in Conflict. London: Pluto Press.
11. Padmanabhamenon, K.P., (1914). Cochirajyacharithram. (2nd Edition) pp. 20-29, 772-791. Calicut: The Mathrubhumi Printing & Publishing company Ltd.
12. Pai, Mahesh.T., (2003). The Kerala Joint Hindu Family System (Abolition) Act, 1975. Retrieved 10 September 2016 from <http://www.geocities.ws/paivakil/personallaws/03097600.html>