

**CHANGING AGRARIAN RELATIONS IN TELANGANA:
STUDY OF A VILLAGE IN NIZAMABAD DISTRICT**

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BY

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DECLARATION

I, **Ch Praveen Kumar** hereby declare that this thesis entitled “*Changing Agrarian Relations in Telangana: Study of A Village in Nizamabad District*”, under submission is a bonafide research work which is also free from plagiarism is supervised by **Prof. P. Venkata Rao**. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this University or any other University or Institution for the award of degree or diploma. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodhganga/ INFLIBNET.

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GLOSSARY OF WORDS

<i>Barasawa</i>	The afternoon session of labour work timings
<i>Chakali</i>	Washermen caste
<i>Devanga/Devalollu</i>	Weavers
<i>Dora</i>	A term used in Telangana region to refer large land owners
<i>Gouda</i>	Toddy tapers
<i>Goondla/Bestha</i>	Fishing community
<i>Gutha</i>	Piece Rate Contract work
<i>Jeetham</i>	Labour system
<i>Jeethagallu</i>	attached labourers or annual labourers
<i>Kummari</i>	Blacksmith
<i>Kammari</i>	Potter
<i>Kaikilidarulu</i>	Agricultural labour/Daily wage labourers
<i>Kaikili</i>	Labour work
<i>Kanchara</i>	Those who involve in manufacturing and sale of utensils
<i>Madiga & Mala</i>	Scheduled castes of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh
<i>Panchayat</i>	An elected body of members at village level
<i>Sarpanch</i>	The head of Village Panchayat
<i>Thota</i>	Agricultural farms or agricultural fields (Especially with reference to Paddy Fields)
<i>Upadhihami Pani</i>	M.G.N.R.E.G.A work
<i>Vaddera</i>	The people who depend on stone work and earth diggings for their livelihood
<i>Vetti</i>	Forced, unpaid labour system or service

Chapter 1

Introduction

India is an agriculture based country and the majority of the population depends on agriculture as a primary source of livelihood. According to 2001 census, more than 70 percent of the India's population depends on agriculture. According to Rao and Nair (2003:3349), India lives in its villages, is as close to reality now as it was in pre-Independence period. This can be said as, even after 50 years of economic planning, after Independence, the majority of the country's population continues to live in rural areas. Indian society is very complex in its nature and it cannot be understood simply by looking at a single culture but by investigating the different social, cultural and economic factors. As Rao and Nair said, Indian society can be understood completely by the characteristics of the villages. Villages are the units which represent Indian society as a whole and in its complex nature. We can analyze the Indian society by understanding the village as a unit by its structural and functional aspects. As Beteille (1980) rightly opined, village is a significant component of Indian society and the importance of village should not be merely understood in its demographic sense but it had a design in which the basic values of Indian civilization were reflected.

Since India's all round development always goes hand in hand with the development of the agriculture sector, it's important to understand the issues related to agriculture in whole with special reference to rural areas of the country. According to Breman (1993), agriculture and its allied activities have been the major source of occupation for the majority of the population in rural India and this applies to even for the contemporary period despite the accelerated process of urbanization and industrialization. As Jodhka (2012) rightly opined on the importance of agriculture in rural India, stating that "rural economic life is always seen as being organized around agriculture. Apart from being a source of livelihood, cultural life of the cultivating peasant is almost

completely woven around the land. In other words, for a typical peasant, agriculture is a way of life”.

Agrarian studies in India:

Studies on agrarian relations and agrarian related issues are a recent phenomenon in anthropology. Studies in this area are not given much importance so far by social anthropologists and sociologists. In anthropology, the works which were done in the 1960s are the pioneer in the areas of agrarian relations and agrarian structure, which were done in Tanjore district of Tamil Nadu state. “Fortunately a great deal of information available about Tanjore district which gives us some basis for discussing in some detail the pattern of agrarian relations there. Between 1951 and 1972 three intensive studies of individual villages were made in the district by professional anthropologists (Gough 1960; Siversten 1963; Beteille 1965)” (Mohanthy, 2012).

Until the sixties, sociology and social anthropology disciplines ignored the studies on the agrarian issues. The vast population living in misery, poverty, institutionalized inequality and exploitation that were characteristics of the agrarian systems of developing societies. Unlike studies on caste, kinship, village community, or more recently, gender, study of agrarian relations did not occupy a central position among these studies. A major occupation has been to study the caste society as a clear cut system of social organization, while a network of social relationships involved in the organization of agrarian production has long remained of secondary interest. Economists and historians have been studying it for quite some time in the past but with perspectives specific to their own disciplines. It was only from the 1960s that the relationship between landownership, control and use of land and social structure has been increasingly brought into focus by some sociologists and social anthropologist. (Beteille: 1974; Breman: 1993; Jodhka: 2003) (Cited in Srikanth, Y. 2014).

The study of agrarian systems is so far been little explored by anthropologists in India. Broadly this research area looks into the issues like land and its utilization for productive purposes. There is no need to emphasize further on the requirement of such studies in a land based social economic system like India. The categories like a landlord, owner cultivator, tenant and agriculture labour and their mutual relations constitute the heart of agrarian hierarchy. However, because of the preoccupation of anthropologists towards caste, this aspect of hierarchy received very little attention from anthropologists. But the agrarian hierarchy is the crucial feature of the rural social system in India and unless we understand its nature and forms, the understanding of caste itself will remain incomplete (Beteille, 1974:32).

Andre Beteille considers technology, work cycle, organisation of production and agrarian hierarchy as major topics for anthropological investigation in the study of agrarian systems. And he adds saying “these major topics are mutually related and each one of them is related to other not listed here, e.g. technology to ecology and productive organization to systems of land tenure” (Beteille.1974:34). He further says that in any agrarian society land is the most important focus of interest. For these kinds of studies, the understanding of existing relations centering on the ownership, control and use of land provides the most useful point of departure to study the relations between land owners and labour in the agrarian societies.

The relations between the land owning farmers and landless labourers play an important role in rural agriculture sector. In developing countries like India, majority of the rural population depend on agriculture and its allied activities as primary source of livelihood. Despite of various technological advancements and introduction of heavy machinery in agriculture, the landless labourers play a significant role in recent years. The process of mechanization and hiring of heavy machinery did not substitute the labour in agriculture but the intensity of hired labour has changed. One of the current arguments among the scholars is that the technological developments created better employment opportunities for the labour in agriculture sector. Some of the scholars supported that the labour

requirement has increased in agriculture with the usage of heavy machinery and new technology. Studies argue that the employment in agriculture round the year is a major problem and the peak seasons of agriculture are experiencing acute labour shortage. Hence the agricultural farmers are experiencing problems with labour shortage along with other inputs in agriculture.

Indian Agrarian scenario:

The agrarian structure of India is not remained static and it has been changing from time to time. The agriculture in pre 1955 was marked by the presence of landlordism centered both the Zamindari as well as Ryotwari systems. With these systems, it became possible to own high proportion of agricultural lands by few landlords who leased out the lands to peasants and lived on the rent or combined this with the extraction of labour rent from hereditary from servants (Chattopadhyay, 1985).

Agriculture is the major source of livelihood in rural areas and majority of the landholdings are small and marginal i.e. around 1 to 2 acres and less than 2 acres. The following reasons can be given for this situation; lack of irrigation, drought situations, availability of inputs on time and high expenses on inputs and the insufficient yield are the major factors forced the medium farmers to decline as small and marginal farmers. The small, marginal farmers sold their small lands and occupied the category of landless labourers because of the above mentioned reasons. These landless labourers, small farmers started working as labourers for the large land owning farmers. The other significant thing is that the small marginal farmers and the landless have started migrating to cities, towns and other places in search of better employment conditions and better earnings.

Agriculture in rural areas became an expensive affair with regard to expenses on inputs such as pesticides, fertilizers etc. along with other inputs for the farmers in the agriculture sector. In most of the cases in agriculture, small and marginal farmers own small patches of land which mostly belong to economically back

ward category. The recent phenomenon in the rural agriculture sector is that the number of small landholdings is increasing.

Some of the following studies give a brief account on agrarian scenario in India; Oommen (1971) in his paper explains the prevailing agrarian conflict and unrest as “ the strategy of agricultural development adopted so far has been mainly production-oriented and the problem of distributive justice has remained unattended to; the fruits of green revolution are pocketed mainly by the rich and prosperous farmers and the disparity between them and the have-nots particularly landless labourers, has increased; the increased disparity has led to a sense of deprivation, among the weaker and poorer agrarian classes and their frustrations are manifest in agrarian tensions, occasionally leading to eruption and violence”(Oommen, 1971: A-99).

According to Bhalla (1976), there is a large bias in adoption of new technology and developments brought by Green revolution. Big farmers have decisive advantages over the small farmers in respect of their own capital as well as credit facilities. The official policies of low incidents on agricultural incomes and assets and of subsidisation of modernizing inputs encouraged big land owners to take more and more direct interest in large sized farming. On the other hand, economic pressures have forced the small and marginal farmers to join the category of agricultural labourers, particularly in view of the costliness and credit intensity of new agricultural technology. A greater use of permanent labour contracts by the large farmers in many parts of the green revolution areas has been reducing the potential bargaining strength of the labourers.

According to the opinions of political economists, the Agrarian economy of India in pre 1955 period caused pauperization of the peasantry and depression of agricultural labourers. The whole agrarian structure has not remained static for a number of factors, which are mostly exogenous in nature, has effected a significant change in its content and counter. These factors can be mentioned as; implementation of land legislations, the impact of an expanding domestic for agricultural products as a result of large scale Government outlays under the

plans from in mid-fifties in particular, and the technical changes which introduced in agriculture by encouragement of private investment in improved techniques by the Governments etc. were the factors for the change in agrarian structure in India (Chattopadhyay, 1985).

Agriculture and allied activities provide employment to almost three quarters of the total labour forces in India. The heavy dependence of population on agriculture is caused by rapid population growth. A large number of rural workers constantly move to urban areas in search of better employment, and underemployment is also one of the reasons that provokes the rural landless to migrate to cities and work in other non-agricultural sectors.

“For the country as a whole small including marginal farmers constitute the largest segment of agricultural holdings, with a major concentration in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh. Practically in all states of the country, small holdings account for the overwhelming majority of total holdings in the state. For the country as a whole, they account for 83.5 percent of agricultural holdings. The share of land cultivated under these holdings in most of the states is one third or more, of the total cultivated area of the respective state, only exceptions are Maharashtra (31.7 per cent), Punjab (29.9 per cent) and Rajasthan (22.6 per cent). For the country as a whole, nearly 46 per cent of the area is cultivated in the small holdings” (Vyas, 2003).

In most of the states, and in the country as a whole number of marginal cultivators and the area cultivated by them is progressively increasing. Only a limited number of states such as Punjab both in the number of small holdings and the area operated by them have decreased. Another disturbing feature of agricultural growth in recent years is that stickiness of labour force. GDP from agriculture is progressively declining, but there is no corresponding reduction in the workers depending on agriculture. In this context, another significant change is the progressive feminization of agricultural force. (Vyas, 2003).

Indian agriculture is in a flux as significant changes are taking place in the internal organisation as well as external environment. While designing the policies and programmes, it should take into note that the changes taking place in this sector, which is affecting lives of a large number of people. At this process of diminution of the size of the holdings is continuing, it should be factored in as an important element in the strategy for agricultural growth. Transformation of agriculture's first and foremost aim should be at improving the producers with improvement in productivity (Vyas, 2003).

According to Haroon Sajjad (2008), the agriculture crisis constitutes a major problem for raising the agricultural production and productivity despite rapid urbanization. A large proportion of the growth in the labour force will continue to occur in rural areas. In the present existing level of technology, human labour is one of the most important factors of the agricultural production. There is a direct correlation between agricultural development and the pattern and extent of utilizing of available labour for agricultural activities. In addition to the inputs in agriculture, the efficient use of human labour itself can accelerate the growth of agriculture to a great extent. Since nearly seventy percent of India's population lives in nearly 0.6 million villages and the development of India, by and large, depends on the development of its rural population.

According to Singhal (2010) in India 65 to 70 percent of the population depend on agriculture for their livelihood. Indian agricultural production depends on monsoon, as about 60 percent of the cultivated area in the country is rain fed. A majority we can say as more than two-third ($\frac{2}{3}$) of the farming community belongs to a small and marginal category, and little means of subsistence and most of them are poverty stricken. He opined that the Government programmes like the minimum supporting price (MSP), a subsidy to fertilizers/chemicals and so on, must be continued for some more years along with liberalization policies adopted on merit basis.

Review of Literature:

Review of literature for the study has been done under three categories for the convenience. They are,

I) Agrarian Relations

II) The socio-economic conditions of agricultural labourers and

III) Employment conditions of agricultural labourers

I). Agrarian Relations:

The pace of social and economic changes in rural India has been rapid during the past two or three decades. Among others, it is generally attributed to such factors as the implementation of land reforms, the introduction of a package of high yielding technology, and several socio-economic welfare and development measures. More recently these are explained that in terms of globalisation and development measures. (Rao, 2000a; 2000b; Srinivas and Aurora 2001; Karanth and Ramaswamy 2000).

The commonly identified changes have been the erosion of traditional institutions, near-disappearance of patron-client relationships, increased tensions and conflicts, and the emergence of individualism and modern patterns of life.

Karanth (2000) argues that how a traditional form of interdependency persists and assumes greater significance despite several changes in the economy and policy of rural community. The changes in agrarian social structure, which form the context which the persistence of traditional feature of interdependence is being explained, are: mainly the adoption of cash crops, namely sericulture and shifting cropping patterns. Besides the spread of irrigation, changes in labour force, and changes in the social and political life of the rural people are explained as reasons for changes in the social structure of rural society.

R.N.Pramanik in his study (2008) “Changing Terms and Conditions of Employment of Agricultural Labourers in West Bengal” says that, in agriculture, the terms and conditions of contracts between the employer and employee being oral and informal, they increase the complexity of labour

relations. Generally, the dominant parties (employers) set the patterns as well as the terms and conditions of employment of labour and exploit the weaker parties (labourers). The situation has changed now to some extent, and the rural labourers too are able to considerably influence the terms and conditions in the labour market.

According to Pramanik (2008) the employee-labour relationship is not uniform across the regions, it varies from region to region and even within the same region. The employer-employee relationships differ because of the possible following factors such as “: Duration of contracts like whether it is a day, month, season, period of a particular operation, year etc. The Basis for payment; whether it is hourly, daily, piece rate, product share, etc. and frequency of payment, like it is on the basis of day, month, year, several irregular installments during the year, bonus during the festivals, etc. Mode of payment is seen in the forms such as in cash, kind and their different combination like meals etc. The degree to which work obligations and hours of work are specified or are left unspecified. Interlinking age with certain other contracts with the employer either in credit or land relations or in employment of other members of the labourers’ family on the same employer’s farm and freedom to work for different employers: full freedom, the total absence of such freedom, conditional or restricted freedom, etc. Different combinations of these above mentioned attributes would determine the nature of employment and wage rates of agricultural labourers” (Bardhan and Rudra 1980).

Andre Beteille (1974) discusses the agrarian structure and agrarian relations along with the social frame work of agriculture and causes of agrarian unrest in his study conducted in Tanjore district of Tamil Nadu. Joan Mencher (1983) in her paper ‘Agricultural labours in Peasant societies’ explores the role of landless labourers in peasant societies, both today and in the past, focusing on the case of South Asia, and Southern India in Particular. Kathleen Gough (1976) Study discusses the changes in the agrarian relations and conditions of agricultural labourers in Tanjore an intensively irrigated, paddy-growing district of Tamil Nadu, Southeast India, between 1951 to 1953 and 1976.

Jan Breman's (1985) Study discusses the origin and magnitude of seasonal migration and circulation of labourers, working conditions of seasonal migrants and employment opportunities outside agriculture etc. An interdisciplinary study (1970-80) conducted by an economist, two sociologists and a group of scholars from Madras Institute of Development Studies (MIDS) in Tamil Nadu probes the relations of production and agrarian change in two eco-zones of Tirichy district and explores the differences and similarities between these two eco-zones.

Sisodia and Sharma's (1972) study says that the family relationships and traditional role patterns are greatly influenced by mechanization. The old, women and children, who used to help in certain farming operation, are withdrawn, from active farm work; young ones have replaced the old one as tractor operation requires more physical strength. (cited in Chhina, 2009).

Chhina opines by taking the views of Reddy (1975), Chakravathy and Tiwari (1979) indicated that backward agriculture and backward agrarian relations provide the basis for the high rate of women's participation. These studies reveal that even though the women participation in agriculture is high but their contribution of women's is not properly identified. He further supports the views of Chakravathy (1975) that in wheat growing areas of Haryana, women's direct contribution to agriculture was not less than 50 per cent of all agricultural work. Women's participation in agriculture is affected with the introduction of modern methods in cultivation, which is resulting in the gradual displacement of women and shrinking of their activities. Similar conclusions are reached at in the studies of White (1976) in Java, Kabir (1978) in Bangladesh, White at.al (1978) and Hanger at.al (1973) for Kenya and Palmer (1977) and Nancy (1970) for Africa (cited in Chhina, 2009).

Satyanarayana (1992) in his work “Changing agrarian structure and labour relations” describes the agrarian structure of Telangana region in the past decades. The study describes the changes and continuity, existing pattern of agrarian structure, socio-economic relations of farmers and labourers, the changes in the occupational structure and inter caste relations in the village he studied. He emphasizes on the similarities and differences between the irrigated village and non-irrigated village with respect to agrarian structure, labour relations, occupational structure and inter-caste relations. His study in these two villages of Karimnagar district reveals that, the existing literature shows that the irrigation has brought certain important changes in the agrarian structure and agrarian relations. Such as in landholding patterns, relations among the various classes, agricultural output and so on. The study found the differences and similarities between an irrigated and a non-irrigated village with respect to agrarian structure, labour relations, occupational structure and inter caste relations. The assumption is that the availability of canal irrigation, the urban impact and communications tend to influence the agrarian structure and labour relations.

Agrarian structure and the actual conditions of the agricultural labourers influence each other and therefore they are inseparable. Various aspects of labour conditions, such as the relationship between the landowners and tenants and share croppers even the political power play a significant role in the agrarian structure. As Satyanarayana (1992) opines, the relationship pattern between landlord and labour has changed because of several reasons when compared to the past, such as enabling the labourers to have their own land by the distribution of surplus land, giving tenant rights to the tenants and share croppers and the legislative measures in fixing the wages to labours. This made the labourers not only self-sufficient and self-dependent but also reduced the wages raise. This has been further strengthened by controlling landholdings through land reforms, fixing wages, and improving the conditions of labourers, trade union activity and a strong tendency on the part of agricultural labourers to take profitable occupations and so on.

In a paper titled “ agrarian changes in the times of neo-liberal crisis”(study of two villages in Haryana, it’s also a restudy during 1988 and 2008) by Jodhka (2012) describes the brief account of the changing nature of class relations in a post green revolution rural setting with a specific focus on changing nature of attached and unfree labour. He says that green revolution has made the farmers of Haryana mobilize and farming unions and also helped for their political entry. He described how the changes have taken place in all aspects of traditional relations between labours and landlords and the village social structure, nature of employment, technological changes and way of doing farming with the help of mechanization and technological developments. He explains the process of land holding by different castes groups and who are possessing lands and who are working as labourers and he describes how the social life and economic relations changed in twenty years of time in the two villages. Landholdings and social structure attached labour before twenty years and now, he explains the reasons for the declining the demand for labour in the study area.

Indu Mathur (1987) in a study titled “Change in Agrarian Society” describes the institutional structure and psychological frame of the society. She describes the changes with the developments in institutions such as caste, family, marriage and education and the changes in these aspects. The study also describes the economic changes in the agriculture sector by the adoption of new technology.

Pratap Agarwal (1971) argues that large landowning farmers are becoming prosperous with the help of government agencies, banks, and co-operative societies. They are investing in capital intensive equipment in order to enhance their direct control over agriculture and also their income. The small cultivators and the landless labourers, on the other hand, are losing out in several ways. For instance, the demand for their traditional services has diminished, availability of land on crop-sharing basis is reduced, inflation has kept their real wages almost constant, and alternate employment opportunities have lagged behind need. Consequently, the two classes are becoming polarised and increasingly antagonistic to each other”.

Village studies conducted in Telangana by the Anil Kumar (1999), Sudarshan Reddy and Venkateshwara Rao (2008), Ramulu (2008) and Shivaramakrishna Rao (2008) have observed a trend of disintegration of large landholdings belonging to the dominant landlord castes and emergence of small and medium landholding cultivators among the backward castes in the villages. Similar finding were given by Atchi Reddy (2008) that along with backward castes even good number of scheduled caste households emerged as the small and medium cultivators in due course (cited in Srikanth 2014: 18).

II) Agricultural labourers:

Since the present study deals with the landless labour in rural areas, it is important to understand the concept and the definitions of agricultural labour.

The following definitions are given by various surveys and commissions in studying agricultural labourers in different disciplines like sociology and social anthropology, economics, agrarian studies and labour studies.

According to first Agricultural labour Enquiry (1950-51) the definition of agricultural labour “those people who are agricultural labourers who are engaged in crops on payments of wages” (Jha, 1990). The second Agricultural Labour Enquiry (1956-57) enlarged the definition as “the workers engaged in allied occupations, e.g. animal husbandry, dairy, poultry, etc. were also termed as the agricultural labours”. National commission on Labour defines as “one who is basically unskilled and unorganized and has nothing but physical labour to exist. As such, the major part of the income of such a worker is derived from wages for work on land”.

According to the 1981 census, the definition given as “a person who has been working in other’s land for earning wages either in cash or kind may be regarded as agricultural labour”. Such a person had no risk in cultivation but merely worked on another person’s land or wages. An agricultural labour had no right of lease or contract on land on which he worked (Source: Jha.1990).

It can be understood clearly from above definitions that an agricultural labourer is one who does not possess any agricultural land for cultivation and depends on the wages, whether it is daily, weekly, and monthly and sometimes the contracts can be seen yearly with the farmers. Agricultural labourer is who has no skills and always depends on his physical labour in the agriculture and allied sectors for livelihood. Most of the times, he leads his life in miserable conditions since he does not possess any land, assets for his living and has no strong economic background.

Origin and Growth of agricultural labourers:

Unless we discuss the origin and growth of the agricultural labourers, it is incomplete understanding the particular category we are studying. It gives a clear idea if we discuss at least a few things on the origin and growth of agricultural labourers. It also helps to understand the various reasons behind the origin and growth of agricultural labourers. The literature found various reasons for the origin and growth of agricultural labourers. Few studies are discussed here:

The Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) has published a survey and from this survey, it is known that there are two different schools of thought with regard to the origin and growth of the class of agricultural labourers in the Indian society. According to one group of scholars Patel, (1952) and Ghosh (1969), the establishment of British rule was responsible for the emergence of a distinct class of agricultural labourers. According to the second group of scholars (Mukherjee (1957), Joshi (1958) and Kumar (1965), the emergence of agricultural labourers as a class could be traced back to the caste system and the influence it had on the nature of economic activities practiced by different social groups.(cited in Chattopadhyay, 1985).

The origin of agricultural labourers as a class could be traced back to the emergence of the caste system in India, which was obviously a phenomenon inherited from ancient India. He observed a close relationship between caste and

occupations in ancient and medieval India on the same lines as it exists today. Thus land owners belonging to the upper castes, tenants are to the intermediate castes and landless labourers to the lower caste. Since there was a sizable group of lower caste population at the lowest round of the village hierarchy, the existence of landless labourers appears to be quite reasonable argues the author (Chattopadhyay, 1985). Further he reported that the large number of agricultural labour was essentially a nineteenth century phenomenon which came into picture by the loss of lands by small cultivators and loss of occupation by artisans who faced the competition from products of industries of British India by taking into consideration the views of Surendra J. Patel (1952)(cited in Chattopadhyay , 1985).

The growth of Agricultural Labourers-Explanations:

Different opinions were raised by different scholars on the growth of agricultural labour in Indian agriculture sector. Few studies which are done in this area mentioned below for understanding the growth of agricultural labourers.

Chattopadhyay (1985) gives the views of different authors like Patel (1952), Joshi (1958), and Ghosh (1969) who have given various explanations for the rise or fall in the proportion of agricultural labourers for the period of 1931 to 1951. Most of the scholars cited above take the view that the decline in the proportion of agricultural labourers from 18 per cent 1871-72 to 10.9 per cent in 1981 is likely to have been more apparent than real. But from 1891 onwards, the proportion of agricultural labourers has been continuously raising, though the rates vary from decade to decade for different economic and administrative factors. For example increase in the proportion for the period, 1891-1901 was partly due to the fact the time of that 1901 census, agriculture was in bits and pieces of famine and scarcities but this proportion rose much less in 1991 owing to the average prosperity of agriculture being higher.

The period from 1911 to 1921 was also a period of general agricultural prosperity, of rising agricultural prices and rising wage rates mainly because of the Great War. As such the proportion of agricultural labourers did not increase considerably. There was a sudden increase in the number of agricultural labourers during 1921 to 1931. It has been argued by Patel that, this tremendous increase was mainly because of the transfer of lands to the hands of non-agriculturalists. As the rise in the agricultural population was not followed a corresponding increase in the proportion of the cultivators or tenants but by a large increase in the numbers of non-cultivate owners, it caused a sudden increase in the proportion of the agricultural labourers (Chattopadhyay: 1985).

According to the Agricultural Labour Enquiry of 1951, the proportion of agricultural labour families to the total rural agricultural families was 38.1%. This does not suggest any fall in agricultural labour population since 1931. The census figure for 1951, on the contrary, indicates a declining proportion of agricultural labourers (18.1%). Joshi has argued that the reasons for these differences are the differences in the methods of enumeration, classification and the definitions adopted.

Studies by Visaria (1976); Vyas (1976); Bardhan, K (1977) argues that there was an absolute increase in the number of agricultural labourers during the recent decades in Indian agriculture sector. Few reasons can be mentioned for the growth of agricultural labour in Indian agricultural sector such as, natural increase in the population of labourer's households and lack of employment opportunities for labourers, the eviction of tenant operators due to the enactment of tenancy legislations, and when the workers do not get enough employment in their traditional occupations that made them to occupied the ranks of agricultural labourers and also the influx of surplus labours from the small and marginal farmers households are given as reasons for the growth of agricultural labourers in agriculture sector (Chattopadhaya 1985; Bala Krishnan 2005).

Studies by Visaria (1976 and 1977) and Vyas (1976) have consistently argued that the natural increase in the population of the labourer households, as well as the disintegration of village and small scale industries, have facilitated increase in agricultural labourers. Other researchers (Bandopadhyay (1975); Rudra and Newaj; Raj (1976); Bardhan P (1976) have argued that the decline in share cropping, partly due to the land reform legislations and partly due to the technological innovations led to a major decline in the proportion of the self-employed and a rise in the proportion of wage employed in the rural working force. This change indicates a popularization in within the agricultural sector; a fast growing sub sector of medium and large forms or generating much of the increased demand for wage employment that is being supplied by the previously more self-employed poor peasant households along with landless labour households (cited in Chattopadhyay, 1985).

A study conducted on the terms and conditions of land and credit contracts in the eastern region of India reveals that, in most of the agriculturally advanced areas, share cropping tenancy is declining and owner cultivation with hire labour is rising (Bardhan and Rudra 1978). Thus eviction of tenant seems to be a prime reason for the increasing in the numbers of agricultural labourers in the eastern region. Other factors like eviction of tenants, new form technology, the natural increase in the population of agricultural households, the disintegration of village industries and lack of employment opportunities etc. are operating differently in different regions of India, which are leading to increasing more in a number of agricultural labourers (Chattopadhyay, 1985).

Forms of agricultural Labourers:

It is important to know the forms of labour existed and still operating in agriculture sector all over India as well as in the study region. This section helps us to understand the various forms that are prevalent in agriculture sector from quite some time. Various studies by a scholar on agricultural labour and issues related to agricultural labour explained the various types labour existed in the agriculture sector. There are different labour types existing in different states

called with different names where the classification mainly depends on the same criteria by different scholars. There are studies which explain the various forms of labour in Indian agriculture sector. Few of them have been mentioned here.

Studies by Chattopadhyay (1985) and Shailendra Jha (1990) talked about Permanent and Casual labourers. Studies by Satyanarayana (1992), Karanth, Balakrishnan and Thangaraj talked about Casual, attached and bonded labourers. The classification by these scholars is not exact similar but almost the same characteristics are shared in their classification of agricultural labourers. The below mentioned agricultural labour forms are taken from a sociological study conducted by Satyanarayana in Telangana region (1992).

Earlier there were different categories of labour forms existed like tied and free labourers (Sharama1983). Tied labourers were considered as bonded labourers, Vetti, Cheta labourers and free labourers are characterized according to the time period like yearly, half yearly, monthly, seasonal and casual labourers. Some of the labour types operated in many parts of India in the past are:

1. Vetti labourers,
2. Bonded labourers,
3. Cheta labourers,
4. attached Labourers,
5. Yearly labourers and
6. Daily or casual labourers.

It is important to know about the agricultural labourer types which are there in recent times in agriculture, they are casual or daily labourers and attached labourers, attached labourers are not that much prevalent in the present agricultural sector. Few labour forms which are operating at present are daily or casual labour and attached labour. The Daily or Casual labourer who works for the day and take daily wages for the work, no bondage is involved in it. According to Chattopadhyay and Bhattacharya (1984), the casual labourers are those who work on daily contract basis and serve simultaneously more than one

employer during the period of one year. The terms and conditions of employment of casual labourers indicate that they are employed for a day or for a sequence of days and are paid daily wages in both cash and kind for different types of farm and non-farm works in almost all the seasons of an agricultural year (Satyanarayana, 1992).

Attached labourers are who exclusively work for a single employer at least for a crop or season or for a year and who are paid monthly or yearly either in cash or kind. They may be classified into various types on the basis of the time of employment under a particular employer. According to Mandal (1982), the attached labour is an oral contract made between the landowner and the labourer before the commencement of the agricultural season. The contract is renewed if the both parties are willing. The displeasure of employer at times leads to premature termination of the contract. An attached labourer is given food on working days and a monthly payment depending on the labourer's age and sex (Satyanarayana, 1992).

In present rural agriculture sector, we do not find all the above mentioned labour types except the daily or casual labourers. These labour forms losing their significance for various reasons in the agricultural sector. In the past, agriculture sector was mostly dependent upon these labours for agricultural activities around the year in all agricultural seasons. The activities such as ploughing, clearing the fields, levelling the fields, harvesting etc. The relations between the farmer and labourers played an important role in these activities. The relationship between farmer and labour was not just a simple relation as we can see from outside but there are many things attached to the relations in earlier rural agriculture.

The present rural agrarian sector keeps changing with new interventions of the developments and innovations. Along with the developments and the innovations even the relations between these two categories also changing to a significant extent. The labour in agricultural sector does not prefer to have long term contracts with their employer since they are in search of full time and

regular employment where ever they get. There is a huge demand for skilled labourers in the agriculture sector for various activities with the changes, developments and innovations. The demand for skilled labourers like tractor drivers, a driver for harvesters is increasing in rural agriculture sector with special reference to irrigated regions. These are the findings given in a study conducted by Srikanth (2014) in Telangana region.

The Socio-economic conditions of the Agricultural Labourers:

Agricultural labourers are who do not pose any agricultural land for cultivation and lives on the wages from their labour in agriculture and works for other farmers. In present day scenario the small land holding households like the households who pose less than 1 acre and 1.5 acres of land holding households are working as agricultural labour, since the land which they possess is not productive and in some other cases they do not have any irrigation facility and they are all waste and fallow lands which are not viable for agriculture. There is not enough encouragement and inputs available for the marginal farmers either from institutions running by the Government or other sectors. So it became a major obstacle for marginal farmers to manage their economic conditions at present situation in the rural agriculture sector. The Marginal farmers who are not able to manage with their small land holdings are working as agricultural labourers in the agricultural sector and in other allied sectors. The landless labours are who do not pose any agricultural land and live on wages by working for other farmers in agriculture. Most of the landless labourers in agriculture sector are those who sold their small and marginal land holdings for various purposes, like when those small, marginal land holdings are not enough productive, some of them sold when they were unable to cope up with the poor situations, and small landholdings as not viable for agriculture etc. are few possible reasons, and they became landless labourers in agriculture sector.

Laxminarayan (1977) in his paper discusses the changes that have taken place over a period of time in the socio-economic conditions of agricultural labour households in three villages in Punjab (Bhatian), Haryana (Mirka) and Eastern Uttar Pradesh (Purana Pandey). In his study emphasis was given to demographic characteristics of these households and changes in their income, employment, indebtedness, asset formation etc. his study says that more persons are taking too casual labourers.

Thangaraj's (1995) study on "socio-economic conditions and problems of agricultural labourers" reveals that the proportion of agricultural labourers growing rapidly in the total workforce and the ratio of female agricultural labourers is high in number than their female counterparts. He commented that interventions of Government i.e. minimum wage policy and land reforms failed to bring an egalitarian society. He argued that there is a need of comprehensive central legislation to achieve better working conditions and welfare of agricultural labourers and Government should encourage the unionization of agricultural labourers to protect their basic democratic rights and civil rights to fight against their social and economic exploitation. He further argues that there is a close correlation between caste system and agricultural labourers belongs to Scheduled Castes and religious sanctions and practices not only prohibited from acquiring land but also from using public amenities such as drinking water, wells and roads.

Gough's (1983) study finds that the children of Scheduled Castes do not attend schools because their parents cannot afford books and suitable clothing. While discussing the poor economic conditions of the agricultural labourers, Mencher finds that the agricultural labourers are not getting adequate food during the considerable proportion of the year. Both Gough's and Mencher's studies show that there was an increase in the number of landless labourers in 1960's because of the enactment of the land reform legislations. Nancharaiah (1989) study finds that the children of Scheduled Castes were working predominantly as permanent farm servants as almost all of them started at the age of below ten years.

Agricultural workers are the lever spring of an agrarian economy and all over the country the conditions of agricultural labourers are worse. They are miserably poor and their level of living is exceptionally low. Poverty, unemployment, exploitation, misery and uncertainty have become the common features to lead a normal social life. The agricultural labourers do not have minimum clothing, education and health related facilities. He commented that specifically the development programmes have not been initiated properly which leads them into backwardness, poverty, economic inequality, regional disparity so on (Jha, 1990).

While describing the conditions of agricultural labourers Haroon (1998) says that the landless labour constitutes the most neglected class in Indian rural structure. The landless labourers are neither skilled nor trained and they do not have any alternate source of employment opportunities. Socially a large number of landless labourers belong to Scheduled Castes and oppressed classes. They are unorganized and cannot fight for their rights, for the major part of the year; they have to work for other farmers. Since employment opportunities in the rural areas are limited and this situation leads to their exploitation in the hands of cultivators, money lenders and other middlemen. Lack of employment opportunities to landless labourers lead to all sorts of exploitation in the rural areas. The exploitation can be seen in wage rates, employment as casual labourers, high rates of interest charged on loans etc. (Haroon, 1998). The scenario above which has explained by Haroon Sajjad is gradually changing at present in rural areas since the landless agricultural labourers are being educated by different mediums on their rights and oppression in various situations. At present they are able to know their rights, opportunities and becoming conscious about all sort of discrimination in wages and exploitation of working hours by the employer in agriculture and allied sectors.

Studies (Manabendu Chattopadhyay and Haroon Sajjad, 1998) reveals that one of the most disappointing features of the rural economy of India is that, there has been a growth in the number of landless labours in rural areas. The phenomenon of employment, underemployment and surplus population are the major factors

that are leading to living their daily lives and earnings of landless labourers. One of the significant findings from the studies during mid-sixties (the 1960's) there are divergent trends in the movements of agricultural wage rates in different states compare to an earlier period. The second feature of changes in the agricultural wage rates is, the most areas they have lagged behind the rise in the labour's cost of living. The real wages of agricultural labourers in the so called green revolution areas have increased or at least not decreased. The increase in demand has not been enough in most parts of the country in view of the increase in role labour force in general and agricultural labour in particular (cited in Chattopadhyay, 1985).

A large number of rural labour force who is depending on the traditional methods of cultivation, carrying with it a large population of surplus labour who is not having alternative sources of employment and income not been able to maintain their livelihood at a bare minimum. And the labourers are much dependent on their employees for credit and living space as well as for employment that collective bargaining to ensure a minimum level of living against rises in food prices and to allocate to them a fair share of the rising yields has been still a minor and localised phenomenon (Chattopadhyay, 1985). Agricultural labour in India mostly belongs to lower sections of the society and for centuries they have been exploited. In pre independence era they were inhumanly exploited and oppressed under Zamindari system though the Zamindari system abolished after independence but it operated in other disguised forms.

Despite six decades of independence and planned efforts, the conditions of agricultural labour could not be improved to desire extent. Labour in India still lives under severe poverty and backwardness. This is more severe in states like Odisha, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. Till date adequate formal or institutional credit and other inputs are not provided to the farmers. In the era of globalisation problems of agricultural labour increased than before. In the WTO regime, the tribal farmers of Koraput,

Balangir, Kalahandi districts of Odisha and Telangana districts have sustained untold misery (Tripathi, 2005).

Globalisation policy could not yield many benefits, rather acts as damaged farmers community because of leakages of funds, misappropriation and wide spread corruption. The democratic form of Government in its wake develops involvement of various political parties, their self-interest and ultimately, monumental corruption. Therefore, there is a great need to formulate redistributive policy paradigm in favour of poor tribal, landless labourers, marginal farmers and peasant community. Since independence, the agrarian structure of India has been changing rapidly. The research has identified various reasons responsible for this change. Some of these factors identified as industrialization, modernization, changing transportation technology, population pressure, land reforms, ceiling on agricultural land, Green revolution, new technology related agricultural development, availability of irrigation facility, higher agricultural production, new values, ideologies, trade unionism, politicization of rural life etc. (Tripathi, 2005).

A study conducted by Srikanth.Y (2014) in Telangana region reveals that the new technology in agriculture helped to increase the wages considerably for male and female agricultural labours but it could not bridge the gap in earnings of male and female agriculture labour by reducing the differences in terms of wage payment. The studies by Ram Singh (1996) Sunanda (1988) Srikanath (2014) support in this regard where the new technology, in the long run, has further deteriorated the condition of female agricultural labour.

Employment conditions of agricultural labourers:

This section discusses the literature related to the employment conditions to the landless labourers discussed. These following some of the studies have found related to this area.

While discussing the employment conditions of casual labour and attached labour, Muthaiah says that attached labours get work for 9 months when

compared to 6 to 7 months of employment for the casual labourers and receive about 10 per cent more wages in and free housing. The attached labourers nearly work half time more and receive only 10 per cent more income than the casual labourers. Thus the study clearly reveals the exploitation by the landlords is more in the case of attached labours than the casual labourers.

The studies by Singh (1968), Raj Krishna (1974), Sharma, A.C (1976) state that, the technological developments in agriculture such as HYV seeds, use of farm machinery has raised the demand for attached labourers or permanent farm servants more than that of the casual labourer (cited in Pratap Agarwal,1971). Pratap Agarwal (1971) says that “studies have shown that thus the demand for labour per hectare has not been significantly shortening by the green-revolution. This is because increased use of farm machinery has also led to multi cropping and more intensive agriculture. However, the nature of labour demand has changed. For instance, more talented labourers are sought after for year-round employment. Also, at peak periods, such as harvesting, labour demand has become more critical because of the need quickly to clear the land and prepare it for the next crop. This has resulted in high wages at harvest times, and in fact throughout the year. The farmers consequently are seeking harvesting combines and other machines to replace slow and increasingly expensive manual labour. It may lead in near future, the demand for labour will diminish as agriculture becomes more mechanised” (P: 2363).

Sudha Rao (1984) in her study observes that the introduction of canal irrigation increased the demand for labour both within and outside village. She explains that the canal irrigation facilitated shift in more intensive crops like sugar cane and paddy and irrigation also encouraged double cropping with its consequent increase in demand for agricultural labour. Contrary to this Kalpana Bardhan (1989) in her study observes that the trend of heavy mechanization adopted by the rich farmers is resulting in the displacement of labour from agriculture resulting in the poverty among labourers (cited in Srikanth 2014: 22).

According to Chattopadhyay (1985), the majority of the farm workers/agricultural labour do not get employment throughout the year in the agriculture sector, not even in agriculturally better endowed regions like Haryana, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh etc. The demand for labour generated by agriculture growth and effect on employment by technological changes have not only got to be large enough to absorb the growing rural labour force but also to be biased in its composition in favor of wage labourers. In this context, we can understand that the changes in farmer and labour relations in the modes of employment and in the contracts used for hiring labour in agriculture that has recently been observed as a part of an agrarian transformation in scattered areas. Irrigation plays an important role in bringing about the growth of employment in agriculture because of the fact that, the growth of fertilizer use or an increase of use of the HYV seeds for multiple cropping largely depends on the evidence of irrigation. For a better prospect of employment for agricultural labourers in agriculture, a rapid increase of irrigated areas in the countryside is extremely important (Chattopadhyay, 1985).

Study by Tripathi (2005) conducted in two districts, Ganjam and Koraput of Odisha found that due to the lack of employment and the low income levels the sample labour households are found migrating to nearby towns in search of employment and wage earnings. Mostly the male agricultural labourers are migrating to distinct places. Jan Breman (1985) gave the same findings in his study. Most of the sample agricultural households have reported cultivating on share cropping basis mainly, as there is no proper land to cultivate and the landless labourers depend on wage income by employing themselves either as casual labour or attached labour. The highest number of sample agricultural households reported that rain water as the main source of irrigation. The study identified that there is clear cut discrimination in the payment of wages to female agricultural labourers in the both districts. The level of income shows that the sample households of Ganjam district are comparatively better off than their counterpart Koraput.

Tripathi (2005) argues that the agricultural labourers mostly come from the socially and economically backward sections of the rural community and constitute the poorest sections of the rural society. The same study says that before independence there is no reliable data regarding agricultural labour was available at the national level; the utility of data on rural labour was felt a more important after taking phased programmes of national development under the five year plans.

The same study by Tripathi finds that in the absence of alternative avenues of employment and income the small and marginal farmers first cling to their land for livelihood. The population growth, over-crowd in agriculture, subsequently sub-division of holdings, finally resulting in declining in productivity in agriculture. Low area wise and yield results in poverty labour wise yield results in poverty of agricultural labourers. The marginal and land owning class turn into wage earners and some of them sell their land to big farmers. They search wage employment within the village or migrate to nearby cities or districts in searching employment. In this context, to raise the standard living conditions of agricultural labourers and tribals, employment generating and asset creating programmes should be created in tribal pockets along with skill formation and technological developments. It is necessary to divert surplus labour from agriculture along with the conjunctive use of surface and ground water. New crop insurance schemes, comprehensive central wage policy for agricultural labourers, supplying equipment for modernization of agriculture etc. will go a long way in meeting the problems of agricultural labours (Tripathi, 2005).

In an overall assessment and an in depth analysis of living conditions of agricultural labourers by Tripathi in Odisha (2005) clearly, reveals that the agricultural labours of Ganjam district (coastal) are much better than their counterparts in Koraput district (inland and tribal). The variation or the difference of living conditions emerges mainly relating their days of employment, payment of wages and earnings dependent children as well as aged dependents, the incidence of indebtedness and the sources of flow of credit supply etc.

According to Chattopadhyay (1985), the employment situation, in particular, it appears that intensity of employment in the agriculture sector has gone up during the recent years for all the regions, at any rate, compare to pre-sixties, it can be observed from mid-sixties in the areas of green revolution areas compare to non-green revolution areas. The proportion of hired labour has increased, especially in the green revolution areas such as Punjab, Haryana etc. and share cropping tenancy has declined and owner cultivation with hired labour has gone up. The evidence shows that the types of labour contracts have become less prevalent and less importance and subsequent replacement of them by more commercial types would have taken place.

While explaining the reason for increasing number of the hired labour in agriculture, Kahlon (1974) states that in case of states like Punjab, Haryana and West Uttar Pradesh which experienced the changes like, much faster irrigation induced growth and use of machinery and modern inputs of farming, the sharp increase in the proportion of agricultural labourers among rural workers was mainly response to the growth in demand for hired farm labour. This increased demand has not been met by evicting small peasants, either owners or tenants from self-cultivation (Chattopadhyay, 1985).

A study conducted by Jha (1990) in Bihar reveals the conditions of agricultural labourers. Agricultural labourers are leading the worst life than the swine. In his study, the landless people of Mangur district (Bihar), living in rural areas, offer themselves for agricultural labourers living exceptionally low. It is important to note that this made possible large-scale migration of the rural population to the urban areas. The farm sector has been facing acute shortage of agricultural workers, particularly during the peak seasons of plantation or harvesting. The problems of unemployment and underemployment has been found high in the study area and the agricultural sector has not been providing full time employment to the agricultural workers, the consequences of above situations lead them either to migrate to other states or accept other jobs, in few case they have been shifting to the industries, located in the urban areas. Further, the

magnitude of indebtedness has been growing, enabling the workers to remain the trap of the big agricultural producers.

The same study of Jha (1990) in Bihar finds that in a backward agrarian economy we find that the number of agricultural labourers in large quantity. His study reveals that in backward states like Bihar, the number of agricultural labourers has been found in a greater number. The fifth five year plan has estimated the number of agricultural labourers at one-fifth of the rural work force. The planning commission and the census 1981 found that the number of agricultural labourers has been found rising. This has really created a number of problems like low wages, indebtedness, unemployment, deteriorating standard of living, and poor rate of productivity so on. These situations have been questioning the optimal development of backward states like Bihar, where agriculture is the backbone of the economy where the practices of agriculture is traditional, the shortage of workers causes the reverse gear. There has been a general increase among the cultivators and relatively small increase or even decline in agricultural labourers.

Mainly the poor rate productivity in the agricultural sector questions the profitability of the cultivator and the normal living conditions of agricultural workers. Not only this, it aggravates the problem because a large number of agricultural workers migrate either to the urban or to the industrial sector, or to the regions where they get handsome payments in return for their services (Jha , 1990).

Jha's (1990) study given some Suggestions to overcome the problems of agricultural labourers, they are, accelerating the tempo of agricultural development, education to be given the prior attention, expanding employment opportunities in the rural regions, implementation of legislation need special attention, development cum-welfare programmes need huge allocation of funds, large scale generation of social assets needed and growing risk and uncertainties require special attention can safeguard the interest of agricultural workers vis-a-

vis can prepare a sound agricultural base, the above mentioned measures to be implemented urgently in backward districts.

The market for agricultural workers is in general marked by an excess of surplus over the demand. This results in under-employment throughout the year and unemployment during the slack season. The agricultural labour market is varied, complex, dispersed, scattered and localized. Each individual market is characterised by peculiar condition of its own. In most of the markets, prevailing rate of wages is exploitative and below the remunerative minimum. The supply of labourers mostly comes from landless workers who have nothing to depend upon their own labour power for subsistence and living. As a mass, they are unorganised, ignorant of their rights, belong to economically and socially weaker sections of the society and are silent spectators to their own exploitation (Tripathi, 2005).

In the same study, Tripathi (2005) says that there has been a steady migration of rural population to urban areas in a continual search for employment and a better standard of living. It is a matter of deep concern that the benefits of planned development have been reaching only to the rich farmers. As a result, there has been an enormous growth of marginal and small farmers and landless labourers. The marginal and small farmers spend a significantly lower amount of hired labour as they are primarily dependent on family labour. In per capita income the bigger farmers are able to enjoy the economics of scale which is denied to small farmers. This is particularly true about capita maintenance costs on bullocks, which trend to become exorbitant on small farmers (Tripathi, 2005: 150).

According to Gupta (1988), the individuals in their teens and twenties and early thirties were found more migratory than other age groups. He also gives the views of other scholars on age groups of migrants i.e. Zachariah (1964, 1968) has made an extensive study on international migration in India and observed an excess of adolescents and adults among the migrants. Gist (1955) and Bulsara (1965) have also observed a similar kind of relationship between migration and

specific age group of migrants. Some later studies by Hamsaleelavathy (1970), Kayastha and Prasksh (1971) and Garkovich (1983) also uphold the above generalisation (cited in Gupta, 1988).

Research Questions:

Drawing the observations from the above mentioned review of literature on agrarian relations and agricultural labour, the present study tries to look into the following research question.

Agriculture is the primary occupation and source of livelihood for almost 70 percent of the rural population in India. The majority of rural population depends on agriculture and its allied activities as the primary source of livelihood and agriculture is a major source of economy for the nation. It is important to know the agrarian structure, relations, issues and problems related to agriculture and agricultural labourers. More specifically, the agrarian relations, socio-economic conditions of agricultural labourers, issues of employment and unemployment situations in agriculture and allied sectors with reference to agricultural labourers become crucial in this context.

There is need to investigate the changes in relations between labour and farmers with the emergence of commercialization and advancements in the agriculture sector. Issues like, whether the technology in agriculture has increased the demand and employment avenues for labourers, whether there is a problem with the labour availability for agricultural activities in agricultural peak seasons or surplus labour available needs to be looked into. In this context, various coping mechanisms adopted by the agricultural labourers and farmers in the wake of commercial agriculture become significant. The labour forms and the types of contracts that are mostly preferred by the farmers as well as by the labourers need consideration. It investigates the activities that are being involved by the agricultural labourers round the year. It is essential to understand the impact of technological advancements and the new trends in agriculture and their impact on agrarian relations with reference to landless agricultural labourers.

So far, studies on agrarian relations and related to agricultural labourers are undertaken mostly by economists, agricultural economists and very few by social anthropologists and sociologists. As such, it is important to study, where anthropological investigation provides a complete picture on the changing agrarian relations and issues related to agricultural labourers. Thus the study aims to address the following research questions.

- Do the traditional labour relations still have any significant role in the study village?
- Whether there is surplus labour available for agricultural activities?
- Is there labour shortage in agriculture throughout the year? or only in peak seasons of agriculture?
- Whether the migration is taking place because of unemployment conditions or irregular employment in agriculture?

In the backdrop of the above mentioned research questions, the following objectives have been proposed for this study.

Specific objectives proposed for the study:

1. To understand the traditional agrarian relations in Telangana village.
2. To examine the socio-economic conditions of the agricultural labourers in the study village.
3. To analyze the impact of migration and adoption of non-agricultural sources of income on landowners and the landless.
4. To study the problems faced by the agricultural labourers and the coping mechanisms adopted by them.
5. To delineate the emerging trends in agrarian relations in the study village.

Methodology and Study Area

The present study made use of traditional anthropological fieldwork methods in order to study the changes in agrarian relations. For this purpose, an intensive village study was conducted. The village has been selected on certain criteria as follows; a village which is agricultural based, a multi caste village, irrigation through bore wells, migration process should be present, the number of the household should be 250 to 350 in number. Based on these characteristics a village has been selected for the study. In initial stages of field work, a pilot study has been conducted with the criterion given above and the researcher searched for the village. After visiting 26 villages from six mandals where the irrigation depends on borewells in Nizamabad district the study village has been finalized.

Study village:

The village selected for the study is Gaggupally, Armor mandal Nizamabad district of Telangana state which is around 30 km from Nizamabad the district headquarters. The study village is multi -caste in nature, agriculture and allied activities are the major sources of livelihoods for the population. Migration also one of the major source of employment for the people of the village and beedi work also seen one of the major sources of occupation for many households in the study village. The total numbers of households in the village are 333. The total 333 households have been surveyed for the data collection using schedules. The village has experienced many changes over a period of 50 years after independence with many factors such as migration, Beedi work, employment conditions in non-agricultural sector, education, mechanization in agriculture etc. The study village witnessed the feudal relations before independence and even after independence. The agriculture activities depend on bore wells and monsoon for irrigation.

Tools and methods of data collection

Field work

The present study also involved an intensive field study in the selected village for the duration of eight months during the period 2015-16 i.e. from August 2015 to May 2016 and observed the whole agricultural seasons in the village for the data collection. Field work is the major source for the primary data for any anthropological study even the present study is done with the help of field work. The anthropological field work includes different tools and techniques for data collection such as observation, interviews and case studies. Since ethnographic studies mostly depend on the qualitative techniques which help to know the reality at ground level. The long stay in the field helps to have an observation with the things in the field and the observation majorly helps in the triangulation of the data in the field.

Chapterization:

The present thesis has been organized into seven chapters including the introduction and conclusion chapters. It consists of four main chapters apart from the village profile.

The first chapter deals with the introduction and literature on the topic selected for the dissertation. The literature has been collected from various sources on agrarian relations and the changing agrarian relations. The literature is collected on various forms of labourers, the socio-economic conditions of the labourers and also on employment conditions in agriculture for the landless labourers. Literature related to the impact of the mechanization on employment conditions of the labourers also collected. The significance, objectives of the study and the study area and methodologies have been discussed in the first chapter.

The second chapter deals with the ethnographic profile of the study village. The information related to households, population, castes, and education, marital

status has been collected. The chapter also discusses about the economic organisation of the households, landholding pattern etc.

The third chapter deals with the background of the study, agrarian relations in the past as well the present and also the changing nature of agrarian relations. In later parts of the chapter the factors that are affected the relations between the landowning castes and the landless households over a period have been discussed. The factors such as migration, intervention of beedi industries, the education, land reforms and land ceiling legislation and the developments in communication and transport have been discussed in the third chapter.

The fourth chapter analyzed the socio-economic conditions of the agricultural labourers both daily contract labourers and the yearly attached labourers. The employment conditions in agriculture and non-agriculture labourers have been discussed in this chapter. Whether the employment conditions in agriculture have increased or decreased with the intervention of new technology has been discussed briefly.

The fifth chapter examined the impact of migration on households belonging to various castes in the village, the socio-economic changes have been discussed in pre and post migration periods by taking the housing construction and land owning. Along with the developments in socio-economic conditions of the households belonging to various castes, how migration to the Gulf countries has affected the traditional relations between the upper caste Reddy landlords and landless labourers (belong to Mala, Madiga and other backwards castes) have been discussed. The impact of migration on different categories such as on married women, elderly people of the migrated households has been discussed. The impact of migration on upper castes and lower castes also has been discussed in this chapter.

The sixth chapter discusses the land holding pattern in the village and the viability of agriculture for the farmers. The chapter also discusses how the lower castes emerged as land owning farmer after 1980s and the factors behind the transformation. The perceptions of farmers on viability of agriculture have been

discussed in this chapter. The problems faced by the farmers have been discussed. The seventh chapter summarizes the observations made in the previous chapters and gives the conclusion.

CHAPTER-2

VILLAGE PROFILE

Telangana

Telangana emerged as 29th State in the Indian Union with Hyderabad as its capital, as per the Andhra Pradesh Reorganization Act, 2014 (No. 6 of 2014) of Parliament, after receiving President's assent on 1st March, 2014 and it came into existence from 2nd June, 2014. It is the twelfth largest State in both area and population size in the country, with a geographical area of 1, 14, 840 sq. kilometers and a population of 3, 51, 93, 978 (2011 census). The State shares its borders in the north with Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh, in the west with Karnataka and in the south and the east with Andhra Pradesh. It is strategically located in Deccan plateau which is a semi-arid region. Hot and dry climate is predominantly seen in the state. Godavari and Krishna are the major perennial rivers passing through the state with catchment areas of 79% and 68.5% respectively. The rural population (61.33 %) of the state is greater than the urban population (38.67 %). The literacy rate (66.46%) is below than the national average (72.99%).

Agriculture sector is mainly rain fed and depends to a significant extent on the depleting ground water. Nearly 55.49 percent of the State's population depends on farm activities for their livelihood. Of the total geographic area, 23.89 percent (114.84 lakh hectares) is under forest cover, 43.20 percent is under cultivation (49.61 lakh hectares), 8.36 percent is Current Fallow Lands (9.60 lakh hectares), 7.79 percent is for non-agricultural uses (8.95 lakh hectares), 5.36 percent is barren and uncultivable (6.15 lakh hectares) and 6.24 percent falls under other fallows (7.17 lakh hectares).

As per 2010-11 agricultural Census, 61.97 lakh hectares of the area was held by 55.54 lakh number of land holdings. 1.11 hectares is the average size of the holdings, which is highly uneconomical to operate. Marginal (less than 1

hectare) and small holdings (1 to 2 hectares) constitute about 85.9 percent of total agricultural holdings in the state with marginal accounting to 62 percent and small holdings accounting to 23.9 percent, thus making agriculture a subsistence source of livelihood for a majority of the population. Nizamabad, Karimnagar, Medak, Khammam and Warangal districts have more than 60% marginal holdings. Adilabad district has the highest average size of land holding (1.40 ha.) and Nizamabad the least (0.92 ha.).

Rainfall:

From 2004-05 to 2013-14, 2004-05 recorded the lowest annual rainfall with 614 mm and 2013-14 recorded the highest with 1212 mm, against the normal rainfall of 906 mm. During the South West Monsoons (June - September) of 2013-14, 852 mm of rainfall was received. Also in the same duration, 243 mm of rainfall was received against the normal 129 mm, an excess of 88 percent, during the North East monsoons (October- December) period.

Soils:

When soils spread in the state are studied, it is known that it ranges from the very fertile alluvial soils to very poor sandy soils. The others include deep red loamy soils, chalkas, dubbas with red sandy soils being predominant among them (48 % of the total area), followed by very deep black cotton soils (25 percent), alluvial soils (20 percent), rocks and boulders (7 percent). These soils enable growth of fruits such as mangoes, oranges and flowers which are seen in Telangana region. When the deficiency in nutrients in soils is studied district wise in the state, it is seen that Warangal, Nalgonda and Nizamabad are deficient in nitrogen with less than 44 percent. Phosphorus deficiency is prevalent in the districts of Nizamabad, Medak, Mahabubnagar and Adilabad.

The District:

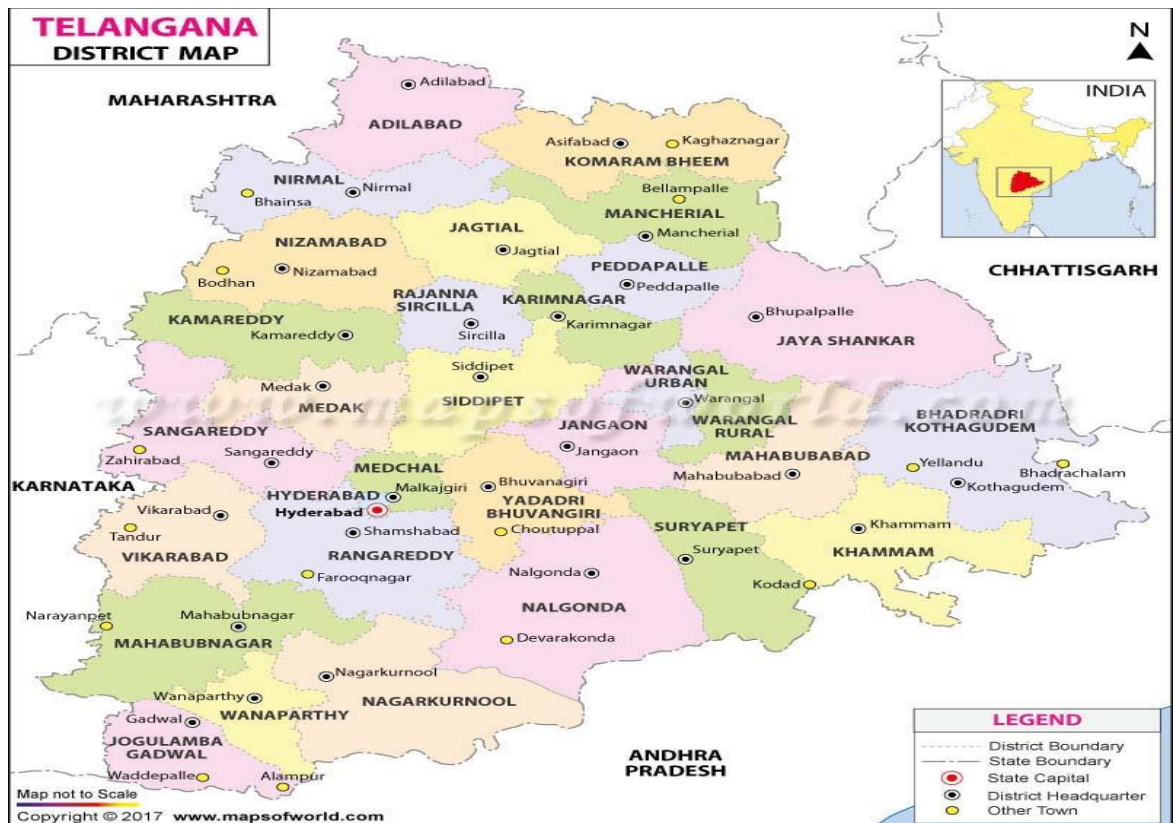
Physical aspects

Nizamabad district is located between 77° 40' and 78° 37'E longitudes and 18° 05' and 19° N latitudes. Its other name is Indur and Nizamabad is its current and official name. It shares borders with Adilabad district in the north, Karimnagar district in the east, Medak district in the South and in the West with Nanded district (Maharashtra) and Bidar district (Karnataka). The geographical area of the district is 7956 sq. kms which is about 14.02 percent of the entire state area.

As per 2011 census, the population of the district was 25, 51,335, accounting for 7.25% of the state population with a record of 8.77 decadal growth. The average literacy rate is 80.31 per cent which is higher than the national average of 74.04 per cent, with the male literacy rate being 86.82 per cent and female literacy rate being 73.83 per cent.

Nizamabad district was a part of the princely state of Hyderabad from 1724 till 1948. In 1876, when the districts of Hyderabad state were reorganised by Salar Jung-1, the then prime minister, Nizamabad became a separate district. The city derived its name after the fourth Nizam of Hyderabad state's name, Nizam-ul-Mulk. Water for irrigation in the district for nearly 250,000 acres (1,000 kilometers²; 390 sq. mi) of land is supplied from Nizamsagar dam which was constructed across Manjira river at Achampet village in 1923, during the reign of last Nizam. The word Nizamabad is derived from "Nizam" meaning Nizam of Hyderabad and "Abad" meaning Long Live. Hence it literally means "Long Live the Nizam". This city is also known as city of Nizams. After India got independence in 1947, Nizam's rule was ended in Operation Polo after the Indian armed forces annexed Hyderabad.

Map of Telangana:



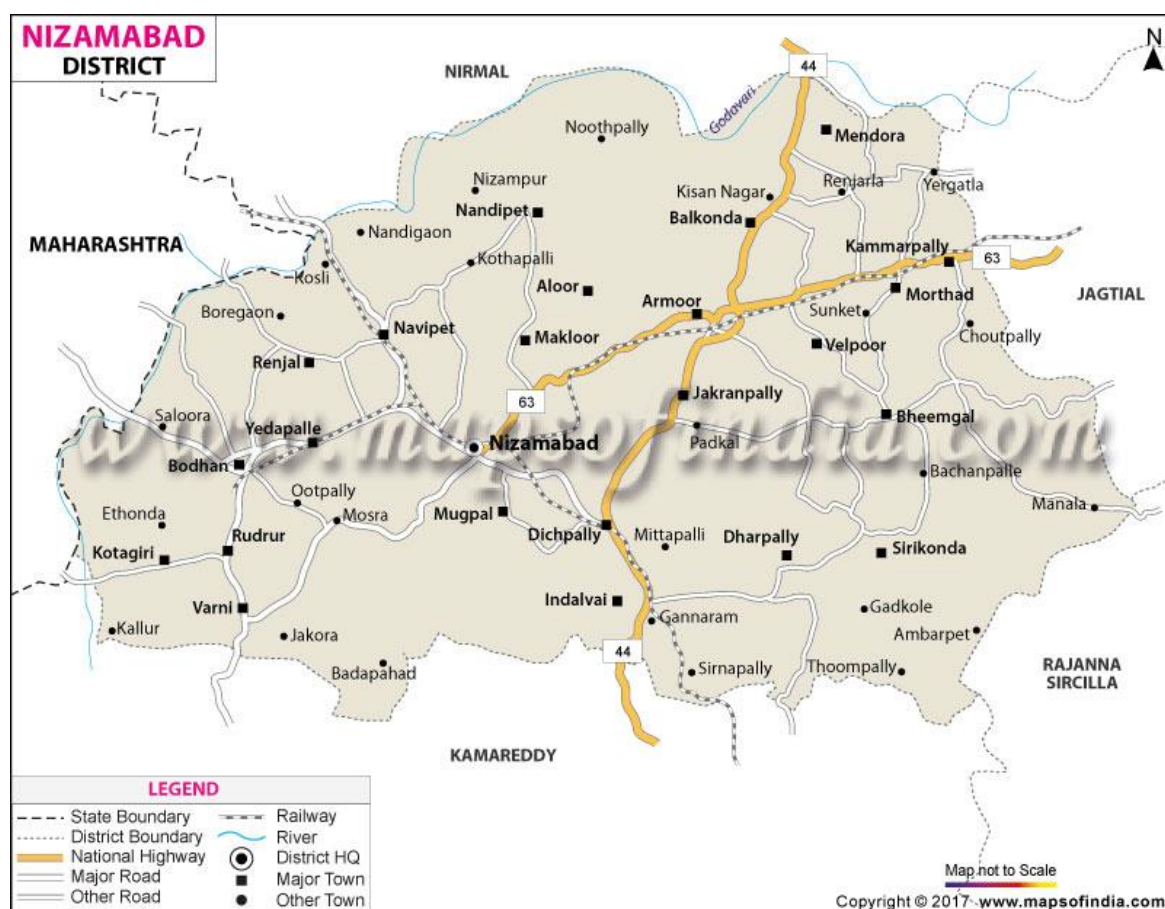
Climate and rain fall

Tropical savanna climate is seen with most rainfall observed in winter from June to October than summer. Average temperature is 46 ° C and the average annual temperature is 27 ° C. The average rainfall is 1108 mm. The temperature peaks up to 47 ° C in summer, while in winter, it dips to as low as 5 ° C. During summer season in May 2015, the district recorded the highest temperature of 46.1 ° C.

Soils:

Black soil and chalka (Sandy looms) are the important varieties of soils found in the district covering 55 per cent and 45 per cent of the total area, respectively.

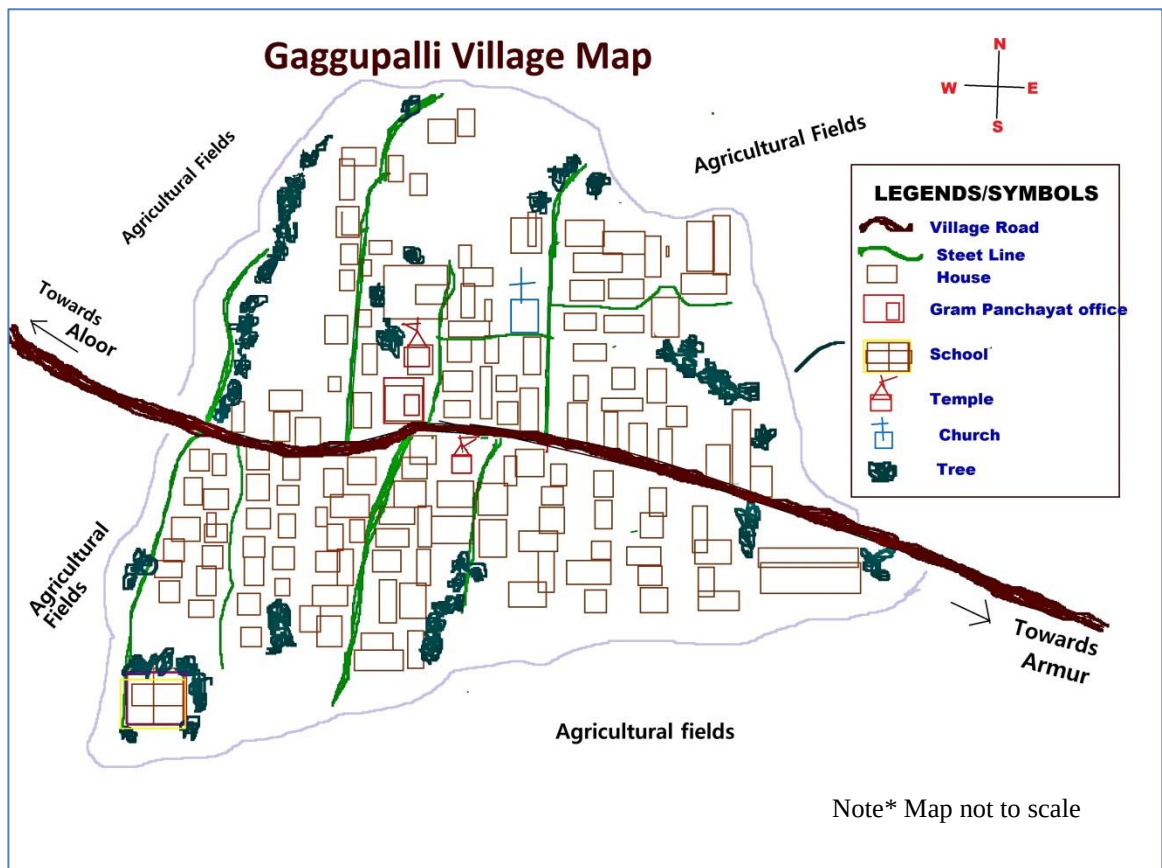
Nizamabad District Map:



Gaggupally: The study village

Gaggupally is 25 kms away from the district headquarters and 10 kms away from Armoor mandal, one of the business canters of the district. It is predominantly an agriculture based village, with Paddy, Maize, Soya, vegetables, turmeric, Jowar, Chilly crops mainly cultivated. Paddy fields surround the village on all sides and also along the two sides of the road that leads to the village, which connects this village to other mandals – Aloor, Nandipet and Degam. The village looks busy the whole day during agricultural seasons and one finds many households busy rolling beedis as one enters the village.

Gaggupalli Village Map:



Household and settlement pattern:

The entire village settlement can be divided into two parts, the old settlement occupied by the Reddy caste households and recent settlements by households of Devanga and other castes. These Reddy caste households are surrounded by the Chakali and Kurma households. These households in the old settlement are mostly constructed with red tiles roof whereas the newly built houses can be seen with concrete roof/slabs. Opposite to the old Reddy caste settlement, is the Devanga caste settlement, which occupies second place, population-wise in the village, after the Malas. Most of the Devanga castes households are found to reside on the other side of the road, opposite to this Reddy caste households. Along with Devanga, households belonging to Munnuru Kapu are also located opposite to these Reddy caste households.

When we enter the village, we find households belonging to Mala and Madiga on either side of the road which leads to the village interior. Among them,

Malas constitute the majority with 130 households whereas Madigas constitute only 17 households. When we go towards the core area of the village, we find households from Devanga on both sides of the road, with majority (80%) situated on the left side. Towards south-east direction of the village are the Vaddera households and few households belonging to the Reddies. Opposite to this colony, we find Gouda and Tenugu castes households. While heading towards Aloor village in the eastern direction, to the left we find all households belonging to Tenugu along with few Devanga caste households.

Ownership of Houses:

Table 2.1: Ownership of Households

House	No of Households	Percent
Own house	292	87.7
Rented house	39	11.7
Others	2	0.6
Total	333	100

Source: field survey, 2015-2016.

The total number of households surveyed, in the study village, it has been observed that majority of people own houses. 87.7 % of the population own a house and 11.7% of the population live in a rented house. Only 0.6% of the population live in either their relative's or known person's houses. It can be understood that about 90 per cent of the population live in their own houses whereas 11 percent population live in rented houses in the village. It is hardly seen population without houses in the village (see Table No 2.1 for details).

House Types:

In the study village it is found that 43.8 % of the houses are made of red tiles (*Penku*). The houses of 33.6 % of the population are made of Slab i.e. the housing construction is seen with only one or two room and 15.9 % of concrete where the houses are seen with more than two room and found spacious with hall, bed rooms

and kitchens where as in slabs there is no partition of hall, bedroom and kitchen. The rest of the population live in houses made up of either Cement Sheets or in huts. Majority of the households belonging to Vaddera caste live either in cement sheet roof houses or in huts.

Table 2.2: Household distribution based on construction

House type	Number of households	Percent
Red Tiles/Penku	146	43.8
Concrete*	53	15.9
Slab**	112	33.6
Cement sheets	14	4.2
Huts	8	2.4
Total	333	100

Source: field survey, 2015-2016.

** Slab=Houses with single room or two rooms; *Concrete = Houses with more than two rooms

The roofs of 146 households in the village are constructed using red tiles (*Penku*). 53 households' roofs are constructed from concrete, 112 households have their roofs constructed of slab. The numbers of households whose roofs are constructed from cement sheets are 14. Total numbers of households who live in huts are only about 8 in number.

Distribution of houses based on construction:

The construction of houses is seen different among various castes which show their economic status in the village. Majority of the houses belong to Mala caste seen with slab and concrete together which is equal to 85 households from total 130 Mala households and 40 houses are seen with the red tiles. The houses belong to Devanga families are mostly seen with tiles roof from total 45 families a number of 24 houses are constructed with red tiles and 14 house are slabs and 5 houses are seen with concrete roof. The housing conditions of the

castes such as *Chakali*, *Kurma*, *Vaddera*, *Vadla*, *Munnuru Kapu* and *Yadav* are not better than the houses of Mala and Devanga. The housing structure (of the households from these castes) mostly seen with red tiles whereas the Mala and Devanga caste house are seen with cement roof with spacious rooms. Among all castes the houses belong to Vaddera caste are found to be very poor and almost of half of the households do not have a pakka house and seen with cement sheets and plastic covers as roof (Table No 2.3).

Caste-wise household distribution:

When the caste wise household distribution is considered, Mala caste (39.0%) comprises the highest per cent followed by Devanga (13.5%), Vaddera (9.3%) and Kurma (6.6%) in the second, third and fourth places respectively. The lowest number of households belongs to Mera (0.3%), Muslim (0.3%), Kummari and Kammari (1.2%) (See Table No. 2.4).

Table 2.3: Caste-wise household distribution based on construction

Caste	Tiles (%)	Concrete (%)	Slab (%)	Cement sheets (%)	Hut (%)	Total
Devanga	24(53.3)	5(11.1)	14(31.1)	2(4.4)	-	45
Yadav	8(100)	*-	-	-	-	8
Mala	40(30.8)	31(23.8)	54(41.5)	5(3.8)	-	130
Madiga	9(52.9)	8(47.1)	-	-	-	17.
Goud	5(45.5)	3(27.3)	3(27.3)	-	-	11
Goondla	5(62.5)	-	3(37.5)	-	-	8
Vaddera	4(12.9)	1(3.2)	12(38.7)	7(22.6)	7(22.6)	31
Chakali	7(87.5)	-	1(12.5)	-	-	8
Kurma	12(54.5)	3(13.6)	6(27.3)	-	1(4.5)	22
Muslim	1(100)	-	-	-	-	1
Munnuru Kapu	8(88.9)	-	1(11.10)	-	-	9
Reddy	7(50.0)	1(7.1)	6(42.9)	-	-	14
Vadla	10(71.4)	1(7.1)	3(21.4)	-	-	14
Tenugu	1(10.0)	-	9(9.)	-	-	10
Mera	1(100)	-	-	-	-	1
Kammari	4(100)	-	-	-	-	4
Total	146(43.8)	53(15.9)	112(33.6)	14(4.2)	8(2.4)	333

Source: field survey, 2015-2016

*- = absent

Table 2.4: Caste wise household distribution

Caste	No. of Households	Percent
Devanga	45	13.5
Yadav	8	2.4
Mala	130	39.0
Madiga	17	5.1
Goud	11	3.3
Goondla	8	2.4
Vaddera	31	9.3
Chakali	8	2.4
Kurma	22	6.6
*Muslim	1	.3
Munnuru Kapu	9	2.7
Reddy	14	4.2
Vadla	14	4.2
Tenugu	10	3.0
Mera	1	0.3
Kummari	4	1.2
Total	333	100.0

Source: field survey, 2015-2016.

* Religion

Population composition:

Following caste groups are present in the study village. Scheduled castes *Mala*, *Madiga*, backward castes *Devanga*, *Gouda*, *Goondla*, *Chakali*, *Kurma*, *Muslim*, *Munnuru Kapu*, *Tenugu*, *Mera*, *Vadla*, *Kammari* and *Yadav*. Among the upper castes, there are only few Reddy households are living in the village.

Mala:

There are 130 households belonging to Mala caste in the village which is the highest number in any particular caste in the village as well based on the population. The families from Mala are identified with various surnames such as *Bhoogolla*, *Madari*, *Goka*, *Mekala*, *Manthena* and *Sakki*.

Members from the Mala caste were working as bonded labour or free labour for landowning castes in the village prior to 1980. Most of the households were either landless and few households were owned less than an acre of agricultural lands prior to 1980. The majority landowning farmers belong to Mala caste by owning major agricultural lands in the village. From the 130 households, 84 households own agricultural lands and remaining 46 households do not own agricultural lands. The members from landless household either work as agricultural labour or work in other works. Migration to the Gulf countries is more among the Mala caste members than other castes.

Devanga:

The traditional caste occupation is weaving and known as *Sale* and *Padmashalis* in the village. The caste occupies the second place in the village based on household number and the population (171 members)

The total 45 families belong to Devanga castes are known by different surnames i.e. *Rasa*, *Gaddi*, *Konduka*, *Patha*, *Gundem* and *Thogarla*. Of the 333 households in the village, 45 households belong to Devanga caste constituting 13.5 percent. The members from this caste have left their traditional caste occupation weaving and have non-traditional occupations. The women work in beedi rolling as their primary occupation. Majority (95%) of the women from this caste are into beedi work whereas men work in tailoring work. The other major works into which this caste people are engaged include electricians, plumbing, shop keeping (3 households) etc. Ten households from this caste own

small agricultural lands i.e. less than two acres or less than an acre and are engaged in agricultural activities too.

Yadav:

The total numbers of households are 8 in number in the village. Most of the members from this caste are into agricultural activities either as farmers or labourers. Few households also involve in dairy activities. The majority of the households bear the surname *Basagondi*.

Gouda:

It is a traditional toddy tapping caste and there are 11 households belonging to Gouda caste in the village. The total 11 families are identified by major two surnames i.e. *Gattu and Anuganti* and a single family identified by *Padala*.

Prior to 1990 the member from this caste used to involve in their traditional caste occupation toddy tapping. They aren't involved in their traditional activity anymore and are found to be working in different activities most of the men from these households work as drivers mostly in the Gulf countries. From the total 11 families who belong to Gouda caste 9 male members (head of the families) work in the Gulf during field study i.e. September 2015 to April 2016. The women from this caste involve in *beedi* work as primary occupation. A member of a Gouda household owns a tempo traveler and works as a driver. The members who have migrated to the Gulf work as drivers and labour in different sectors such as construction sites, cleaning sections etc.

There is a shop in the village which sells toddy. Upon request by enthusiasts of neighboring villages who want to run the shop in the study village, members of Gouda caste in the study village take the tenders on their name and involve interested contractors from neighboring villages. During field study a Gouda caste member Gattu Srinivas Goud took the contract and gave it to a member from neighboring village.

Goondla:

The traditional occupation was fishing and after 1990 they are not involve in the fishing activity. There are total 8 households are belonging to Goondla. They are also called as Bestha community. The total 8 families from this caste are identified by a single surname *Dubbaka*.

The women work in Beedi manufacture as primary occupation and the male members are found working in different occupations such as electricians, water

suppliers, carpenter etc. Only a single male member works as RMP doctor in village. Sometimes the men go for fishing to the pond and lake located nearby village in rainy seasons. The fishing activity is not regular but only at the time of fishes available and when there is water available in the pond nearby village.

Kurma (Golla Kurma):

The caste occupation of Kurma is sheep rearing in Telangana region. The number of households comprises of 22 in the village. The families from Kurma caste are called by the surnames such as *Mirapala, Gaddameedi and Kashire*. Earlier they were shepherders and presently very few families (not more than 7) own sheep and rear them. Kurma caste occupies the second major farming community in the village after Malas who own major agricultural lands including the large acres of lands in the village. Two farmers from Kurma caste own tractors, out of the five tractors in the village, the other three being owned by Mala caste farmers. They also own agricultural machinery, which they hire to other farmers of the village upon requirement.

Chakali:

The traditional washer men caste in the village, there are total 8 households who belong to this caste. The majority of the households are identified with the surname *Bandi* and a single household by *Sakali or Chakali*. Only one household owns less than two acres of agricultural land; remaining households do not own any land. Nearly five members from five households have migrated to Mumbai and the Gulf in search of better employment avenues. Women from this caste work as agricultural labour as well as in beedi work. Only one household is involved in the traditional occupation of washing.

Reddy:

At present there are only two members belonging to two families are living in the village. The only Upper castes in the village and Reddy caste households were the only land owners and were controlling the large areas of agricultural lands for decades along with political powers in the. The village administration and means of production was controlled by the Reddy caste households till 2004 in the village. Presently, they lost control on politics and economic resources in the village. It was the only land owning caste for years and other castes used to work as bonded labor for this caste.

Vadla:

The traditional caste occupation of the carpenter caste is manufacturing of agricultural implements such as ploughs etc. the families belonging to Vadla are identified by various surnames i.e. *Rangoji and Seeram*, There are 14 households belonging to this caste. The members from this caste do not involve in their caste occupation since the occupation do not provide employment for last 20 years. Only a single member involve in carpentry work whenever he gets any order. Remaining all households are involved in many other activities, few members work as shop keepers and few work as attenders in hospital.

Tenugu/Mudiraj:

There are 10 households belonging to this caste. The families don not own agricultural lands and the women from this caste work as agricultural labourers in the village for the landowning farmers. The women also work in beedi rolling as major occupation along with daily wage labourers.

The households hold the surnames i.e. *Jenigela, Nelakanti, Rikkula, and Manne* Only one household owns about 2 acres of agricultural land and the remaining households do not own any agricultural land. These household members engage in agricultural labour work. A household is working on lease of 3 acres from Munnuru Kapu and the members from other villages who have migrated to this village work as agricultural labour. And one member from this caste is involved as toddy shop keeper.

Kammari:

There are only two households belonging to Kammari caste. The traditional caste occupation of this caste was manufacturing agricultural implements. The two households are identified by *Kaanooru* surname. Due to introduction of technology and mechanization in agriculture this members lost their livelihood in their caste occupation. The readily available of tools and implements in market adversely affected the traditional occupation of working as blacksmith and hence it has lost its importance. A single household owns two acres of agricultural land and involves in agricultural work. A male member from the same house works in a cloth/garment shop in Armoor town and the women members from this family engage in Beedi work most of the times except at the time of agricultural operations required their participation.

Kummari:

There are only two households belonging to Kummari caste and the traditional occupation of this caste is pot making. This traditional occupation is no more providing employment and most of members stopped working in manufacturing of pots. The two families identified with *Malkoju* surname. Now they are no more involved in pottery and they involve in other works such as working in shops and the women work in beedi rolling.

Vaddera:

There are 31 households belonging to Vaddera caste in the village and none of these households own agricultural lands. These total 31 families hold surnames as following; *Varikuppala, Orise, Iragadindla, Bodasu, Eeragotti, Bontha, Allepu* and *Danduga*. The members from these families engage either as agricultural labour or labour in earth digging works. The members belonging to a family work in construction of sheds for tube wells in and around the village. Half of the women from total population of Vaddera community work as agricultural labourers in village which is one of the major sources of labour for farmers in the village.

Mera:

The traditional occupation of this caste was tailoring work and at present a single household belongs to Mera caste is residing in village. A single widow resides in the village where her sons and in-laws live in Armoor town. The women who lives in the village does not involve in tailoring or any other work due to age factor.

Muslim:

There is only a single household belong to Muslim and the population is only 4 members in the village. In the past s(10 to 15 years back) this family was belonging to backward caste Kurma. It is said that when the household's head had migrated to the Gulf countries, he was influenced by Islam, converted his religion to Islam and also convinced his wife and children to convert. Presently, he is into business in village and works in a Kirana shop. He also engages in agriculture in his own 2 acres of agricultural land.

Madiga:

There are 17 households belonging to Madiga caste in the village who used to work as bonded or free labour for landlords along with Mala caste members in

the village. The members are also the traditional drum beaters in the village. Majority of the households identified with *Teddu* surname, few families by *Gosanga* and two households are by *Potharju* from total 17 households.

Of the 17 households, 16 own agricultural lands ranging from 2 acres to 25 acres. Along with *Mala* and *Kurma* farmers, *Madiga* caste members involve in agriculture as farmers and few members who own marginal (less than 2 acres) lands also work as labour in agriculture. One member from *Madiga* caste works as attender in a hospital in Armoor town. There are seven members from *Madiga* caste who provide music for marriages and festivals in the village. A farmer from *Madiga* caste owns about 25 acres of agricultural land which is the highest agricultural land owned by any farmer in the village from all castes. He also owns a tractor and hires the tractor for agricultural works in the village.

Demographic profile:

Table 2.5: Population Distribution

Category	Number of Persons	Percent
SC	596	45.2
BC	681	51.7
OC	36	2.7
Total	1318	100

Source: field survey, 2015-2016

It is observed that the population in the study village comprises of the following castes: Scheduled castes *Mala*, *Madiga*; backward castes such as *Devanga*, *Kurma*, *Vaddera*, *Gouda*, *Goondla*, *Vadla*, *Kummari*, *Kammari*, *Chakali* etc., and in upper castes *Reddy* caste families. Among all the castes, backward castes constitute the majority i.e. more than 50 per cent and upper castes (only a single caste) constitute only 3 per cent which is the lowest population in the study village. The total population of the village from all castes comprises of 1318 individuals.

Population wise, *Mala* is the dominant caste which occupies the first place in population composition in the study village. The highest number of households also belongs to *Mala* caste which constitutes 130 in number, followed by

Devanga caste with 45 numbers of households and Vaddera with 31 numbers of households. People from Mera caste and Muslim have the lowest household numbers i.e. single household from each caste. The number of households from remaining castes except Kummari ranges from 5 to 25

Table 2.6: Gender –wise Population distribution

Gender	Number of Persons	Percent
Male	671	50.9
Female	647	49.1
Total	1318	100.0

Source: field survey, 2015-2016

Table 2.7: Caste- wise population distribution

S. No.	Caste	No of persons	Percentage
1	Devanga	171	13.0
2	Yadav	19	1.4
3	Mala	525	39.8
4	Madiga	82	5.8
5	Gouda	38	2.9
6	Goondla	37	2.8
7	Vaddera	109	8.3
8	Chakali	32	2.4
9	Kurma	92	7.0
10	Muslim	4	0.3
11	Munnuru Kapu	33	2.5
12	Reddy	36	2.7
13	Vadla	49	3.7
14	Tenugu	45	3.4
15	Mera	11	0.8
16	Kummari	15	1.1
17	Kanchera/Vadla	6	0.5
18	Golla	14	1.1
	Total	1318	100.0

Source: field survey, 2015-2016.

Table 2.8 (A): Population distribution (Age-wise)

Age Groups (Years)	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Below 15	181	27.0	151	23.3	332	25.2
16 - 30	213	31.7	217	33.5	430	32.6
31 - 45	143	21.3	150	23.2	293	22.2
46 - 60	88	13.1	76	11.7	164	12.4
61 - 75	35	5.2	39	6.0	74	5.6
76 - 90	10	1.5	12	1.9	22	1.7
Above 90	1	0.1	2	0.3	3	0.2
Total	671	100.0	647	100.0	1318	100.0

Source: field survey, 2015-2016.

Table 2.8 (B): Age-wise population distribution

Age(in years)	Number of persons	Percent
Below 15	332	25.2
16 - 30	430	32.6
31 - 45	293	22.2
46 - 60	164	12.4
61 - 75	74	5.6
76 - 90	22	1.7
Above 90	3	0.2
Total	1318	100

Source: field survey, 2015-2016.

Population:

It is observed that the number of Males in the population is slightly greater than the number of Females with males constituting 50.9 % and females constituting 49.1 % of the entire population (1318). Major proportions of the population are in the age group of 16-30 in the study village. 332 members are below 15 years and 293 members are in the age group of 31 – 45. This shows that majority of the population are youth (See Table No 2.9 for details).

Table 2.9: Gender cum age-wise population distribution

Age Groups (years)	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Below 15	181	27.0	151	23.3	332	25.2
16 - 30	213	31.7	217	33.5	430	32.6
31 - 45	143	21.3	150	23.2	293	22.2
46 - 60	88	13.1	76	11.7	164	12.4
61 - 75	35	5.2	39	6.0	74	5.6
76 - 90	10	1.5	12	1.9	22	1.7
Above 90	1	0.1	2	0.3	3	0.2
Total	671	100.0	647	100.0	1318	100.0

Source: field survey, 2015-2016.

In this selected village, it has been observed that between males and females, the numbers of females are more in the age group of 16-30, followed by males of the same age group. Maximum members are below 45 years of age.

Table 2.10: Population distribution (Based on Caste and Gender)

Caste	Male		Female		Total
	No. of Persons	Per cent	No. of Persons	Percent	
Devanga	80	46.8	91	53.2	171
Yadav	10	52.6	9	47.4	19
Mala	263	50.1	262	49.9	525
Madiga	43	56.6	33	43.4	76
Gouda	17	44.7	21	55.3	38
Goondla	17	45.9	20	54.1	37
Vaddera	58	53.2	51	46.8	109
Chakali	18	56.3	14	43.8	32
Kurma	45	48.9	47	51.1	92
Muslim	3	75.0	1	25.0	4
Munnuru Kapu	17	51.5	16	48.5	33
Reddy	24	66.7	12	33.3	36
Vadla	24	49.0	25	51.0	49
Tenugu	27	60.0	18	40.0	45
Mera	5	45.5	6	54.5	11
Kummari	8	53.3	7	46.7	15
Kanchera/Vadla	2	33.3	4	66.7	6
Golla	8	57.1	6	42.9	14
Gosanga	2	33.3	4	66.7	6
Total	671	50.9	647	49.1	1318

Source: field work, 2015-2016.

In this selected study village, it has been observed that Mala caste population is the largest one, both in males and females. Population of Devanga caste people is the second largest. Next to them is the Vaddera caste which occupies the third

place. The rest of the population comprises of the remaining castes. In most of the castes, except for a few, the number of males and females is more or less the same (See Table No 2.12 for details).

Marital status:

Out of a total population in the village of 1318 members, the proportions of married individuals constitute 58.6 per cent members and 41.4 per cent members are unmarried (Table No.2.10).

Table 2.11: Marital Status of the population

Marital Status	Number of persons	Percent
Married	772	58.6
Unmarried	546	41.4
Total	1318	100

Source: field survey, 2015-2016.

Gender-wise marital status:

It is observed that there are 335 married males and 417 married females who constitute 52.9 per cent and 64.5 per cent respectively. The number of unmarried individuals is 316(47.1%) male members and 230(35.5 %) female members (See Table No.2.19).

Table 2.12: Gender- wise Marital Status

Marital Status	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Married	355	52.9	417	64.5	772	58.6
Unmarried	316	47.1	230	35.5	546	41.4
Total	671	100.0	647	100.0	1318	100.0

Source: field survey, 2015-2016.

The above table describes the distribution of total village population in terms of their marital status. It tells that the percentage of married female population is greater than the percentage of married male population. The number of unmarried individuals are greater in males i.e. 316 members (47.1%) than in females with 230 members (35.5%).

Education levels:

When the education levels of the inmates of the village are studied, it is seen that about 60.5 % of the total population are literates and 39.6 % of the population are illiterates. Among those literates, 207 persons have studied up to 5th class and 350 persons up to 10th class. 136 persons have completed either Inter/ Diploma, 93 persons up to under-graduation and only 10 persons have done their post-graduation. Though majority of the population are literates, only 0.8 % of the population have done their higher education (See Table No 2.20).

Table 2.13: Age- wise education distribution

Education	Number of Persons	Percent
1 - 5 class	207	15.7
6 - 10 Class	350	26.6
Inter/Diploma	136	10.3
UG	93	7.1
PG	10	.8
Illiterate	522	39.6
Total	1318	100.0

Source: field survey, 2015-2016

Gender- wise education levels:

When the education levels of the population in the study village are compared gender wise, it is observed that majority of the males (220 persons) and females (305 persons) are illiterates, respectively in each category. Among the literates, most of

them have done only their schooling. The numbers of Post Graduates are 2 males and 8 females. The numbers of male, female graduates (2+3) during study period (2015-16) are 57 and 37 which constitute 8.2 per cent and 5.7 per cent respectively. The total numbers of graduates from the village are 92 members. The total number of male and female members who have pursued diploma and intermediate education is 135, out of which 76 are males and 59 are females. The total numbers of illiterates in the village are 525 which constitute 39.8% of the total population. This figure indicates that there is more number of illiterates in the village when compared to the number of literates (See Table No 2.21).

Table 2.14: Gender -wise education distribution

Education	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1 - 5 class	118	17.6	89	13.8	207	15.7
6 - 10 Class	200	29.8	149	23.0	349	26.5
Inter/Diploma	76	11.3	59	9.1	135	10.2
UG	55	8.2	37	5.7	92	7.0
PG	2	0.3	8	1.2	10	0.8
Illiterate	220	32.8	305	47.1	525	39.8
Total	671	100.0	647	100.0	1318	100.0

Source: field survey, 2015-2016.

Religion:

Hindu:

Majority of the households belonging to other backward castes, especially Devanga, Tenugu, Bestha, Vadla, Kammari, Chakali, Reddy, Kurma castes households worship Hindu deities such as Hanuman, Shiva and Rama. The female deities like Maremma, Nalla Pochamma are being worshiped by the Scheduled castes households.

Christians:

It is observed that majority of the households who belong to Mala households worship Jesus. Few households from Madiga caste also worship of Jesus.

Muslim:

It is observed that only one family belongs to Muslim community in the village. Earlier they were Hindus from backward caste Kurma and recently converted to Islam and now they worship Allah. Nearby village, there is a Dargah where people from all castes offer prayers on Fridays. They believe that this fulfills their wishes. People from neighboring villages also do come to offer prayers. Offerings are given in many ways like goats, hens etc. Such people come to the village packed with cooking material and food. They cook food and also offer food to other people who come for prayers. Every year, Annual Dargah festival is celebrated in the months of February and March.

Festivals:

People in the village celebrate all Hindu festivals like Sankranthi, Ugadi, Dasara, Deepavali, Sri Rama Navami, Hanuman Jayanthi, Ganesh Chaturthi etc. The festivals like Christmas, Good Friday are celebrated by the Scheduled castes Mala and Madiga. The festivals like Muharram are also celebrated in the village.

Land holding Pattern:**I) Landless:**

There are total 186 households from total 333 households are landless in the village. This constitutes more than half of the total households in the village. (Table no 2.16) the landless households are as follows in the village; 46 households from Mala, 35 households of Devanga caste, total 31 households belong to Vaddera caste, 13 households from Kurma, 12 households from Vadla, 9 households from Tenugu castes do not own agricultural lands. These members from landless households work either as labourers or work in various sectors other than agriculture.

II) Small farmers (below 2 acres) :

Out of 333 surveyed, there are total 59 households who own either two or less than two acres of agricultural land. Majority of the marginal farmers belong to either Mala or Madiga castes. And only 3 households from Gouda caste own below 2 acres of land and 6 households from Devanga own 2 acres of land. 2 households from Yadav, 5 households from Goondla, 3 households from Kurma, 2 households from Vadla and 1 household from Kammari and Tenugu belong to small farmers category.

III) Medium farmers (2- 6 Acres) :

There are total 75 households who own agricultural lands from about 2 to 6 acres in the village. The majority farmers i.e. (53) from Mala caste fall under the medium farmer's category, followed by Madiga (5), Munnuru Kapu (4), Devanga (4), Yadav (3) and Reddy (1).

IV) Large farmers (> 6 acres): The total number of large land owning farmers are 13 in number with majority (9 farmers) belonging to Mala caste. A single farmer belonging to Madiga caste owns 25 acres land and the other two households from Reddy caste own above 10 acres of lands. A single farmer belongs to Kurma caste owns 6 to 8 acres of land in the village.

Malas are large land owning farmers in the village. In overall, 84 households own agricultural lands and 46 are land less in the village. From the total of 17 households belonging to Madiga caste, 16 households own agricultural lands an average landholding caste and which are the highest numbers of households owning lands in a single caste.

Land holdings details in the village are as follows: Only a single household from Kurma caste own 6-8 acres of agricultural land. There are 9 households from Mala and Madiga castes who own 6 to 10 acres lands. Whereas only two households from Reddy caste fall in the large land owning farmers(Category-IV) category by owning above 10 acres of land in the village (See Table No 2.16 for details). Almost all the households who own agricultural lands also own at least a single bore well as a source of irrigation and some households are having more than one bore well.

Table 2.15: Caste – wise ownership of land

	Land(in acres)						
Caste	Landless (%)	< 2 acres (%)	2 - 4 acres (%)	4 - 6 acres (%)	6 -8 acres (%)	> 8 acres (%)	Total (%)
Devanga	35(77.8)	6(13.3)	3(6.7)	1(2.2)	-	-	45(100)
Yadav	3(37.5)	2(25.0)	3(37.5)	-	-	-	8(100)
Mala	46(34.9)	22(17.1)	28(21.7)	25 (19.4)	7(5.4)	2(1.6)	130(100)
Madiga	1(5.9)	10(58.8)	3(17.6)	2(11.8)	-	1(5.9)	17(100)
Gouda	8(72.7)	3(27.3)	-	-	-	-	11(100)
Goondla	3(37.5)	5(62.5)	-	-	-	-	8(100)
Vaddera	31(100)	-	-	-	-	-	31(100)
Chakali	7(87.5)	1(12.5)	-	-	-	--	8(100)
Kurma	13(59.1)	3(13.6)	5(22.7)	-	1(4.5)	-	22(100)
Muslim	0(0.0)	1(100.)	-	-	-	-	1(100)
M.Kapu	4(44.4)	1(11.1)	1(11.1)	3(33.3)	-	-	9(100.0)
Reddy	11(78.60)	-	1(7.1)	-	-	2(14.3)	14(100)
Vadla	12(85.7)	2(14.3)	-	-	-	-	14(100)
Tenugu	9(90.0)	1(10.0)	-	-	-	-	10(100)
Mera	1(100)	-	-	-	-	-	1(100)
Kammari	-	2(100)	-	-	-	-	2(100)
Kummari	2(100)	-	-	-	-	-	2(100)
Total	186(55.7)	59(17.8)	44(13.3)	31(9.3)	8(2.4)	5(1.5)	333(100)

Source: field survey, 2015-2016.

Occupations:

In the village, a wide variety of occupations have been observed. Majority of the population are engaged as agricultural labourers (126). 199 people are engaged as Beedi workers and 167 are landowning farmers. These three occupations constitute the major portion of the population.

The remaining people engage in works as Waterman, Plumber, Contractor, and Compounder, Mestri (a master workman) etc. Two members are government teachers and three members work as private teachers. Two members are working as RMP Doctors in the village. These figures suggest that people in the village engage themselves in different occupations for their livelihood.

Economic organization:

Majority of the households in the village depend on agriculture as a source of livelihood and beedi making is the second major occupation of the households.

Another important occupation for the landless households in the village is labour work in the farms; those household members who possess half an acre or one acre of agricultural land with no irrigation facility also engage as agricultural labour during agricultural seasons. The artisan castes in the village do not practice their traditional occupations for livelihood and engage in agriculture and other non-agricultural activities. There is only one household who belong to blacksmith (Kammari) community and the family has stopped the traditional practice of being blacksmiths since last 15 to 20 years. There are five households who belong to washer men community (Chakali) in the study village and only one family engage in the traditional occupation of washing clothes.

Table 2.16: Distribution of occupations

S.No.	Occupation	No. of persons	%	S.No.	Occupation	No. of persons	%
1	Agricultural Labour	126	9.6	21	Mestri	1	0.1
2	Agricultural farmers	167	12.7	22	Shepard	4	0.3
3	Beedi workers	199	15.1	23	Welding Work	1	0.1
4	Earth digger/Labour	47	3.6	24	Washer man/woman	3	0.2
5	Attached Labour	9	0.7	25	Carpenter	3	0.2
6	Labour in Abroad	83	6.3	26	Private Employee	3	0.2
7	Drivers/Tailor in Abroad	15	1.1	27	School attender	6	0.5
8	Tailors in village	14	1.1	28	Attender /compounder	6	0.5
10	Govt. Teacher	2	0.2	29	Cleaner	2	0.2
11	House wife	18	1.4	30	Contractor	1	0.1
12	Students	404	30.6	31	Work In Mumbai	2	0.2
13	Not working	87	6.6	32	RMP Doctor	2	0.1
14	Private Teachers	3	0.2	33	Plumber	1	0.1
15	Shop keeper	15	1.1	34	Govt. Jr. assistant	1	0.1
16	Driver in village	8	0.6	35	Work in Shops/Petrol Bunk	3	0.2
17	Beedi Agents	7	0.5	36	Field Assistant	1	0.1
18	Business	3	0.2	37	Infants	61	4.6
19	Sarpanch/farmer	1	0.1	38	Church Father	1	0.1
20	Waterman	1	0.1		Total	1318	100

Source: field survey, 2015-2016.

Agriculture:

Agriculture is the primary source of livelihood for most of the households in the village. Majority of the agricultural lands in the village are owned by the scheduled castes Mala and Madiga when compared to other castes. From other backward castes, Kurma households own agricultural lands in the village.

Agriculture depends on bore wells and majority of the households who possess agricultural lands have at least a bore well as irrigation source. These households also depend on monsoon for some crops. Generally the households in the village engage in many other activities which are allied to agriculture and also in non-agricultural activities such as working in shops and in occupations such as electricians, agents in beedi companies etc.

Cropping pattern:

Crops like Paddy (major crop and 4 months crops twice in a year), maize (3 to 4 months),soya (rain season), curcuma, vegetables like tomato, Brinjal, Mirchi coriandrum (one month) etc. crops are seen majorly round the year in the village.

Beedi Work:

It is observed that most of the households in the study area from all castes, except Vaddera engage in Beedi work. One of major occupations of the women members of the households in the village is Beedi work. The women members being busy in beedi making all round the year, men engage in agricultural activities, if the family possesses agricultural land and if not, work in non-farm activities such as labour in various fields such as construction works and work in shops in towns. When there is availability of work for labour and small farmers in MGNREGA (150 days programme), they engage in the work for half a day. The women who stay at home involve in beedi work. The occupation can be seen majorly with the other back castes women in the village when compare to Scheduled castes. The reason could be that majority of the other backward castes households do not possess agricultural lands for agricultural purposes when compared to scheduled castes, where majority hold lands and hence engage in agricultural activities.

The agricultural households also involve in beedi making when there is no work in the farm. It is common that women from the agricultural households engage in beedi work round the year. In agricultural busy seasons, women from these various caste groups engage in sowing, weeding and other agricultural activities and in lean periods of agriculture they involve in beedi work. It is observed that the women from the backward castes such as Devanga (weavers), Vadla (carpenter), Bestha (fishing) communities majorly involve in beedi making when compared to scheduled castes. Women from Vaddera caste are never seen engaging in beedi work since they always go to work in work sites round the village and neighboring villages as daily wage labourers. In beedi making, the women members from the same caste from neighboring households sit at a place as a group and work collectively. It is observed that most of the times while a resident woman is working in front of her house, the women from neighboring households join her. In the process they exchange views and discuss many things.

During day time the women members involve in beedi work and it is also observed that the women from all castes (except Vaddera) involve in beedi work irrespective of their social and economic status. Even the women members from families which own large agricultural lands are found to be involved in beedi work. Women from the Vaddera caste go for labour work along with their husbands wherever they get work, whether it is in the same village or in the neighboring villages. Sometimes the men and women from Vaddera caste go to towns and surrounding villages in search of work, sometimes travelling as long as nearly 30 to 40 kilometers.

It is observed that no household from the Vaddera caste own agricultural lands since no option is left for them except to work as labour for their livelihood. The majority of women labour work in the farms of Mala, Kurma farmers whenever there is work available in agriculture seasons. Women from Vaddera caste along with the labour who have settled in the village from other districts like Medak are the major sources of labour for farming activities.

It is observed that men and women from this community work as daily wage labor or contract labour. When they get work for more than two days, they get into an agreement to work for a particular amount as per the contract. It is known that they go to work whenever available and stay at home and involve in household works whenever not available during lean periods. The women from Vaddera caste engage as labour in agricultural activities such as paddy transplantation, weeding etc. when work is available with the farmers. They generally work for all caste farmers in the village on daily wage basis.

The wage rates are found to be ranging from rupees 120 to 150 per day based on their performance. The wages differ from crop to crop and also with the activity they perform such as transplantation of paddy, weeding, clearing the turmeric, cutting the Jowar and harvest of paddy fields. The women from this caste also assist their husbands in earth digging works and in works such as installation of cables in ground. It is observed that the women from this caste stay at home while husbands have migrated to Saudi countries (Dubai, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait and Yemen etc.) for work. They do not have any compulsion to work as a labour if they are not ready to work. It is up to their interest whether they go for work or not. They get money from their husbands on monthly basis or once in 3 months which helps them to run the family. They look after their children's education, health etc. with the remittances sent by their husbands and the same is found with other caste women along with Vaddera caste women.

It is observed that the male members from all the castes in the village as well from this caste, of the age group 20-35 years, have majorly migrated to Saudi countries for work. The economic status of Vaddera caste households is worse when compared to other castes. They do not have proper houses except for few families. Hardly 10 houses have been constructed with bricks and cement roofs remaining all houses are seen to be built with mud walls, either covered with plastic covers or cement/iron sheets. One of the significant things is that most of these households own television sets and mobiles for recreation purpose whenever they do not go for work.

Migration:

Migration is a common feature seen in this village as very often people are found to be migrating in search of better employment avenues. Migration is one of the major sources of employment for the members of the village; almost every household from the village has an individual migrated to Saudi countries in search of employment. It is found that men from the households in the village migrate to Saudi counties like Dubai, Bahrain, Yemen, Kuwait, Qatar etc. It is majorly seen among men of age group 22 to 35 years, in some cases even in the age group of 50 to 60 years.

One point clearly found with regard to migration is that it is not only for the purpose of livelihood, but in some cases for their zeal to earn more income. Migration is being influenced by those relatives or friends who have already migrated and help their other family members to migrate. In some households, even more than one member has migrated. Migrating members belong to all caste categories irrespective of their economic status and they manage to migrate with the help of friends, relatives who have already migrated.

Most of the times, regarding financial assistance, they approach the rich farmers from the village and borrow the money from nearly Rs. 100000 to 150000 and manage to migrate. It is observed that in most of the cases they are borrowing money on interest basis from known people, relatives and neighbors. They repay the debts taken from different sources after receiving their salaries at the migrated places. They are repaying the debts monthly and sometimes at a go, in the stipulated time period according to the agreement made while taking the debt.

Generally the men engage in different type of activities at migrated places such as labour work in construction of buildings and roads, sanitary works, sheep herders etc. No matter what they are doing at migrated places, they need to work since most of them have to repay the debts. There are cases reported where they have been cheated by the middle men and had to return without any earnings and in some other cases where everything goes well and they earned more money and sent remittances to their homes.

Agricultural Labour:

The agricultural labours in the village belong to all castes. Members from households who do not possess any agricultural lands engage as agricultural labour. The castes like Vaddera engage as agricultural labour and there are few families who came to village and settled as agricultural labour for the farmers in the village. Women members from backwards castes and Mala and Madiga castes engage as labour in agriculture. According to a farmer, it is found that the women labour from neighboring villages also engage in agricultural activities in peak seasons. These labourers work on daily basis and wages are paid on daily basis. They work from morning to evening in the fields for 8 hours where they engage in the agricultural activities. The women labours engage in activities such as paddy transplanting, weeding threshing etc. and male labourers involve in activities such as construction of bunds in paddy fields, spraying etc. Skilled works like driving the tractor, ploughing, cage wheels, harvesters, drivers etc. will be done by the skilled labour either from the same village or neighboring villages

Village Politics:

Prior to 1950, the village politics was under the control of *Doras* belongs to Upper caste Reddy households. The power structure consisted of the following positions: *Mali Patel*, *police Patel*, *Karanam* and *Patwari*. The *Karanam* used to assist the administration and the whole administration used to work under the *Tahesils* and the *Tahasildar* (Mandal Development Officer) who was the head of the administration at mandal level. These people used to play significant role in administration in the villages. *Gaggupally* was a small village and was sharing the same Panchayath with *Issapally*. Till 1996 Gaggupally village was together with *Issapally*. Later it got separated and became an independent Gram Panchayath. After the Nizam's rule in Telangana, in independent India, for the first time general elections were conducted in 1951-52. When it comes to the Sarpanch in the village, Raja Reddy was elected as a Sarpanch in the village for the first time in 1959 officially in panchayath elections and from then onwards he was elected as Sarpanch for 35 years in the village. He was elected as

M.P.T.C in 1996 for a period of 5 years. Later he was elected as Sarpanch for period of another five years till 2004.

Raja Reddy started his political career when he was at the age of 45 and elected as Panchayath Sarpanch for 40 years continuously. Till 2004 he could influence the village politics and the people of the village never used to go against his decisions. It's understood that until 2000, the politics in the village was under the control of Reddis and they were the large land owners called as landlords. Raja Reddy (Pseudo name) could influence and win the Panchayath elections for 45 years continuously and won the elections without having any opponent. For the first time in 2004, a backward caste Gouda member from the village contested in Panchayath elections against him. It is said that there were threatens and warning from the Reddy for contesting against him. Though there are threatens the Gouda caste member contested and won in Panchayath elections with the support village people. It can be understood that the political power in the village was under the control Reddy caste families. In the study village there were four families belonging to Doras (Reddis) and there were four siblings. They used to control all the agricultural lands in the village and other resources of the village.

The irrigation sources (Tube wells and Village Canal) and agricultural lands were under the control of Reddy landowners and only they could access the land and water for agricultural purposes. Since there was not much land for Malas, Madigas and other castes in the village, entire agricultural activities used to be managed by the Reddy households. There used to be around 20 to 30 bonded labours that used to work for Dora's in the village. The lake nearby village was the source of water at that time for agriculture and the land which used to be cultivated utilizing the water from the lake also belonged to these four families.

There were few patches of lands, below an acre or less that used to be there with Mala and Madiga castes which were given by the Doras as *Inam* (local term used for the land donated freely for the labour who used to work for the landlords) for the services performed by the Mala and Madiga households for

the Dora family for long years. Generally these Mala and Madiga caste members used to work for Doras as bonded labour for years in the villages of Telangana. In most cases, Doras used to donate land instead of giving money directly to the bonded labour families. Similarly few lands in the village were under the control of few Mala and Madiga castes.

Now Raja Reddy is 84 years old and does not involve much in village politics. He was representing the congress party and he says that he never wanted to be part of any political party but he was stood with a party which people wanted. He also says that people supported him as a candidate who was good and capable in administration. After him a candidate name called Boogolla Sayanna from scheduled caste Mala was elected as a Sarpanch with the support of Raja Reddy in 1995 panchayath elections when it was reserved for Scheduled Caste. So the candidate from Scheduled Caste contested in the elections and won the election as there was no opponent contested against the will of Raja Reddy.

It is known from the informants that till the year 2000 there was no one in the village who could contest in the panchayath elections against Dora. The people in the village used to abide by the Dora's words, decisions. The conflicts in the village used to be resolved by Dora and his words used to consider as the final verdicts. It is said that the police never used to intervene in resolving the conflicts in the village since Dora used to manage the things related to conflicts, quarrels and other issues. The Parties who involved in the quarrels, conflicts never used to oppose his words and actions in the village.

It could be understood that the local/village politics was literally controlled by the Doras until 2000 and 2004. After 2004, the impact of Dora in local politics started decreasing and people in the village also started wanted to put end to long time monarchical politics controlled by a single person and a single family. It is known that the people in the village were looking for an alternate representation in panchayath elections. Also for a change in the traditional and customary kind of authority related to administration in the village. They wanted to elect a potential candidate as Sarpanch. After Boogolla Sayanna completed his term as Sarpanch, the post was reserved for a women candidate

from other backward castes and a women candidate from *Gouda* community was elected as the Sarpanch. In 2014 panchayath elections, a candidate was elected from Devanga Caste (a Backward Caste) as Sarpanch who contested from Telangana Rastra Samithi (TRS).

In overall, it is understood that the village politics were under the control of Reddy castes until 20014 and in recent years there is a shift in power to hands of backward castes(Devanga, Kurma, Yadav, Gouda) and lower castes Mala. The village politics are influenced by the Mala, Devanga, Kurma castes in recent times since these castes constitutes major population and the found better in economic matters. At present the village consists of 8 wards and each ward has its ward member from different castes in the village.

Women Empowerment (Self-Help Groups):

Self-help groups are started by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that generally have broad anti-poverty agendas. Self-help groups are seen as instruments for goals including empowering women, developing leadership abilities among poor people, increasing school enrollments, and improving nutrition and the use of birth control. Financial intermediation is generally seen, more as an entry point to these other goals, rather than as a primary objective. This can hinder their development as sources of village capital as well as their efforts to aggregate locally controlled pools of capital through federation, as was historically accomplished by credit unions. It is the group which is responsible for repayment of loan. (Wikipedia)

The women empowerment can be seen in the areas like Self Help Groups, women from all castes form groups to work for a collective cause. Generally the women hold meetings once in a month and collect the money for savings. These SHGS provide financial support for the households if needed in emergency situations. These groups also facilitate those interested women to become self-reliant by establishing own small businesses with financial support from the group. Generally they collect some particular amount every month and deposit in banks and it helps to maintain some particular amount for the group.

There are around 25 self-help groups present in the village and Gopari Mounika looks after the accounts of these groups.

Sakshara Bharath:

The literacy programme works under Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) with Department of school education and literacy, which aims at extending educational options to those adults, who have lost the opportunity and have crossed the age of formal education, but now feel a need for learning any kind of new thing, including literacy, basic education, skill development (Vocational Education) and equivalency. With the objective of promoting adult education, a series of programmes have been introduced since the First Five Year Plan, the most prominent being the National Literacy Mission (NLM), that was launched in 1988 to impart functional literacy to non-literates in the age group of 15-35 years in a time bound manner.

It is observed that there are two women members who work as facilitators and train the middle aged people in the village. These women train them(both men and women) to read and write. These women work to gather the middle aged illiterate people in the evening and train them to read and write. These two women facilitators belong to Devanga caste. As the present gram Panchayath Sarpanch also belongs to Devanga caste, it can be understood that caste politics do influence in recruitment of persons to such posts in the village.

Communication and Transport Facilities:

The village is well connected with transport system. Armoor town is located within 10 kilometers distance from the village. Aloor, another mandal, is located 2 kilometers away from the village. Another mandal, Nandipet, is also located around 20 kilometers from the village and there are buses to go to Armoor, Nandipet and Degam mandals from this village. The village is well connected with other mandals. The transport system has been well developed since the last 20 years.

People from the village commute to Armoor and Nizamabad towns to work on a regular basis since the village is well connected with the road transport. The

communication mediums such as television, mobiles are very commonly found with everyone in the village and people in the village follow news, either on Television, or by reading daily newspaper.

The students from village go to colleges and schools daily with the help of public transport system i.e. buses. And even most of the households in the village own two wheelers vehicle for transport purpose and few big land owning castes own four wheelers too.

The given table shows the different modes of communication from the village. Out of 333 households surveyed, 300 households own at least a mobile and 257 households own television sets. (See Table No 2.17). When it comes to modes of transport, there are 92 households from total 333 households those who own two wheelers such as motor bikes. There are 40 households those own bicycles and 4 households own four wheelers such as cars.

Table 2.17: Distribution of material possession

S. No.	Material possession	Number of households
1	TV	257
2	Washing machine	9
3	Cell /Telephone	300
4	Refrigerator	63
5	Gas cylinder	284
6	Cycle	40
7	Motorbikes	92

Source: field survey, 2015-2016.

The following table (Table No 2.18) shows the number of bikes owned by households and the frequency of owning bikes, either one or two bikes owned by the households in the village.

Table 2.18: Ownership of motor bikes

No of bikes	Possession by households	Percent
One	81	24.3
Two	9	2.7
Total	90	27.0

Source: field survey, 2015-2016.

Table 2.19: Ownership of other modes of transport

Possessed or not?	Number of persons/Households	Percent
Yes	12	3.6
No	321	96.4
Total	333	100

Source: field survey, 2015-2016.

The table (Table No.2.19) shows the possession of other transport vehicles such as cars, autos and tractors have also been included. It is found that out of 333 households surveyed, 321 households do not own any four wheelers or three wheelers and only 12 households own car, auto, small bus and tractors.

Chapter 3

EMERGING TRENDS IN AGRARIAN RELATIONS

Introduction

In developing countries like India, the majority of the rural population depends on agriculture and allied activities for livelihood. Agricultural activities in rural areas always go hand in hand with landless laborers and land owning farmers. The relation between the land owning farmers and the landless labor plays an important role in agricultural production. The relations between the laborers and land owners span either for a short term or longer durations. The landless laborers are the major dependents on land owners in rural areas in India. Traditionally the relations between the laborers and the land owners were feudal in nature in regions like Telangana and while the major profits were usurped by the landowners, the manual labor became the victims of the bonded labor system.

“The agrarian structure of India has been changing rapidly since independence. The research done in sociology and social anthropology identified many factors as responsible for those changes such as industrialization, modernization, changing transportation technology, population pressure, land reforms, ceiling on agricultural lands, Green revolution, new agricultural technology, availability of irrigation facility, higher agricultural production, new values, ideologies, trade unionism, politicization of rural life etc. has been given as the factors for the changes in agrarian structure in India” (Satyanarayana,1992 P-1).

The irrigation facility affected the agrarian structure and the labor relations in all the Indian states including Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. In the last three decades, many villages in Telangana region have been provided with canal irrigation through Nagarjuna Sagar and Sri Ram Sagar Projects. Irrigation has brought about many major changes in agrarian structure and relations such as landholding patterns, relations among the various classes, agricultural output and so on (Satyanarayana, 1992).

A study by Karanth (1995) examines the nature of emerging trends in agrarian relations in Rajpura village of Karnataka as a result of Government initiated programs like land reforms, sericulture, and some welfare measures such as relief from rural indebtedness, the abolition of bonded labor system and minimum wages for agricultural laborers etc. He used the concept of “core institutional order” employed by Lockwood (1964) and Oommen (1984) in examining the changes occurred in agrarian relations. As Lockwood suggests, a society may change from one type to another type when the core institutional order has changed. The assumption underlying in this view is that the changes in the core institutional order result in cumulative changes in the entire system. As Oommen suggests, this criterion may further be fruitfully applied to understand the changes in a sub-system of society. Thus, if a village is viewed as having its own social structure, its religion, political institutions, family and kinship organizations, caste institution governing the relations between different persons, agrarian structure etc. may be identified as its sub-structure. Following Oommen (1984:86) one may identify the core elements in any one of these sub-structures. (P: 14).

It is observed that the study village has experienced feudal relations till late 1990s as many other villages in Telangana region. Before independence, Telangana region was ruled by the Nizams. Zamindars and landlords possessed large areas of agricultural lands for generations. The Zamindari system in Telangana region helped the landlords (castes such as Reddy, Velamas) to procure and manage large areas of agricultural land holdings using their political power. The zamindars could manage to get the services of the lower castes, Mala and Madiga and also from other backward castes. The Zamindari system made the lower castes to work in their agricultural lands as manual labor, either bonded (*vetti labor*) or free without any payments. Similar findings have been given by the scholars in their studies conducted in Telangana (Rao 1973, Satyanarayana 1992, and Srikanth 2014).

The land reforms introduced in united Andhra Pradesh did not serve the purpose of providing agricultural lands to landless households. The landlords could manage the big land holdings by transferring their lands to their relatives and to their

binamis. This is one of the major reasons for unsuccessful implementation of Land reforms in Telangana region. Thus Zamindars could manage the big land holdings even after post-independence and till 1980s. However in recent years, most of the lands owned by Zamindars have been transferred to the state Government due to Government initiated acts such as land reforms and land ceilings. Besides, the pressure from parties like the Communist Party of India (CPI), Communist party Marxist (CPM) and Naxalite movement in few areas of Telangana compelled the landlords to hand over their surplus lands to the government. The Naxalite movement had forced most of the Zamindars of Telangana region to vacate their villages and settle in cities. Thus, most of the land holdings in rural areas were left fallow and later on these lands were cultivated in their absence with the help of people from other castes in the village. The history of Telangana before 1950 helps to understand the relations that existed between different castes in the villages all over the region.

The Gaggupally village, under study, experienced the same conditions and witnessed many changes in the socio-economic and political domains in the post-independence era. During the discussions with the villagers about the traditional types of relations, it's understood that the landlords belonging to the dominant Reddy caste enjoyed the economic and political powers in the village for many years and lower castes (Malas, Madigas) were suppressed and hence remained as landless laborers till late 1980s. This kind of dominance and suppression by local landlords continued even after the independence till the initiation of programs like land reforms and land ceilings by the Government of Telangana region.

Agrarian Relations in Gaggupally Village

Daniel Thorner (1976:6) used the term 'Agrarian structure' to refer to the network of relations among the various groups of persons who draw their livelihood from the soil. "It is the sum total of ways which operates in relation to other groups". For Joshi (1975), the study of agrarian social structure is primarily the study of groups connected with land. His definitions are primarily in terms of relations existing among the owners of land and the actual producers. However, these two definitions by Thorner and Joshi refer mainly to one part of the agrarian social

structure: agrarian relations - the relations among different groups of people or classes in the process of cultivation of land.

Andre Beteille (1974:25) holds a wider view: the study of the agrarian system centers around the problem of land and its utilization for productive purposes. He recognizes the interrelatedness of structural elements in agriculture such as technology, work cycle, organization of production and agrarian hierarchy. As Beteille says, the agrarian social structure comprises land, cultivation which requires people, a given technology, and interrelations of these dimensions. In addition, the state and the physical environment also determine the character of an agrarian social structure. (Karanth1995:14).

The traditional agrarian relations among different castes played an important role in the study village. The Upper caste Reddy landlords, locally known as '*Dora*' were the large land holding farmers and the socio-economic and political aspects of the village were under their control'. A study conducted by Kameshwara Rao (1974) in Avancha village in Telangana region shows that the Reddies are mostly agriculturalists. They were Army Generals under Kakatiya Kings of Warangal and even during Muslim rule they were headmen and occupied important positions in the government. After independence, they emerged as important leaders in the political set up. Thus, they occupied the highest position in the social hierarchy of Telangana region in general and Avancha village in particular.

The castes such as *Reddy*, *Velama*, *Munnuru Kapu* and *Brahmins* were the major landowning castes for generations in Telangana region and they were known as *Doras* locally (a common term used throughout Telangana region). The studies by Satyanarayana (1992), Sundarayya (1952), Bala Gopal (2002), Srikanth (2014), Bheem Reddy (2014) in Telangana region describe the socio-economic and political conditions of the people in their studies. These studies discuss the feudal relations which existed in the region, and the socio-economic and political situations existed in the presence of landlords and under Zamindari system. These landlords used to cultivate the large areas of agricultural lands with the help of landless labour from scheduled castes and backward castes or landless people from various castes. The lower castes served the landlords and the Zamindars in many

ways since there was no other option left for them except providing their physical labour either for less or no payment at all.

The people from various castes in Gaggupally village also have similar stories to narrate. The Reddy caste land owners (who held large agricultural lands) used to hold the political and economic powers until 2004. Before independence, the Reddis were the predominant land owning farmers in the village. They had control over the means of production (agricultural lands) and they were also the centers of political power in the local administration.

However, the influence of landlords started declining in the village as well as in the region, due to many reasons such as land reforms, land ceilings, land assignments etc. Though these acts did not serve the government's purpose up to their expectations, they played a key role in the distribution of the lands to the landless poor and in changing the landholding pattern in Telangana in general and in Gaggupally village in particular.

The positions in village administration such as *Mali Patel*, *Police Patel*, *Karanam* and *Patwari* were occupied either by their relatives, family members or members belonging to the same caste (Kameswara Rao (1973). Till mid-1950s and before the General elections, only the Reddy caste members used to occupy these administrative posts with their political influence. The households from Reddy caste were the only land owning castes and the lower castes Mala, Madigas and backward caste members were major service rendering castes in the village. These castes used to work as agricultural laborers and used to assist the landlords in the agricultural works and cultivation of farms. The major economic production was in the hands of Reddies as agricultural farming in large areas was owned by them (*Doras*).

The members from landless families belonging to scheduled caste Mala, Madiga and other backward castes used to work either as Jeethagallu (bonded labour) or Vetti labour (free labour) for less payments or for no payments () round the year in the agricultural fields of *Doras*(*Srikanth 2014*). These families used to look after the agricultural operations such as land tilling, plantation, weeding, water

distribution, harvesting etc. The relations between the landlords and service rendering castes were production oriented and the *Doras* used to dominate these labourers and artisan castes (such as *Chakali/washer men*, *Kummari/potter*, *Kammari/blacksmith*, *Vadla/carpenter*) by receiving their services.

The members from artisan castes used to receive payments in kind by Reddy landlords and their services were mostly landlord centered than other castes in the village. The artisan caste households such washer men, carpenters, blacksmiths, potters etc. used to render their services to landowning Reddy families by providing agricultural implements and other services. These artisan caste households were dependent on landlords for their grain and other things. They were provided with grain such as paddy, jowar and other grain after the harvest according to the agreement between the artisans and landlords. It is said that the amount of paddy received by the blacksmiths and the carpenters varies based on the production. In agricultural prosperous years these service castes used to receive two to four quintals of paddy. Whereas in normal agricultural years and at times of low production they used to receive less amount of grain (paddy and jowar) as payment for the services.

The Madiga caste members were the musical band providers to the landlords for marriages and other ceremonies. The traditional relations among landowning castes, landless castes and artisan castes were uneven in nature as the landlords suppressed these castes using their money and power. As there were no other options left for the landless for earning livelihood, the members from Mala, Madiga castes had to work as laborers in the agricultural activities for *Doras*. Experiences narrated by one of the laborers from Madiga, revealed that there were instances where the labour used to receive punishments from the *Doras*.

These punishments were given when the landlords were unhappy with the services of the labourers, when they felt the workers had not reached their expectations and also when the labourers deny the orders of the landlords. These landless labourers used to work for long hours in the agricultural works but received very meager amount. The Reddi landowners used to exploit the physical labour of landless caste by paying minimal wages or in some cases no payment at all. These the labourers

were unable to stand against the acts of the landowners though there was a clear cut dominance and for the minimal payments. It is said that most of the times labourers were also used receive the payments in grain after the harvest for their services related to farm.

It is known that till 1970, there were very less number of families that less than five households of artisan castes such as *blacksmith (Kummari)*, *washermen (Chakali)*, *barber (Mangali)* and potter man (*Kammari*) who used to render their services to the landlords in the village. Upon enquiry, Hanmanth Reddy (a *Dora*) says that the forefathers of the artisans were recruited by Reddy landlords and the tradition has been continuing since then. The traditional inter-caste relations between artisan castes and other castes were seen with related to their occupations. The services of the weavers (*Devanga*), potter (*Kummari*), blacksmith (*Kammari*) were associated and identified with their castes. According to a key informant it is said that there are around ten families from *Devanga* caste used to weave clothes and sell their handmade clothes in the village and the neighboring villages. However due to lack of employment opportunities in their occupation they left their traditional occupation after 1980 and adopted other occupations such as beedi work by women and tailoring by men. The other artisan castes such as *barber*, *carpenter*, *washermen* and *taddy tapping* Gouds etc. also lost employment in their traditional occupations in due course and are involved in many other non – traditional occupations. Thus the relations between the landlord castes and these service castes gradually lost their significance.

Emerging trends in Agrarian relations

In the study village, the changes have taken place in the traditional, customary and interdependent relationships between the landlords and the landless labourers. First and foremost, the changes have been observed in the socio-economic status of labourers. In addition to this there has been a breakdown of interdependent relationships including Jajmani relations, and the emergence of a monetized, impersonal, bargaining relationship can be noticed in the place of traditional relations.

In past, majority of the agricultural lands were owned by Reddy caste households (Doras). It is said that almost 90 percent of the agricultural lands were owned by four members from Reddi caste. Each member used to own around 200 acres of agricultural land and the total number of acres owned by these four Reddy caste members constitutes around 600 to 700 acres in the village. Except for a single family belongs to Kurma caste, the remaining land owning backward caste households fall in the category of medium farmers (2-6 acres) along with Mala caste households which occupies the first place with regard to landholding pattern. The majority of the medium farmers' category belongs to the Mala caste. They constitute 53 farmers out of a total 75 medium farmers in the village. The majority (9 out of 13 households) of the large landowning farmers (6-8 acres and above) also belong to the Mala caste including a single farmer from Madiga caste who owns above 21 acres of agricultural land and the only farmers in the village who holds the highest number of agricultural lands in the village.

The medium farmers from *Kurma*, *Yadav* along with *Mala* and *Madiga* are doing much better in the agriculture where they once used to work as laborers for landlords. These households, which were once dependent on the Reddy landlords for their livelihood, now became self-reliant by cultivating their own agricultural lands and by using technology in agriculture help to get more production round the year in different seasons (*Rabi* and *Khari*f).

The farmers from *Madiga*, *Kurma*, *Golla* and *Yadav* occupy the second position in possession of agricultural lands. The Reddy landlords (*Dora*) have lost their control over their large lands and have migrated to cities and foreign countries in search of better employment and for a better life. For instance, a single landlord who elected as Sarpanch for 35 years and as an M.P.T.C for five years lost his dominance both in economic and political domains. The successive generations of these Reddy landlords have settled in abroad. Raja Reddy's two sons, their children (three members) and two daughters and their children (four members) settled in other countries i.e. U.S.A, U.K, Australia and Japan. They are working as doctors and Engineers. A son of Raja Reddy lives in Armoor town. The children of the Reddy families got the opportunity to pursue engineering and medicine early when compared to those of other castes. As such, their children and grandchildren

have settled in abroad in countries like U.S.A, Canada, and Australia at times when members of other castes were not even able to afford education.

It is observed that four members including a woman who belong to Tenugu caste have been working on annual contract as attached labour for the Reddi caste members (two members) from the same and other villages. They render their services to two Reddy farmers in farm activities as well as household works (only residing in the village). The traditional labour bondages have mostly changed into daily contracts, casual labour contracts or yearly attached labour contracts, which can be seen with large landowning farmers in the village.

The three male attached labourers look after the farm activities in the lands of Raja Reddy and Rama Reddy and they are paid in cash in the middle or at the end of the year for their services. The payment made to these yearly attached labourers is around ₹ 70,000 to 80,000 per annum depending on their experience in farm and other related activities. These attached labourers also look after the household related works, repairing the agricultural implements, cattle rearing and works assigned by the employer (Reddy). A middle-aged woman from the same village belonging to *Tenugu* caste does cooking, washing and cleaning etc. for both the Reddis presently. While their children have settled in towns, cities and abroad and they send money for the monthly expenses and for their health related issues if any. They own large areas of agricultural lands (above 10 acres) which they cultivate with the help of attached laborers. Most of the (84 from total 130 households) *Mala* farmers own majority of the agricultural lands at present and they are the only large landowning farmers in the village along with the two Reddy castes families and a single family from each of *Kurma and Madiga* castes. Whereas the very less number of households from Mala such as less than 10 households used to own marginal agricultural lands prior to 1980 in the study village.

Relations between the farmers belonging to *Mala, Madiga and Kurma, Yadav, Mudiraj, Munnuru Kapu* play a significant role in the village since these farmers own agricultural lands and are associated with agricultural operations most of the times round the year. Till now, previously conducted studies by other scholars revealed that in most cases, in Telangana region the only land owning castes were

the upper castes i.e. *Reddy*, *velama* and *Munnuru Kapu* (Srikanth2014, Satyanarayana1992) which totally contradicts with the findings in the present study where the majority land owning farmers belong to Scheduled castes.

At present, the majority of the large landowning farmers belong to Mala and Madiga with one farmer from the backward caste *Kurma*. Hence it is revealed that the agrarian structure of the study village is not similar to the previous studies done in Telangana region by the earlier scholars. It is observed that the farmers from other Backward Castes *Kurma*, and *Yadav* and few farmers from *Devanga* and *scheduled castes Mala*, and *Madiga* are seen cooperating with one another in activities such as sharing the agricultural implements, agricultural machinery, agricultural inputs such as seeds, and pesticides , information related to market price etc. The landless families from these castes are involved as laborers in their agricultural fields. Hence it is understood that the farmers from *Mala*, *Madiga* and Backward castes *Kurma*, *Yadav*, and *Munnuru Kapu* have better cooperation and understanding levels in agriculture related activities.

It is found that most of the women of the landless agricultural families of *Kurma*, *Mudiraj*, *Vaddera* and *Yadav* households, and also the landless from *Mala* caste are engaged as agricultural labourers in the lands of *Mala* and *Madigas* farmers in Gaggupally. Also, women from *Mala* and *Madiga* castes work as agricultural labourers for *Kurma* and *Yadav* farmers. Two young males from *Vaddera* caste are found as yearly attached labor for a *Kurma* farmer (*Kurma Navvanna*) in the village. It is significant that majority of the households (130 out of a total 333) belong to *Mala* caste which is the highest populated community in the village, followed by *Devanga* caste. In contrast to this, the upper caste *Reddy* households are limited to only 14 families: 12 families belong to *Patels* (who claim themselves as *Reddies* but are in fact immigrants) and 2 families belong to the erstwhile landlords who had authority over the village in the past. The members of these 12 households are mostly involved in non-agricultural activities such as business in towns since they do not own agricultural lands and a few are even working as casual labor.

The relations among the Mala, Madiga and backwards castes Devanga, Kurma, Goud and Vaddera play a significant role in recent times in the study village. The relations between upper caste Reddis and other castes lost significance in the village with the developments in socio-economic conditions of the households belonging to various castes. The upper caste Reddis do not maintain relations either with scheduled castes or backward castes in the village. They depend on attached labour for the agricultural works and household related works and the traditional bondages among the Upper caste Reddis who used to control the power are not seen interacting with the villagers. The member who was elected as Sarpanch for more than 35 years is not seen interacting with any other caste farmers in the village during the field study. Since the Reddy landlords now lost their importance in agriculture as well as in political domains they cannot influence village politics or do not have a say in any other aspect in the village. The cooperation among the farmers belonging to *Mala, Madiga* and backward caste *Kurma, Yadav, Munnuru Kapu* and landless labour from these castes plays an important role in the agricultural production. For instance, Bondenna Jenigela, a landless *Mudiraj* caste farmer is cultivating three acres of agricultural land taken on lease belonging to a *Munnuru Kapu* farmer Gaddi Sai Reddy since the last three years. The agreement was to pay rupees 30,000 to Sai Reddy on leasing the three acres of agricultural land. Sai Reddy has migrated to the Gulf countries in search of employment and his family members are unable to cultivate the land though they have the bore well as a source of irrigation. Before leasing these three acres of land, *Bondenna* was cultivating 2 acres of agricultural land belonging to a backward caste *Gouda* farmer Bhooma Goud which was also taken on lease for a period of two years. Bhooma Goud had migrated to the Gulf in search of employment and since there were no men to take care of the agricultural land in the family and women were involved in other activities such as beedi work, they had given the land on lease to Bondenna on yearly agreement basis. This case mentioned above shows how the relations between the landless and the landowning households belonging to backward castes help to take up the lands on lease.

Following example from the study village also helps to understand the inter-caste relations and the cooperation among the landless and landowning farmers.

Boogolla Bhoopal, a medium farmer from *Mala* caste leased-in two acres of agricultural land from another small farmer belonging to the same caste who migrated to Saudi countries for employment. He agreed to pay rupees 20,000 in cash on harvest per acre for a period of one year. These cases illustrate that in cultivation, the process of *leasing in* agricultural lands is one of the important factors which mitigated the dependency of the landless households on the land owners. It has also been helping to maintain relations among the farmers of different castes (inter and intra castes) in the village. The process of *leasing in*, *leasing out* of agricultural lands usually takes place between the farmers who maintain good relations with one another and it helps to share the profit after the harvest. It helps both the parties in both ways; it is a way to contribute to agricultural production instead of leaving the cultivable agricultural lands as fallow and also provides an opportunity to cultivate the land for the landless in the absence of land owners and thus gets a means of livelihood for them in the village. Thus the existing agrarian structure in rural areas provides an opportunity to maintain productive relations between the landowners and landless households among different caste farmers in the agriculture sector.

A 23-year-old male worker from *Vaddera* caste works as a shepherd with a *Kurma* farmer on annual basis or yearly attached labourer. Two other settlers in this village work as shepherds with Navvanna, a backward caste *Kurma* farmer and one as attached labor with other farmers in the village. A 25-year-old youth working as a tractor driver with Navvanna looks after all the agriculture-related activities such as ploughing, preparation of land for crops etc.

When it comes to arrangements of labor for agricultural activities, it is observed that women labors from the landless households of *Tenugu/Mudiraj*, *Kurma* and *Vaddera* castes often engage as agricultural labor in the fields of Scheduled caste *Mala* and *Madiga*. This is because *Malas* own the majority of lands in the village and their economic conditions are far better than other castes and most of the times, the women members from landless castes work as laborers.

Since there are few households from upper caste *Reddy* and another *backward* caste *Munnuru Kapu*, they do not have much influence in village politics or local

political bodies presently. For instance, one Srinivas Reddy could influence the village politics up to a large extent for more than fifty years from the 1950s to 2004 and people used to obey his words and decisions. Later, his influence decreased as political power started shifting to people of *Mala* and *Devanga* castes. The increasing awareness in the people about their legal and political rights especially contributed to this shift in the power. There were incidents during 1992 and 1995 when two men from *Mala* and *Goondla* castes respectively filed a case and won against a Reddy when he had allegedly taken away their agricultural lands using his political power and influence. This particular incident reminded the people from various castes about the dominance and oppressive nature of the Reddy community which made the people to realize the real face of the Upper castes in the village.

Another occasion which brought all the people of lower castes and backward castes together was when a *Gouda* caste man stood against Reddy for the first time in Panchayath elections of 1995. This was a huge victory for the lower and backward castes in the village. These two incidents reduced the dominance of the Reddy community in the village. During 1992, a candidate from *Mala* caste stood and won in the elections as Sarpanch with the support of Srinivas Reddy. It was said by people that he used to take care of the things on behalf of the *Mala* Sarpanch. However, his influence lasted only till 2004.

The relations between the attached laborers who work on annual contracts and other backward castes are significant in recent years in the village. The following particular case shows the same. A is , a 50-year-old man from *Tenugu* caste who migrated to the study village twenty years back works as contract labour on annual basis in a toddy shop. The toddy shop owner hails from neighboring village. Tenders for the opening of toddy shop are called for once in a year. Traditionally, toddy business is the profession of *Gouda* castes.

However, the members from *Gouda caste* are no more involved in the toddy sale business or maintenance of toddy shops. According to a member from *Gouda* caste who works in Gulf, members from *Gouda* caste do not involve in toddy tapping activities and sale of toddy because for almost twenty years the *Gouda* caste

members are not getting proper income from their traditional occupation toddy tapping. Due to the influence of the global market the sale of toddy has lost importance. Hence for the last twenty years the Gouda caste members stopped this activity and started doing other activities. In recent years, out of the total 8 households belonging to Goud caste, except a single male, all the Gouda men have migrated to the Gulf countries for better earnings.

The shift in caste occupations has created opportunities to others who are interested in establishing toddy business in the village. The Gouda caste members help the interested parties by providing their permission to run the business and in getting the tenders. According to the agreement made by the villagers, no member from other castes other than except the Gouda. The Gouda members have the permission to run toddy sale and business in the village. However, for the period from 2015 and 2016 a member from Gouda caste helped a contractor from a neighboring village to start toddy business in the study village on his behalf. For this purpose, agreements are made on yearly basis for a particular amount. This shows that personal relations between *Tenugu* and *Gouda* caste members play a significant role in taking up such activities. Thus we can understand that the immigrants from different castes contributed to the village economy by providing their services whenever given the opportunity. (If the purpose of this paragraph is about how different castes are contributing to the village economy, then start the paragraph with this idea. You started with Durgappa, went on to Gouda caste and toddy business and then talked about the relations between Tenugu and Gouda and then finally their contribution to village economy.

In the village, one can also see that there is mutual cooperation between land-owning farmers from *Mala*, *Madiga* castes and backward castes *Kurma*, *Munnuru Kapu* and *Yadav*. Personal relations among land-owning caste members find their way into the execution and completion of agricultural activities on time. Mutual exchange of services and adjustments related to agricultural operations is seen among these farmers. . In agriculturally busy seasons, the owners of tractors rent them to needed farmers either on an hourly basis or on basis of per acre. According to an agreement made by the village farmers, no tractor from other villages is permitted to be hired for agricultural activities. Similarly, the villagers carry out

their agricultural activities while at the same time maintaining harmonious relationships. A fixed amount is charged for different activities done with the help of the machinery such as tilling, cage wheel, weeding etc. by the owners. The charges for those activities are either on hourly basis or on the basis of the area. On average Rs. 800 to 1000 per acre are charged for a tractor. It is found that such activities are performed by all the small, medium and big farmers in the village. It is also seen that a healthy relation is maintained between the farmer and the owner of the machinery in the village. There is no machinery available in the village for harvesting, also for boiling and polishing the turmeric and as such, depends on machinery borrowed from the neighboring (mostly from Aloor and Issapally) villages.

The relations between owners of heavy machinery (tractors and harvester) and drivers came to be known from a 23-year old (tractor driver) from Scheduled Caste *Mala* who worked as a tractor driver and as an operator of agricultural implements for a Scheduled caste *Madiqa* farmer (holding the large agricultural land that is 20 – 25 acres) in the village. He opines that the farmers (employers) do not allow the drivers to take rest even for a while during work and always forces the drivers to work for longer durations for the fewer amounts. This kind of attitude by the owners compels the drivers not to continue for more than a year. Though there are issues regarding work between the owners of the machinery and drivers in few cases, the relations among various castes members can be seen at the time of harvest. The farmers hire heavy machinery (harvesters, the machinery used in boiling and polishing turmeric) from neighboring villages since no heavy machinery are owned by any farmer in the village. The Skilled and experienced labour come to work as machinery operators from neighboring villages at the time of harvest and during agricultural peak seasons in the village where they get full time work for about three months. Most of the times, they are paid in advance by the farmers to get the machinery on time. But sometimes, connections with owners (of heavy machinery) from neighboring villages also help to get machinery on time.

Case study: 1

A, a 24-year-old labour who hails from Keshampet village of Shad Nagar Mandal, Mahabubnagar District of Telangana, migrated to Aloor 16 years back. He has done his education till 5th standard and is working as a harvester driver. He works with a *Munnuru Kapu* farmer named Narayana in Aloor village which is located two kilo meters away from the study village. When he was eight years old, his family migrated to Aloor in search of livelihood where he started working as a shepherd on annual contract. Later he worked as an agricultural labor in the same village for about two years. After that, he learned tractor driving while working with his owner and started working as tractor driver apart from involving in agricultural activities. He worked as tractor driver and operator with his owner and fourteen later years later he started working as harvester operator in this area. For the past seven years, he has been working as a harvester operator in Aloor and neighboring villages. His payment was only rupees 3000 per month in 2007. During field work, he is being paid rupees 25000 per month. Before starting to work for Narayana he worked for another farmer for the period of four years. He says that as harvester operator he earns better when compared to other agricultural labor or when he himself was working as agricultural labor. He says that at times, his owner takes care of other things such as providing clothes during festivals and giving money during emergency conditions and also pays for the hospital if needed.

It can be understood that the traditional long-term bondages between the landowners (*Reddies*) and the landless laborers have been transformed into short-term bondages such as yearly attached labor or casual labor. In the traditional bonded labor system, freedom was not given to the laborers; they were compelled to work for longer durations under the landlords who owned large agricultural lands. The work conditions are dissimilar in the case of short-term labor such as yearly attached labor or casual labor. Unlike the traditional system, the yearly attached labor work on hourly basis, get time to spend with their families and also have the freedom to quit if they are unhappy with the work after the completion of the agreement. In some cases, it has been observed that the labor discontinued working even before the completion of the agreement to work for a year.

It can be understood that with the introduction of new technology, the unskilled traditional agricultural practices have lost their importance and the skilled labor are now provided with new employment opportunities such as harvester operators, tractor drivers etc. Similar findings are given by Srikanth Yamsani in his study (2014) from Karimnagar district of Telangana state.

Case study: 2

Ramesh, a 22-year-old male who studied till second class, migrated to the study village from Chinna Kodappal village of Pitlam Mandal of Nizamabad district. He has been working as a tractor driver for the past six months with *Kurma Navvanna* and is earning rupees 5000 as monthly salary. Previously, he worked as a tractor driver for four years in a nearby village, Aloor under a Gurudi Kapu farmer Linga Reddy where his monthly salary was rupees 3000. Before he had learnt tractor driving, he worked for the Gurudi Kapu farmer as yearly attached labor for four years. Prior to that, he worked as a shepherd on yearly basis. His family owns 3 acres of agricultural land and now own bore well too for agricultural purposes. His father looks after the farming activities back home. While working as labour under *Kapu* farmer in Aloor village, he had observed farming activities done with the machinery and developed an interest to learn those operations. Later he managed to learn driving and other skilled operations necessary for farming with machinery.

When it is enquired about his period of stay in Gaggupally, he said that he may work as yearly labor for another two years under the present employer. He has a very busy schedule during rainy season working for 12 hours daily and in summer he will be free for a month. The owner of the tractor provides him free food, accommodation and also takes care of him in cases of emergency or when he is ill or suffering from any health problems. When enquired about his stay away from home, he told that his parents take care of his sisters. He sends his monthly earnings to home in order to support his family. When it comes to satisfaction levels, he said that he is satisfied and happy with his current work. It is important to observe that in the place of traditional bondages, new types of labor relations such as yearly based agreements etc. which are playing a crucial role in agriculture production are emerging.

It is observed that most of the farmers cultivate turmeric as a one of the major (commercial) crop along with other crops and the processes of cleaning, boiling, and polishing of turmeric consume a lot of time and money during agricultural seasons. In present days, farmers prefer agricultural machinery for these processes. With improved communication levels and networks between villages, it has become possible for the village farmers to borrow the required machinery and agricultural implements from neighboring villages on time. Hence such relations help to get the agricultural work done on time, especially during peak agricultural seasons, such as at the time of harvesting etc. Even the landless labor from neighboring villages often especially in peak agricultural seasons involve in agricultural activities in the study village.

Gangadhar, a 56-year old (belongs to *Mala*) farmer from the study village says that the networks and communication levels with the dealers who sell seeds, pesticides, and other agricultural inputs help him to get the inputs on time even when there is a shortage of pesticides etc. He also gets assistance from the owners of harvesters and other machinery. It is said that, in Armoor Mandal, farmers who are knowledgeable regarding agricultural activities have started *Raithu sangham*/farmers groups to share information related to improved ways of farming in order to achieve better yield in agriculture. It is also known from the farmers in the village that the name and the influence of the local farmers in the area help to get the agricultural loans from the banks at times and also from related institutions on time without much delay.

It is observed that for village related developmental programmes; the farmers take initiation by contributing their share and collecting funds from others. It is also known that there is a caste-based body for every caste operated by the members of the same caste in the village. These caste bodies collect the funds from the members of the particular caste and utilize them for village related developmental activities. During festivals like Sri Rama Navami, Hanuman Jayanthi, Durga Puja, Ambedkar Jayanthi and other village level celebrations, farmers from different castes coordinate and contribute money and participate together.

Changes in Traditional Occupations

Nowadays, the factors such as the introduction of beedi industries, new employment avenues in non-agriculture sectors, migration, globalization, developments in science and technology, and in communication and transport etc. affected the dependency on traditional occupations by artisan castes and landless. These factors have resulted in the artisan castes of *Kammari* (blacksmith), *Kummari* (potter), *Chakali* (washer man), *Devanga* (weavers) and *Vadla* (carpenter) to abandon their traditional occupations to a large extent. The blacksmith households (only two families live in the village) of the village have stopped manufacturing the agricultural implements and started working in agriculture, either as farmers or labors. A family belonging to *Kammari* caste was dependent on other landowning farmers and who used to work in his traditional occupation, now brought two acres of agricultural land and are engaged in the cultivation of paddy and other crops. His son works in a cloth shop in the Armoor town. With the developments that took place with the introduction of new technology and with the mechanization of agriculture, since last 20 years, the *Kummari* caste households have lost their traditional village occupations. This affected the relations between this community and the farmers from other castes because, in the earlier days, they used to manufacture agricultural implements for the farmers in the village and in return used to get the payment in kind.

Case study: 1

Malkoju Narsaiah, a 56-year-old from the village belonging to blacksmith (*Kammari*) caste, own two acres of agricultural land and is living with his wife. He cultivates the land with the help of irrigation through borewell and lives on its income. He stopped working in the traditional occupation such as manufacturing of agricultural implements which used in tilling land, sickles etc. since last twenty years and is completely dependent on agriculture now. His son also lives nearby and both of the families share few things in common such as electricity, common cooking, drinking water sources etc. This is the only family belonging to the blacksmith in the village.

The latest developments in technology and easy accessibility to readymade things in the market the blacksmiths lost their livelihood in their traditional occupation. The traditional agricultural practices have been replaced by the heavy machinery such as usage of tractors and harvesters. Even in the case of transportation, bullock carts have been entirely replaced by Tractors and Lorries. Large scale developments such as the introduction of new technology, green revolution, instead of providing more employment opportunities have reduced the sources of employment, for artisan castes in particular. As such, they lost their livelihood sources and started working in other sectors. The traditional blacksmiths from the study village have stopped manufacturing of agricultural implements and are working either as agricultural farmers or as shopkeepers in town located 10 kilometers away from the study village. The members of the only family belonging to this artisans' caste work in agricultural lands during rainy seasons. During the rest of the year, the head of the family stays at home and his son works in a cloth shop located in town. Women of the household engage in beedi work most of the times. When enquired on their traditional caste occupations and services, Narsaiah says that 'our family used to work as blacksmiths in the village about twenty years back. But we have not been getting much work in traditional occupations and so we do not involve much in the manufacture of agricultural implements'. However, he did not completely leave his traditional occupation but takes it up whenever he gets orders. This case study throws light on our understanding of the disappearance of occupations of traditional artisan castes with the emergence of new technologies in agriculture.

Similar is the case of the washerman community. Only a single family from the study village is engaged in the washing of clothes. They hardly get some work related to their occupation these days. According to Abraham, a washer man from the village *"there is a shortage of water in the lake nearby village for the last twenty years and no other water source is available to wash clothes. He further says that the mindset of the people has changed. They do not prefer to give clothes to us these days, so it's hard to get work as washermen these days"*. Presently, different caste people manage to wash their clothes themselves and do not prefer giving their clothes to washermen. Some of the households from Mala and

Devanga castes use washing machines for the same. A woman from Tenugu caste helps Reddy caste households in such activities.

The systemic and the attitudinal changes coupled together have an adverse effect on the traditional relations between the washermen community and other castes in the village. The interaction and the cooperation that existed once cannot be seen nowadays. Some of the male members of the community migrated to Gulf countries in search of employment to work either as unskilled labor or in the same occupation. It is known that few washermen have migrated to cities such as Mumbai and are working in their traditional occupations. It can be understood that though there is mobility for occupation, few members engaged in their traditional occupation rather in other skilled works. Lower education levels could be one of the reasons for continuing in the same occupation at migrated places. Even the *carpenter/Vaddera* caste people from the village have stopped their traditional occupation and started working in towns as shopkeepers and in other sectors. Rangoji Narayana, a 65 year old (from carpenters' caste) opines, *"These days we are not getting employment in our traditional occupations since the traditional agricultural implements which we used to manufacture earlier have been replaced by readymade in short time. So we had to move away from our traditional occupation"*. Also, his age doesn't permit him to work and his son, Rangoji Gangadhar works as a lab technician in town. Thus the new technology in agriculture has replaced the traditional caste occupations, and brought a shift in the occupations taken up by the villagers.

Devanga community's (weavers) traditional occupation was weaving. It is known that after 1980, they stopped the traditional caste occupation of weaving and shifted to other occupations. It has been almost 20 years that women from this community are engaged in full-time beedi work. Till 1970 and 1980, they used to be engaged in their traditional caste occupation of weaving and used to sell clothes in and around the village. After the 1980s, people from the village started purchasing mill clothes from towns. It is known that the traditional weaving activity for this community used to provide livelihood for most of the households, though the work needed a lot of manual labor and resources. Before 1980, there were around 10 households from this community involved in weaving.

An interesting observation of Devanga community is that almost 90 percent of the women engages in beedi work as their primary occupation and most of the males from this community engage in the tailoring along with women. Beedi work is the second major occupation in the village and majority of the women from the village, even from agricultural farmer households engage in beedi work. Women from agricultural households are free to work according to their time and convenience. However in the case of Devanga caste women, beedi work is the only option since these households do not have any agricultural lands. The earnings from beedi work range from 100/- to 150/- rupees per day and which comes around 4000/- to 5000/- on an average in a month which is very much considerable amount for the women who involve in beedi work from different communities.

Women from Vaddera caste are never found engaged in beedi work. According to the key informants from Vaddera caste, it is said that beedi work earns them around Rs. 100/- per day, which is insufficient for them to manage their day to day household's expense whereas working as labour makes them to procure around Rs. 400/- per day. Working as labour in earth digging works, construction of roads etc. helps them earn better wages when compared to the beedi work. Another reason for not involving in beedi work is that the economic conditions of the people of this particular caste are very poor, as such no household from Vaddera caste own agricultural lands and the primary occupation is daily wage labour. In order to cope up with the daily expenses on food, health and clothing, they prefer to work as labour in construction, earth digging works. The members also opine that the earnings from beedi work do not support their expenses and the income from beedi work is not considerable.

It is also significant that the material for beedi work is being provided by beedi work agents from Devanga caste in the village. The agents provide the raw material required for beedi manufacturing, brought from the industries (beedi Kharkhanas) located in towns, on the basis of weight (g). They do not charge any money for providing raw material and they provide on free of cost to the beedi workers of the village. In return, they collect beedis corresponding to the amount of material provided. These agents act as mediators between the beedi industries

(Kharkhana) and the workers. Women who work in beedi making collect the material such as beedi leaves etc. from these agents and after the completion of preparation, sell the completed beedies to these agents who take care of the transport of beedies to nearby cities and towns for sale. It can be understood that beedi work by the women from different castes also provides an opportunity to them to interact and discuss various issues and problems related to beedi work i.e. delay in payments etc. It is also observed that such women participate in agitations whenever there is a call from beedi unions of other villages and towns. Some of the factors which lead to agitations are not getting any increment in payments according to the market value, same payments for long years, ban on tobacco products etc. They discuss such issues among themselves and at times, help others in need.

It is observed that, men from Devanga community engage in various occupations and the same cannot be seen with other castes in the village. They work as electricians, auto drivers, beedi agents, plumbers, tailors, glass work, and shopkeepers and also migration to gulf countries is commonly seen from this community in the village. One of the significant observations related to occupations from the community is that they occupy a variety of occupations in and outside the village. The majority of them are shopkeepers and this reflects the decline in the number of people choosing traditional occupations in favour of non-traditional occupations and new areas of employment. It also shows the interest of the members towards petty businesses from Devanga castes in the village. There are not many members involve in such variety of works from other castes as the men from Devanga caste.

When MGNREGA work takes place, it is observed that landless members from *Mala, Madiga, Kurma, Yadav, Munnuru Kapu, Tenugu* castes work together in groups. It is also observed that women from Devanga, Kurma, Tenugu castes work with scheduled caste Mala and Madiga. While working, they discuss village politics, crack jokes by addressing one another using terms like *Akka, mama, thatha, bava* etc. though they are from different castes and are unrelated to each other. Thus they maintain productive relations among themselves and work with good spirit. While working in such programmes, rather than caste relations,

individual relations among members of different castes are found to play a significant role.

Even it is observed that younger generations from Mala and Madiga castes maintain good relations with the youth belongs to Kurma, Yadav, Chakali, Devanga and found to be moving closely with them especially at the time of marriages, ceremonies, and festivals etc. In such celebrations, the individual relations also play an important role more than the caste relations. It is observed that members of different castes attend celebrations such as marriages, festivals etc. in the village. It shows that the personal relations among members from various castes help to maintain harmony among them.

For instance, when a member of Mala caste died in the village during the field study, it is observed that members of all castes attended the death ceremony. When enquired, they opined that at the time of death in the village, at least one person from each caste will attend since it is the minimum responsibility of a human being to attend such death rituals, if not weddings and other ceremonies.

In the study village, the inter-caste relations play an important role, the cooperation and coordination between the members of scheduled caste and backward castes are seen with the exchange of their services in recent years. A household from *Mala* caste (husband and wife) takes buffaloes for grazing in the village. He works on an annual basis and collects a certain amount for each buffalo which ranges from 2000/- to 3000/- per year. The decision regarding his payment will be taken collectively by all those members owning buffaloes in the village and he will be paid accordingly as per the agreement made at the beginning of the year. It is observed that buffalo-owning families from different castes in the village depend on him for grazing.

The Scheduled caste *Madiga* members of the provide music band for others at the time of marriages, village festivals, caste related religious festivals etc. in the village. They still provide their age old services in the village. The Mala and Madiga caste in Telangana region were the traditional musical band service caste for centuries and the same can now be seen in the village under study as well as

many villages in Telangana region. It is observed that skilled and qualified occupations such as medical practitioners have started serving in the village. Two R.M.P doctors, one from Goondla community and another from Devanga community have started their own clinics in the center of the village and providing their services to the villagers and those who have health problems do utilize their services.

It is observed that few members from artisan castes emerged as small and marginal farmers due to loss of employment in their tradition occupations. The earnings from non-agricultural sectors are seen as other employment avenues which helped the landless families in purchasing the agricultural lands in recent years. Thus various developments affected their traditional occupations and very few artisan castes (i.e. *Devanga, Gouda, Kammari*) are seen as small farmers in the agriculture sector in recent years. Low education level is also another factor which forces them to depend on agriculture as marginal and small farmers and as labourers for livelihood. Narsaiah, One of the *blacksmiths* (Kammari) in the village opines that “*due to intervention of new technology in agriculture we are not provided with any work in our traditional occupation and it is almost twenty years that we stopped working in our traditional occupation as blacksmiths in the village since no farmer has approached us for the manufacturing of agricultural implements. I thought to purchase some agricultural land to start agriculture, with the source of irrigation so we have purchased two acres of land and started farming along with other farmers in village*”. The evidence discussed here shows that the people of artisan castes in the village have left their traditional occupations and are working as farmers and also in non-agricultural sectors. It strongly indicates that the relations which had existed earlier among different caste groups of the village have gradually lost their importance. Dependency on other castes has decreased. Cooperation and exchange of services no more play an important role among different caste groups in Gaggupally.

Caste councils and associations:

In the study village, there are councils/associations formed on the basis of the caste. Almost all the castes have their own councils and associations such as *Vaddera Sangham*, *Mala Sangham*, *Kurma sangham* etc. These councils are formed to look after the issues related to disputes and quarrels among the castes and to resolve the problems related to those in the village. It is said that two members of each caste, but with different surnames or gothras, are elected by the caste members in forming the caste council in order to look after the activities and issues among the castes.

The council members are elected for a period of one year by their own caste members and the council members each represent a lineage or surname. The council meets once in a year and discuss future tasks such as programmes (community festivals, religious ceremonies etc.) to be conducted etc. during the year. The caste council collects money from each family and use it for community development programmes, caste related ceremonies etc. The caste council also lends the money to the members those are part of the council in case of emergencies and collect the same amount later. In case, if someone from the caste who is part of council is not in a position to meet the expenses on marriages ceremonies and at the time of ill-health the caste council provides money on time.

They (caste councils) also donate a particular amount for village development programmes like construction of community water tanks, roads, drainages, temples and other community level programmes. The caste council representatives change every year to give equal chance to everyone. A positive thing about the caste councils is that they respect everyone's opinion and listen to all queries posed in the annual meetings. No dominance of elders is seen on younger generations and they are encouraged to participate in the council discussions with full liberty and can share their opinions and suggestions on issues related to the castes and also things related to village developments. However, these councils were active in the past, but in recent years they are losing their significance

Kula Pantha:

It is also a caste body similar or caste council, four to five castes together form a *pantha* (association of caste groups) and each pantha represented by a member from those castes which are part of *pantha*. It is said the festivals in the village are performed by the decisions in the caste *Panthas*. Every pantha gathers and discusses the things to be undertaken related to festivals and ceremonies in the village. During elections, these Panthas play a significant role in electing the representative for village panchayath. The members from these Panthas take decision whom to elect as Sarpanch. These Panthas also play a significant role at the time of disputes and quarrels in the village, the elder members who represent each pantha attend the meetings while resolving the disputes. These Panthas try to resolve the disputes by not letting the parties involved to approach police which maintains the harmony in the village.

It is also observed that the youth associations are formed by the members represent the same caste or combination of two castes. The names of youth associations are associated with some freedom fighters and popular national leaders such as *Mahatma Gandhi, Shivaji, and Ambedkar* etc. These youth associations are formed to have an identity in the village and to show the existence. These youth associations are seen celebrating festivals like *Ganesh Chaturthi, Ambedkar Jayanthi, Hanuman Jayanthi* and also some sport tournaments related to cricket etc. It is observed that each youth association consist same caste members and it can be understood that the younger generations are conscious about their caste identity in the village.

Factors affecting the traditional relations:

The present sections deals with the factors that affected the traditional agrarian relations in the study village. The traditional agrarian relations were mostly seen between the landlords and landless castes. The landless labourer from scheduled castes and other backward castes used to depend on upper caste landlords. The agricultural production confined to only *Reddy* landlords and the remaining castes were the laborers who worked for the landlords. The relations between the landless labourers and landlords were feudal in nature where the landlords used to dominate

the labourers by utilizing their physical labour either for less payment or no payments.

As already discussed in previous sections, the traditional relations between the landlords and landless have lost significance in recent years. The traditional relations between the landowners and landless were uneven in nature and the dominance and oppression of landlords on Mala, Madiga and other castes was common phenomenon in the study village in the past. The landless castes belong to Mala, Madiga and on artisan castes such as, Kurma, Gouda, Chakali, Kummari, and Kammari among these groups such as labour, artisan castes and landowning farmers which used to play an important role in the study village. The reasons for changes in traditional relations are multiple in nature, such as international migration, rural to urban migration and internal migrations, availability of employment avenues in different sectors, education, government policies such as land reforms and land ceilings, land assignment, green revolution, transport and communication developments.

International Migration:

Migration to Gulf countries (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, and Oman) is the major factor which brought betterment in the economic conditions of the landless castes in the village. These changes are seen after 1980s and the employment opportunities in the Gulf countries helped the landless to enhance their earnings which also earn their livelihood by not depending on traditional occupations and on the landowners as labourers and in other works.

The traditional bonded labour systems have lost their significance when most of the landless and marginal household members from the lower castes *Mala* and *Madiga* entered into the migration process, with financial assistance provided by family and friends in the late 1970s. Since then, most of the members from landless households from Mala, Madiga, Kurma, Devanga, Gouda, Munnuru Kapu Vadla castes found migrating to Gulf countries in search of livelihood and to work in various sectors. The traditional bonded labourers and free labour found migration as a source of liberation from traditional uneven bondages. These changes can be broadly seen in three areas.

Economic changes:

Better economic conditions always play a significant role in leading a better lifestyle in the society along with other aspects. When compared to the poor households, economically better households lead a better life in all aspects such as having better conditions of hygiene, health, education, communication etc. The better economic conditions also influence by the land holding pattern, household possessions etc. Those households with higher economic status can afford better standards of living. Since mid-1950s, the village has undergone many changes in social, economic and political aspects. In recent years the earning from different sources such as Gulf migration, employment in non-agricultural sectors such as jobs in Government and corporate sectors, petty businesses helped to increase the income levels. The expenses on food, health, education also increase with the income levels.

The housing conditions of Mala, Devanga, Kurma, and Goud castes are found to be better when compared to other castes in the village. It can be said that result of better economic conditions of these households are the result of remittances brought by the Gulf migration. In case of Mala, Kurma households the landowning farmers from these castes are experiencing better production from the agriculture and which help them to earn better income. The men from Devanga caste involve in tailoring and the women work in beedi rolling as primary occupation and few members found running general stores. The various jobs are undertaken by the Devanga caste along with small businesses and the same diversity in occupations cannot be seen among the other castes. These diversified employment opportunities made the Devanga households to maintain better housing conditions, better education levels, better expenses on health, food etc.

The women from Mala, Kurma castes involve in both farm works and beedi rolling which help them to have continuous and better income. The following table gives the information related the housing structure among the various castes. The concrete housing structure is considered as better housing structure among all structures.

The housing structure of the *Devanga, Mala, Gouda, Kurma, Madiga* are found better when compare to *Tenugu, Vaddera, Chakali, Kummari and Kammari*. It can be said that the artisan castes do not get better income from the employment sources they involve and though they involve in beedi work the income from beedi work do not support them to lead the better life style as the landowning castes. These artisan castes life style as average when compare to Mala, Devanga, Kurma and Gouda castes. It is understood that the members from these castes still depend on migration for better income. Even the expenses on education are found more in Gouda, Mala, Devanga, Kurma castes in the village.

The overall lifestyle of Mala, Devanga, Gouda, and Kurma was found to be better when compared to the rest of the castes. It can be seen in their social and economic conditions such as better housing structures, housing conditions, possession of electronic gadgets like TVs and mobiles, better income levels, access to two wheelers, better education levels etc.

Social changes:

International migration also brought significant changes in the social status and cultural practices among different castes in the study village. Before the process of migration has begun in the village, the households from the scheduled castes *Mala, Madiga* and the other backward castes were economically backward and options available for their livelihood were very limited. For years, they were dependent on *Doras* for employment either as bonded or free labour. They had no other option except for being entirely dependent on Reddy caste, assist them in agricultural activities, particularly in the case of artisan castes blacksmith, carpenter (*Vadla*), barber (*Mangali*) caste, and washer men (*Chakali*).

They used to receive payments either in the form of grain or kind. When they started migrating to Gulf countries, the members of these households started experiencing many new things such as payments in cash, new work location, different kind of employee and employer relations, specific working hours etc. which were oblivious to them. Their expenditures had risen significantly with these developments. The betterment in economic matters through the available employment helped the landless to achieve better social status in recent years. The

interaction levels among lower castes and backward castes are better in recent years. Access to the things such as attending caste based festivals; religious rituals are open to all the members in the village irrespective of their social backgrounds. Even the discrimination levels are low in recent years for the lower castes. The lower castes have their own choices related to the rituals and ceremonies in the village in recent years whereas in the past there were restrictions to certain extent. It is observed that prior to 1980s; households from scheduled castes were facing many problems related to hierarchy and caste system and very few possessed small agricultural lands. The conditions became better after 1980s. Many changes related to the social life of scheduled castes in the village can be seen and few members from scheduled castes started migrating to Gulf countries in search of livelihood and better employment.

Changes in political structure:

Simultaneous with changes in the economic status of the people, political changes too have taken place in the village. International migration, education, and transport and communication developments which played a crucial role in changing the economic and social milieu of the village have also influenced the political scenario of the village. It is known that until 1995 the political power in the study village Gaggupally and also in the nearby villages vested in the hands of the local Reddy 'doras' who owned big landholdings.

When enquired about the nature and management of the politics, control of the issues and conflicts in the village, it was told that Raja Reddy(pseudo name) used to manage the conflicts and issues related to family, land etc. in the village. Also, there was no involvement of police in such issues and he alone used to control all the issues in the village. Only in 2004, majority voters from Mala and Devanga castes which constituted the major population and the people from other castes also supported the Gouda caste candidate. Rami Reddy (pseudo name), brother of Raja Reddy(pseudonym) told that his brother and his family used to manage village politics since they were the landlords and his brother contributed significantly to village development such as road constructions etc.

It is very significant to know that the same landlord from Reddy caste was elected as the village Sarpanch for 40 years for the period from 1952 to 2004. Before 2004 general elections, a candidate called Sayanna belonging to Mala caste contested as the Sarpanch (from Congress Party as the position was reserved for scheduled caste). At that time, he was supported by the Raja Reddy and his supporters. After 2004 elections, a female candidate from Gouda caste was elected as the Sarpanch as it was reserved for backward caste women. Since she had received huge support from the other castes in the village, she stood against the Reddies in the village and won the elections. It is known that during 2004 elections, there were lots of restrictions and threats from the Raja Reddy to the Gouda caste women candidate. It was a revolution against the 45 years long rule of Reddis in the village politics. The village people were reluctant to elect Raja Reddy as Sarpanch and wanted an alternative representation in the village politics and hence elected the candidate from Gouda caste. Though a woman candidate was elected as the Sarpanch, they women were not given the authority even after the 2004 elections. The husband of the woman Sarpanch used to manage the politics related issues in the village.

In 1996 elections, Raja Reddy, the dominant caste landlord proposed and supported the candidate from *Mala caste* to contest in Panchayath elections since the post was reserved for Scheduled castes candidate. In a way, he provided an opportunity for the scheduled castes to enter into the local electoral bodies. In 2008 and 2012 general elections, a candidate from backward caste was elected as Sarpanch. Whereas in 2014 general elections, a candidate belonging to Devanga caste contested from a regional party (Telangana Rashtra Samithi -TRS), was elected as Sarpanch. He was working in Saudi country for 10 years before getting elected as Sarpanch.

Thus there is a shift in the political power from Upper caste to the hands of backward castes and Scheduled castes in the village in recent years. The lower caste Mala, the backward caste Devanga and Kurma members influence the village politics and the economic resources (lands) since they form the major population. They also enjoy better economic status when compared to people of other castes in the village. The changes in politics are the result of better economic conditions of the households from Devanga, Mala and Kurma castes, which in turn is the result

of migration by the men of these castes to Gulf countries. Thus in recent years, the political power has shifted to the hands of backward castes and scheduled castes whereas in the past the political power was in the hands of only Reddy caste members. At present, the lower caste *Malas* and the backward caste *Devanga* members influence the village politics and the village economic resources since they form the majority of population in the village.

Case study:

Raja Reddy (Pseudonym) the 78 year old member from Reddy caste has managed the village politics for nearly 50 years. While doing his matriculation, he participated in a protest against the Nizam of Hyderabad state and was arrested by the Nizam's army along with fellow students and was put in Chanchal guda jail. Later in 1948, he was released from jail after the declaration of independence. He says that the Telangana state was in a terrible situation when Nizam opposed to merge Hyderabad state in India and wanted to have an independent state. Since protests against Nizam rule were high, and many representations were given to the Indian government against Nizam by civil organizations and freedom fighters. On 17th September 1948 the Indian army occupied Hyderabad state and Nizam had to surrender to the Indian army. The study village too had its share of representation in the larger political scene and could connect to the main stream politics. When enquired with Raja Reddy about his 50 years of political career, he opined that he had good public relations and people saw him as a capable political leader who can handle political situations. This helped him to be elected as people's representative (35 years as Sarpanch and one term as MPTC) for a long period of time in the village. He also opined that he never used to exploit people with his political power and used to maintain harmony with consensus among the people. He told that Government of India honored him with a medal and pension for his life time by which he gets certain financial aid from the central Government every month. He also enjoys the facility of free travel by rail or bus in India. He is very much happy and proud to be part of the independence movement of the country at a very young age.

When enquired the village people about his long standing in local politics, they opined that he was the landlord and used to control big landholdings in the village

and this gave him the prosperity to enter politics and manage power. His dominance in politics never allowed any other person to contest and gain power. It can be said that the dominance and suppression by the landlords which was a common phenomenon across Telangana region in those days, can be noticed in the case of Raja Reddy as well. Besides being the Sarpanch for almost four decades, the other positions in the political body were regularly given either to his own household members or to people from his own caste. People from the village also revealed that Srinivas Reddy used to threaten them with his power and also there were instances when he punished the people who stood against his will and decisions. The present Sarpanch opined that Raja Reddy became old and he could manage the power till 2004 only. Since then, the people from village became very conscious. They are aware of politics and are clear about whom to elect as their representatives.

The impact of Education:

Along with migration to the Gulf countries, and betterment in economic conditions of the families in the village, employment in beedi work for landless also one of the major reasons which helped the people not to depend on landowners for their livelihood. Along with these two major factors education and literacy levels among members from various castes in the study village affected the traditional relations and the dependency on land owners for employment. The traditional relations between the artisan castes and landlords are affected by the literacy levels among the artisan castes. The awareness brought by the education among landless and artisan castes helped them in recent years to work in various employment sectors which are not their traditional occupations. The members from landless castes who are educated in recent years are working in skilled jobs whereas they were the bonded or free labour earlier. The education levels among the landless after 1980s are seen better when compare to the past. The members from artisan and landless castes understood that education helps to earn better income through skilled jobs than the labour. With the increase in education levels the people are aware about the traditional uneven bondages and oppression on labour families and other occupational castes gradually lost the significance.

The educated members from landless households started moving to cities, towns and other places in search of skilled jobs for better earnings. The new employment sectors such as electricians, plumbers, attenders in schools and hospitals, provided the alternate employment opportunities for the people which also help their successive generations to have better education. The members from various castes viewed education as a source of liberation from their traditional occupations and viewed working as labour is not dignified in recent years.

It is observed that the education levels among the various castes in Gaggupally have raised people's awareness about various aspects such as the social, political aspects in recent years. Satyanarayana (1992) in his study conducted in villages of Karimnagar district observed that in an irrigated village, the educated members of upper castes have respect for educated persons of a lower caste but the same was not the case in a non-irrigated village. He opines that irrigation has brought changes in inter - caste relations and the educated members from various castes are respected by the upper caste members. Education is one of the major factors which greatly affected the traditional feudal relations and helped the lower castes, *Mala* and *Madiga* to escape from the domination of upper castes in the study village. During 1950s, Upper caste Reddis from the village had the opportunity to access higher education. As such their sons and daughters have either settled as doctors and engineers in Government services or have migrated abroad and settled in countries like U.S.A, Australia, and Canada. Their children are also able to access good education in foreign countries. This being the case of upper castes, the lower castes and other backward castes from the village did not get any opportunity for education till 1980s. Though late, education has created awareness among the lower and backward castes regarding the available employment opportunities and many are now working in cities in different sectors. Migration to Gulf countries can be attributed another reason for the backward castes and lower castes in the village to access education. The men of these households send remittances to their family members so that they can spend on their children's education.

Teddu Sakkari, a scheduled caste *Madiga* farmer from the village, who migrated to the Gulf in 1980s and returned in 2000, is now the only farmer in the village who owns the highest agricultural lands (around 20 acres). He is the one who got

benefitted the maximum because of migration and his economic status is better at present. His children have completed their higher studies in Engineering and Pharmacy. It is observed that he spent the maximum amount of his hard earned money from his migration on their education. It can be said that migration is the only reason for the better education levels of the backward and lower castes in the village in recent times. This has nothing to do with *Doras* as none of them has migrated to Gulf countries but has settled in U.S.A, Canada, and Australia.

Table 3.1: Education levels among castes

Caste	1 - 5 class	6 - 10 Class	Inter/ Diploma	UG	PG	Illiterate	Total
Devanga	22	45	30	19	1	54	171
Yadav	5	6	1	0	0	7	19
Mala	80	129	46	45	4	221	525
Madiga	6	17	17	8	1	33	82
Goud	2	18	1	2	1	14	38
Goondla	9	13	4	3	0	8	37
Vaddera	24	26	1	0	0	58	109
Chakali	8	2	7	1	0	14	32
Kurma	18	29	11	6	0	42	106
Muslim	0	3	0	0	0	1	4
Munnuru Kapu	3	14	3	1	3	9	33
Reddy	4	12	5	3	0	12	36
Vadla	15	18	5	1	0	16	55
Tenugu	6	8	2	4	0	25	45
Mera	3	3	3	0	0	2	11
Kummari	2	7	0	0	0	6	15
Total %	207	350	136	93	10	522	1318
	15.7%	26.6%	10.3%	7.1%	0.8%	39.6%	100%

Source: Field Work 2015 – 2016

Increasing education levels among various castes helped in search of employment avenues in towns and cities. Whereas prior to 1970-1980s because of low education levels mobility for employment was poor. Presently, many members are found working in various sectors based on their educational qualifications.

From the table 3.1, it is observed that students from *Mala* are more in number and have done their Engineering, MBA, B.Ed. courses along with other course in graduation. Most of students from *Mala*, *Devanga* and *Kurma* castes go to towns for education purpose whereas no student from *Vaddera* caste was found to pursue higher education since their education levels are very poor. Few students from *Kurma*, *Munnuru Kapu* castes are found doing professional courses in the capital city of Hyderabad. When compared to the situation in last thirty years, education levels are very good at present. Few members from *Mala* caste are serving as government teachers in the nearby villages and those with higher qualifications are working in skilled sectors at migrated places like Gulf and apparently are paid higher than people with lesser qualifications. Sakki Anantha Rao, 55 year old from scheduled caste *Mala* who migrated to Gulf long back from the village, has done his engineering and is earning much more compared to other members working as unskilled labour.

The impact of rural to urban and internal migrations:

Push and pull factors always influence the migration of people for earnings and also for economic betterments. A study conducted by A.K Gupta (1988) in Punjab found that aspects such as unemployment or under-employment, low wages, and poverty at migrant's native place serve as the push factors. The other factors given are the small holdings or landlessness, lack of irrigational facilities (agricultural backwardness), floods and droughts, indebtedness, malnutrition or under nutrition and social conflict. Pull factors include better employment opportunities, better wages, and better job security etc.

The employment conditions available in agriculture in the study village attracted the landless labour from other districts to migrate to the study village and settle. The landless labourers from the neighboring villages are found to be working in farm activities in the study village for *Mala* and *Kurma* farmers. The mobility caused the changes in dependency levels between the landowners and landless. The traditional relations between the landlords and landless lost with the recruitment of labourers from neighboring villages and districts such as on daily contracts and annual contracts.

It is found that few members have migrated and settled in cities as the employment opportunities are better when compared to the employment conditions available in the village. Most of the members from Reddy castes and Few households from *Devanga* and *Mala* castes have settled in nearby towns to live better life style in order to access better educational, health and employment opportunities. The educated members from the study village also found involving in petty businesses such as maintenance of cloth shops etc. also found migrated to other cities such as Nizamabad etc. Six members from Chakali (washer men) community have migrated to Mumbai and are working as washer men. Losses incurred in traditional occupations forced them to migrate to cities in search of better employment avenues.

From the study village, it is found that many landless, small marginal farmers and medium farmers are found to be migrating to the Gulf countries in order to enhance their earnings. Very few members are migrating to towns and cities in search of employment. A family from *Munnuru Kapu* caste and another from *Mera* caste have settled in town while an old women from Mera caste (the mother) lives in the village. Compared to internal migrations, Gulf migrations have much more importance in the village (discussed in chapter 5). Thus the developments brought by the internal and Gulf migrations affected the traditional labour relations between the landowners and landless also artisan castes in the study village.

Impact of employment opportunities:

The availability of employment in non-agriculture sectors affected the traditional relations between the landlords and landless. The changes in traditional relations between the Upper caste Reddy landowners and landless took place in the last four decades. The traditional relations between the landlords, landless and artisan castes are affected with the emergence of employment opportunities in various non-agricultural sectors after 1980s. From the total population (1318) of the village, the numbers of infants are 61, the numbers of students are 404, housewives are in 18 numbers and 87 members do not involve in any work due to old age and other health problems (See Table No.2.17 for details).

The employment conditions are better in agriculture and non-agricultural sectors in recent years when compared to the past. The landless households used to depend on landlord Reddis for the employment as labourers in the past whereas in recent years the dependency on landlords has lost its significance. The members from landless households are found working in different sectors in the village for last three decades. Most of the women from the landless families from all the castes found working in beedi rolling. Beedi rolling has become one of the major employment sources apart from agriculture. Most of the women from castes like *Devanga*, *Munnuru Kapu*, *Kurma*, *Chakali*, *Mala* and *Madiga* involve in beedi work these days. Whereas in past, most of the women from these landless castes used to work as agricultural labourers in the farms owned by Reddy caste landowners. The traditional occupations and the services of artisan castes were more confined to the Reddy caste landowners in the village. The employment conditions were limited in the past and the people used to work in their traditional caste based occupations and the dependency on landowners was more.

In recent years it is observed that the traditional occupations have lost their importance and the members from artisan castes found working in various sectors. Most of the members both men and women from *Devanga* caste involve in tailoring in village as well in towns which can be seen as the continuation of the traditional caste occupation in advanced manner. Along with the *Devanga* caste women, few women members (not more than five) from *Mala* caste also involve in tailoring and this can be understood as the shift in traditional occupations and adoption of new occupation by different castes members in recent years. The members who used to work in their caste occupations have been shifted to new occupations which are not their caste occupations. Five households from *Devanga* caste involve in petty business such as maintenance of Kirana General Stores in the village which is the highest number of shop owners from a single caste in the village. It is also found that some members from *Devanga* caste also found working as plumbers and electricians along with other castes members who are electricians.

The other landless household members from *Devanga*, *Gouda*, and *Goondla* and *Mala* castes are found to be working as drivers (most of the member from *Goud*

caste), attenders, assistants in schools and hospitals. Some members are found to be working either as auto drivers or drivers of school vans. Along with the above mentioned works people are also found to be involved in other works such as welding works etc. A member from Mala caste run a photo studio in Armoor town and a member from Reddy/Patel found running a mobile shop in town.

Prior to 1970s there were only three households from *Kummari* and *Kammari* castes used to work in their traditional occupations in the study village. Only a single household belonging to *Kummari* caste used to engage in manufacturing of agricultural implements in the village. There were two families from *Kammari* caste used to engage in their traditional caste occupation i.e. in pot making and used to supply to all the households in the village. In recent years none of the members from these artisan castes households (*Kummari* and *Kammari*) are engage in those traditional occupations. *Mera* community used to engage in sewing the clothes, and *Chakali* used to work in their traditional occupation washing. Only two households from *Chakali* castes in the village are found to be working in their traditional occupation washing when they people approach them. Most of the male members form the *Chakali* caste found working in the Gulf countries and few are in Mumbai either as labourers in different non-agricultural sectors or the works related to their traditional occupation (washing) at migrated places. The developments brought with the globalisation, migration have seen as major sources of income for the people from the village. The employment opportunities in the Gulf countries along with other non-agriculture attract the people from the village to migrate for better earnings. People who migrate to the Gulf countries found working as Drivers, labourers in cleaning sectors and construction sectors etc.

The impact of Government policies:

It is said that the Reddy caste land owners in the village used to control entire agricultural lands in their hands. According to a Reddy, only four Reddy families used to own around 650 to 700 acres of agricultural lands prior to 1960s. The lower caste Mala, Madiga, Kurma, Devanga, Goud and other castes hardly used to own lands.in few cases they used to own less than acre and the lands owned by the lower castes and backward castes were minimal and not considerable in the past.

The total landholdings owned by these castes do not exceed more than 20 to 30 acres prior to 1970.

The policies introduced by the central and state governments after 1960s such as land reforms, land ceilings, land assignments etc. brought changes in the landholding pattern in due course.. The Reddy caste landowners started selling their large landholdings in order to cope up with the Government policies and to cope up with the absence of members who are not willing in taking up agriculture activities. The migration of the members from Reddy caste households in search of better jobs in cities and towns based on their educational qualifications and who are not willing to work in agricultural works. The landowners from Reddy caste sold their large landholdings to the landless for the available rates and the landless castes started purchasing lands from the Reddy land owners with the earnings from various sources after 1980s.

With the betterment in economic conditions of the landless households they emerged as landowners after 1980 in the village. Though the land reforms did not have a direct impact on large landowning farmers those policies forced the large landowners to sell their lands. Few land owning Reddis transferred their large lands on the names of their family members and to their children which helped them to reduce the size of the landholdings. After 1980s the lower caste farmers initiated to purchase the lands from the Reddies and the impact of the land reforms and land ceilings could be seen when they sold away their lands for whatever rates they receive. In later periods, the younger generations of the landlords did not take up agriculture as an occupation and started migrating to cities and foreign countries in search of employment and education purposes. They sold their lands in due course and settled in cities and abroad by taking up new jobs. Those who have settled in cities sold their lands to the other castes in the village such as Mala, Kurma etc.

Green revolution:

The impact of Green revolution in agriculture is seen in the study village with usage of increased inputs such as pesticides and fertilizers, new seed varieties, adoption of new technology, mechanization in agriculture etc. The presence of

irrigation through canal and tube wells helped the landowners to adopt these inputs prior to 1980. The introduction of new technology, green revolution programmes resulted in the intensification of agricultural production. As result of Green revolution, many irrigation projects were taken up across the country. The presence of irrigation canals and the introduction of new varieties of HYV seeds along with pesticides and fertilizers increased the production in agriculture.

Since the major lands are owned by Reddy caste land owners, the fruits of green revolution were enjoyed only by them. The lower castes, the backward castes and the artisan castes did not benefit from the changes brought by green revolution. In mid 1970s, Raja Reddy purchased a tractor in order to cultivate the large landholdings owned by him and his siblings. The increase in the inputs such as seen by the Reddy caste landowners helped them to produce better quantity of paddy with the help of the cheap labour from the landless castes in the village. According to Rami Reddy, i prior to green revolution the paddy production was less. He says that they hardly used to get 2 quintals of paddy in an acre of land when they used the traditional inputs as manure. However after 1970 they started getting around 10 to 15 quintals of paddy in an acre of land. Thus it can be understood that the production in paddy has increased after 1970 in the village. Nevertheless, the new technology and green revolution helped only Reddy caste landowners prior to 1980 and it did not have any impact on the landless except an increase in the number of days that they could work as agricultural laborers in the fields of Reddy landowners.

In recent years, the farmers in the village from different castes use sufficient inputs and cultivate the agricultural lands with the help of bore wells. It is observed that every farmer in the village uses agricultural machinery and other inputs for better production. Hence it can be said that Green revolution improved the economic conditions of the village farmers by increasing their production and earn profits from agriculture. Green Revolution can be said as one of the factors which affected the traditional relations in the village. The village benefitted the maximum from agricultural lands till 1970s and 1980s. Later the lower castes and other backward castes purchased agricultural lands and started cultivation using bore wells as a source of irrigation and adopting new technology¹. Hence Green revolution

indirectly helped the most of the landless households in Gaggupally to buy agricultural lands and become self-sufficient.

The impact of transport and communication facilities:

The developments in transport and communication are also one of the factors which affected the traditional relations among the landowners and landless laborers. The relations between the landowners and the artisan castes are affected by these developments. The access to employment opportunities other than agriculture was limited prior to 1980s. The developments brought by the transport facilities such as the construction of road to the village from town and the introduction of mode of transports such as buses and other modes increased the mobility of the people. The people from landless started moving to towns and cities in order to work in non-agricultural sectors where there was hardly any mobility by the people of the village especially by the landless and artisan castes.

Prior to 1980 there was no road to village and the access to transport was major problem and the people never used to travel to towns and cities in search of employment. In recent years, with the development in modes of transport the intensity of accessing buses and autoes increased. The distance from the town to village also not too far it is only 10 kilo meters from the town and the people found it is easy to access the things from town. People started moving to towns and other cities in search of jobs and other things which resulted in better economic conditions of the landless households.

The introduction of mass media, multimedia and communication levels (access to television, mobiles, newspapers etc.) helped the landless in getting awareness about the employment opportunities available outside village. People from the landless and occupational castes started moving out from their traditional occupations and the dependency on landlords lost significance in due course. Developments in communication and transport facilities also contributed to the increase in awareness of the villagers on various social and political aspects and helped them to gain new experiences. Since villagers could access various employment avenues available in neighboring mandals and villages in other non-

agricultural works such as electricians, shopkeepers etc., a road has been laid which connects the other mandals i.e. Aloor, Nandipet and Degam.

People from village started working in towns and cities in various employment sectors which is the result of transport facility available to the people. Even the educated and skilled labour are found migrating to towns and cities for employment in non-agricultural sectors. Even education has become an important factor where many students from the village commute to towns and cities. It is observed that many individuals from various castes go to towns to work in shops, medical sectors, as electricians, glass fittings etc. Before 1980s, no proper public transport facilities were available for the people, whereas now a number of buses and autos are functioning from this village since it is connected to two other mandals Nandi Pet and Aloor.

The farmers from the study village are recruiting the farm labourers from neighboring villages during peak agricultural seasons where the employment conditions available. The transport facilities helped the farmers to recruit the labour on time. It is found that the agricultural products are also being sold in nearby markets by the farmers with the access of better transport. The usage of internet through mobile networks helps in connecting the people from different areas and is found especially among the college going youth.

The improvements in communication and transport facilities brought tremendous changes in traditional caste relations, and the dependency on other caste people reduced to a maximum. The economic development of the households and the social awareness etc. limited their dependency on landowners. The traditional relations among the castes lost their importance these days. Most of the households from the village started using two wheelers and also the public transport (buses and autos) to travel to towns and cities. It is observed that few households from *Mala*, *Madiga* and *Devanga* households own four wheelers such as cars. The agricultural enrichment for landowning castes *Mala*, *Madiga* and *Kurma* helped to maintain own modes of transport such as motor bikes, autoes and cars.

Conclusion

Rural societies have been experiencing many changes in their traditional structures due to many factors. The relations (inter-caste relations) among different communities are undergoing changes accordingly with the developments in the society in recent years. In a similar vein, we can observe many changes in the socio-economic and political domains of the village chosen for study during the last four decades. The traditional relations among the different castes have been changing owing to several reasons. The relation between farmers and laborers plays a significant role in any society which is dependent on agriculture. The agrarian structure in Telangana reflected the feudal relations. In most of the cases the upper castes such as Reddies, Velamas were the land owners for a long time whereas the other backward castes and scheduled castes like *Malas*, *Madigas* were presented as service castes in Telangana region. The village selected for study is not an exception from these characteristics.

The traditional relations between land owning castes and services castes reflect the feudal in nature. Since the service castes did not own any agricultural lands till the 1970s and 1980s, they were completely dependent on landlord castes for livelihood and employment. Later many factors affected the traditional bonded labor relations in the above mentioned village. The lower castes and other backwards castes purchased agricultural lands and emerged as 'land owning castes' in the village and the domination and suppression by the landlords has almost come to an end. The previous land owning caste lost its economic as well as political power. Migration to Gulf countries, access to education and availability of employment sources in agriculture and in non-agricultural sectors, developments in the communication and transport facilities of the village affected not only the traditional relations in the village and also made the landlords to lose their power in all dimensions. The lower castes and backward castes emerged as land owning castes and are influencing the village politics. Globalization and mechanization in agriculture adversely affected the traditional artisan castes who put an end to their traditional occupations. At present, the farmers belonging to lower castes like *Malas* and backward castes like *Kurmas* own big landholdings in the village. Beedi work (The practice of Beedi business) became one of the important and

major livelihood sources for many households in the village. Employment in agriculture became one of the major sources of employment for landless labourers.

The traditional bonded labour and free labour (*vetti labour*) systems lost their significance in due course and replaced by new labor forms such as yearly attached and casual labor which have a significant role in agricultural activities. The artisan castes lost their occupations due to the introduction of new technology in agriculture and other developments. Few artisan castes (*Goud*, blacksmith) could purchase agricultural lands and emerge as agricultural farmers. Few other artisan castes chose non-agricultural activities as the source of livelihood (*Devanga* caste households involve majorly in beedi work). Only a single household from artisan caste *Chakali*/washer men is still continuing his services in the village for all castes whereas their services were limited to a particular caste group in the past. The year round agricultural activities provide landless agricultural labor with employment in agricultural activities. The developments in transport and communication made the skilled and landless labor to migrate from village to work in other non-agricultural activities.

Migration became one of the major sources of better earnings and is attracting many small, medium and landless labor groups to migrate to the Gulf countries. It is not restricted to only a few caste groups; and the number of migrants from different castes groups vary. A good number of migrants are from *Mala* and *Devanga* castes. A number of women from *Devanga* caste engage in beedi work and *Devanga* caste household members engage in variety of occupations, which shows that they are more outclassed in taking up new challenges when compared to other castes.

Chapter 4

DYNAMICS OF AGRARIAN LABOUR

Introduction

In developing countries like India, agriculture and agricultural related activities provide livelihood for the majority of the population in rural areas. The production in agriculture not only depends on the land owning farmers but also on the landless labourers who provide their physical labour to agricultural activities. Traditionally, agricultural practices were mostly dependent on manual labour. However, the usage of machinery in agricultural activities has been gradually replacing the human labour in recent times. Though mechanization affected the employment conditions of the landless labour, manual labour continues to play a significant role in agricultural production even today.

Mechanization process in agriculture helped to get better production and minimized stress and physical labour of the farmers. Hence it is important to understand the conditions of agricultural labour and issues related to agricultural labourers. In agriculture sector, along with other inputs, manual labour plays a significant role in production. The agricultural sector in India does not provide continuous employment round the year to the agricultural labourers. Regular employment for landless labourers is one of the major problems in the present agrarian scenario. At the same time, non-availability of labour in peak seasons of agriculture is also one of the major obstacles for medium and big farmers in rural agrarian sector. This chapter dwells on these areas based on field study.

Labour types in the study village:

It is observed that two major types of labour play an important role in agriculture in the study area. The casual labour and attached labour are the two labour types. Similar labour types were discussed in the earlier studies by Kameshwara Rao (1987), Satyanarayana (1992) and Vaddiraju Anil Kumar (1999) in other village studies in Telangana.

1. Casual labour:

Casual labour system plays an important role in present days. In this type, recruitment takes place on a regular/daily basis and the payments will be done on regular basis in the evening after the completion of the work or sometimes on weekends according to the agreement made before work commencement. Casual labour is the most preferred form of labour for various agricultural activities at present time. The agricultural farmers in the study area recruit labour mostly from the same village and from the neighbouring villages in peak seasons. The labour recruitment takes place on a daily basis and the working hours range from eight to ten hours per day. The working hours for agricultural activities in the study village are categorised into two sessions. The first session is in the forenoon, from morning 8 am to 12.30 pm and the second session in the afternoon from 12 pm to 5 pm in the evening. The labourers in the study village generally belong to various castes such as *Mala*, *Vaddera*, *Kurma*, *Tenugu* and other castes. These labourers engage in different agricultural activities such as transplanting, weeding, threshing, removing the turmeric from the ground, reaping the Jowar crop, harvesting process etc.

Another type of daily wage labour found in the study village is the labourers who work for digging earth for installing cables, construction and repairing of roads, digging and constructing sheds for tube wells in agricultural fields.

The landless household members from the *Vaddera* caste involve in this type of works in the village and nearby villages. Both men and women from these households work as labourers on daily contracts. They also work on contract by taking a particular amount for a particular type of work. They make an agreement for a specific amount of the work they are going to take up in the fields. It is known that the labourers from this *Vaddera* castes also work in groups whenever the employer wants to complete the work within the given time. In these situations, labourers work in a group on contract/*gutta* basis for a particular amount. It is observed from the study village, that only a single family from *Vaddera* caste work in digging and construction of sheds for tube

wells. The family members who are capable of doing work go to work either in the village or the neighboring villages. Sometimes they also move to the villages where they have work and stay there for three to four months digging new tube wells and constructing walls in tube wells. (Out of 109 members from the *Vaddera* caste, 49 members are engaged in these types of works in the same village and in other villages. This constitutes about 50% of the members from *Vaddera* caste work in such fields.)

2. Yearly Attached labour/Annual labour contracts:

It is observed that in the study village the yearly attached labour also has a significant role. Under this labour system, the attached labourer is hired on annual contract basis. The rate for annual contract ranges from Rs. 70000 to 80000 at present in the study village. This type of labour system is not much prevalent in the study area since the traditional kind of labour bondages lost their significance. It is observed that there are total (only) nine members who are recruited on an annual contract basis. During the study period, it was observed that five people from *Mala*, two from *Vaddera* and another five from other castes were working as labourers on yearly contract in the study village. The five labourers from *Mala* caste are working as agricultural labour in the village under *Mala* caste farmers. The other two members from *Vaddera* caste are working as shepherds for *Kurma* households. Two are working as shop keepers in the village. A 22 years old male, from another mandal is working as a shepherd and another 25 years old male is engaged as a tractor driver in the village with a farmer belongs to *Kurma* caste.

Family labour and casual/hired daily labour:

Indian agriculture sector has experienced tremendous changes in the post-independence period i.e. last 70 years of time. The introduction of Green revolution and new technology helped to get more production in agriculture. Especially the states like Punjab, Haryana, and Uttar Pradesh experienced these changes to the maximum extent. These developments related to new technology increased the production in agriculture in the presence of irrigation sources. In a way, Green revolution and new technology helped to create new

employment conditions in Indian agriculture sector. With the Green revolution, large areas of agricultural lands came under cultivation and the absorption of labour power also increased to the maximum extent. New technology helped to innovate and use new farm machinery in intensive farming and also helped the skilled labour to get new kinds of employment and better earnings in agriculture in post Green revolution period. It was observed that in the study village too these changes brought large areas of agricultural lands under cultivation. These revolutionary changes and innovations also helped the landless labourers to get employment for more number of days when compared to the days before the introduction of new technology.

It was observed that the traditional agricultural practices lost their importance with the introduction of new technology in agriculture in the study village. Earlier the family members of the land owning households used to work in their own lands; especially with the joint families it was very common. Members of the joint family used to work for farming activities with mutual cooperation and everyone in the family used to contribute to the farming activities to the possible extent. In recent times, joint family system has lost its importance; the disintegration of joint families became a common phenomenon. Many of the families were found to be moving to cities and other places in search of education and employment. The same thing can be observed in the study village which indirectly affected the labour supply for agricultural activities.

Education is one of the major reasons for migration to cities (especially with the young members of the households) and other places, where suitable employment opportunities are available. In traditional agriculture, the household members used to assist and involve in farming activities which used to reduce the labour cost in agriculture. In modern agriculture the family members are not involving. They feel that the farm activities involve risk and are not comfortable due to long hours of physical work in the farms. Especially the educated members of the household do not prefer to engage in

these activities. Even the opinion towards agriculture has changed among new generations. Farming in a way is not a dignified job for most of the younger generations; instead, they prefer to engage in well qualified and skilled jobs in cities. So migration of the younger generation to cities in search of jobs has become a common phenomenon at present in the study village.

The following reasons can be given for the replacement of traditional agricultural (before new technology) practices by new agricultural practices and new technology. It is observed in the study village that one or two members of a farmer's household, generally men or women members engage in agricultural activities along with the daily hired labourers in agricultural activities such as transplanting, sowing, weeding, reaping, removing the turmeric from the ground etc. When enquired with the family labours who involve in agricultural activities along with the hired labour in the farm activities, it is said that, that engaging in agricultural activities along with the daily hired labour plays an important role. The reasons were that with the daily hired labour there is a chance of misuse of resources and also they may not utilize the time properly in work. It is said that when the family members engage along with the hired labour in the same activity that the work can be done faster and it helps to avoid the wastage of the time. The family members can coordinate and manage the work in the field and that they can supervise the hired labour to work according to the expectations of the farmer. It was also said that assisting the labour most of the times helps in proper utilization of labour resources so that there won't be any loss at the end of the day and the farmer would be happy with the work done by the hired labour.

The trust levels between the labourers and the farmer help to complete the given work on time without delay by the landless labouers. It is said that farmers do not suspect the labour but it is about not taking the chance of wastage of the resources. In a way involving in the agriculture activities along with the hired labour also reduces the expenses to a certain extent and the satisfaction levels of the farmer will be considerable. There is an opinion in the farmers that sometimes the labour may not work according to their

expectations and so it is needed to stay along with them while working for such activities in the field. Generally, labourers do not have the nature of escaping from the work but they cannot be always relied upon and the relations may not be always the same. For these reasons it is needed to stay with the labour in the field.

It is also observed that the household members of the farmers want to have their contribution to the work in the farm. Another opinion is that there is a chance of reducing the cost of labour with the involvement of the family members. The number of labourers hired is decided based on the area of crops cultivated by the farmers and the also on the members from the family who can take part in the farm work. It is said by a few household members who generally engage in farm work along with hired labour that the cost of inputs these days has become a major problem and to minimise the cost of inputs generally household members also work as labour along with casual hired labour in their own fields. In the study village it was found that young male members of the household also involve in agricultural work such as helping the elder household members in reaping and collecting corns, and storing at a place. The youth who are studying and also those who completed their graduation are involved in agricultural activities. They also contribute in the distribution of water in the fields, transportation of the crops from the field etc. It is observed that the young boys from *Mala* and *Kurma* castes (major land-owning castes in the village) engage in these types of works. The young boys from the households which have tractors contribute their part in the agriculture work by operating the tractor whenever they needed to assist their parents. In a way, the younger members of the agricultural households assist in getting things done on time and also in minimizing the cost of labour in the work. Even the young girls aged 14 to 20 years who go to study as well as those who stay at home involve in agricultural work along with their parents whenever needed.

Preference for labour by the farmers :

From the study area it is observed that the priority for the labour from the farmers will be generally for those who are good at work. Gaurang R. Sahay's study (2000) from four villages in Buxar district of Bihar reveals that "Agricultural work, that is preparing the fields for different crops, sowing seeds, transplanting seedlings, trimming or removing weeds, applying fertilizer, harvesting and threshing of crops, etc., does not generally require a high degree of modern skills, knowledge or inventiveness. Even those who drive tractors and operate modern machinery are skilled labourers who have some special training; driving and operating a harvester require a couple trained and skilled workers. Such workers come to villages during the harvesting seasons from other regions. This is because the use of harvester is a recent phenomenon in the villages. Of all agricultural works, transplanting seedlings, and harvesting and threshing of crops require more labour power. Among all crops, the cultivation of paddy requires more labour power" (Sahay, 2012: 226).

The farmers generally prefer to recruit labourers who work hard and are experienced in normal agricultural activities. The farmers also prefer to recruit the labourers those known for their hard work, genuine at giving their best labour power and whom the farmers trust. So there is a fair chance of minimizing the cost and the number of working days when compared to employing those who are unskilled and inexperienced in those farm activities. The farmers also trust the labourers while recruiting them for those particular farm works. The farmers also face problem with newly appointed labourers from neighboring villages in peak agricultural seasons.

However in peak agricultural seasons the farmers do not mind engaging inexperienced and unskilled labour since there are no other alternatives for the farmers. When enquired with the farmers about their preference in terms of the experience of the labour, a general view expressed by the farmers was that, the labour who involve in the farm activities have minimum experience at the agricultural farm activities but may not be experts and that help them to

cope up with the situations in the field. When the new labour involve in farm activities along with the other agricultural labour, they observe those experienced labour who work along with them on the farm and they take suggestions from them if required. The only problem with the labour that are not experienced and new at certain farm activities is that, there is a possibility of spending more time and cost on them when compared to experienced labour. It is said that the farmers prefer to recruit the labourers who are skilled and good at certain farm activities, who can perform well according to the farmer's expectations and who are capable in farm works. In agricultural peak seasons there is a problem with labour availability for farm activities since almost all the farmers engage in activities such as sowing the crops. So there is a need for labour for every farmer. Then it is hard to manage with the situation. When enquired about how they handle the scarcity of labour during peak times, the farmers said that there are two ways of coping with the situation of labour unavailability. They are:

1. If the farm activities are important and need to be completed on time and there is no scope for delay, the farmers recruit the labour from outside the village for high wages when compared to normal seasons when the labour sources in the village are sufficient for the activities. It includes paying high wages to the agricultural labourers and also making advance payments to reserve the labour for the agricultural works. These situations show that there is a huge demand for the agricultural labourers in peak seasons. Generally the advances will be given in the form of cash to the labour two to three days before the work commences in the farm.
2. If the farm activity can be done after a small gap such as three days to a week or if the delay does not cause any damage in crop production, then the farmers postpone the work until the labour sources are available and wait for the labour to complete their work. The labourers who are associated with some particular employer (farmers) first involve in the work related to their employer. They prefer to work for other farmers later. However, this situation is not that prevalent in the

study village. A significant observation from the study village is that the crops such as Paddy, Jowar, turmeric and other vegetables provide continuous employment to the agricultural labour for a period of two to three months for both normal and skilled labourers (skilled labourers are those who operate the machinery like tractors, harvesters, etc.). In the peak agricultural seasons generally the skilled labourers who operate the farm machinery such as tractors and harvesters have more demand and will be busy whole day and night. These labourers most of the times take advances and commit to complete the work within the given period.

It is observed that when the red Jowar crop comes to harvest the farmers engage the harvesters in cutting the crop and to get the yield. At present, even the small, medium and big farmers hire the harvesters to complete the work on time because a little delay may damage the crop which in turn leads to less production of the crop and also the resources and the time spent on the particular crop go in vain. Therefore farmers give money in advance to reserve the machinery and complete the things on time so that there may not be any damage in the crop production. Generally, the harvesters are hired for these activities since no farmer owns a single harvester in the study village and the owners of the harvesters are from neighboring villages i.e. Aloor and Issapally. The owners of the heavy machineries such as harvesters engage skilled, dedicated and trusted labourers to perform skilled activities and these skilled labourers who work as harvester operators get good number of working days in agricultural peak seasons such as at the time of harvest.

These skilled agricultural activities which include mechanization provide new employment avenues to the skilled labour in the study area (Srikanth 2014). Activities such as ploughing, cage wheels, rota vator, operating harvester etc. need skilled labour. For that, the labourers who are trained in certain activities are recruited by the owners of the agricultural machinery to perform those works for them and for other farmers in the study area. These skilled labourers have a huge demand in the study area in agricultural peak seasons since the

mechanization play a significant role in agriculture at present in the study area. Most of the farm activities have replaced the labourers and hiring the machinery is going on by the farmers. So the skilled labourers such as harvester operators and tractor drivers have demand for their services. This is also providing better earnings for the skilled labourers. In a way, the skilled labourers also earn more at times where they are in demand in agricultural busy seasons.

Case study: 1

A is a 27 years old , who hails from Mahabubnagar district of Telangana, working as a harvester operator for the last five years in the study area. He earns more as a (skilled labour) harvester operator when compared to other casual labourers who work on daily basis. 10 years back he started working as a casual agricultural labour with a local farmer who holds big agricultural lands in Aloor village (2 kilo meters away from the study village) and now he earns 30000 and even more per month, very good money from the agricultural operations in the study area. At the time of harvesting, he gets busy with these works for four to five months continuously. It is a good income for him as he was earning only half of this present amount when he was working as daily agricultural labour. These findings are identical to Srikanth Yamsani's (2014) findings from a village in Telangana wherein the new technology in agriculture had created new employment avenues to the skilled labourer as tractor drivers, harvester drivers and machine operators.

It is found from the study area that there is a problem with continuous labour power in the study area in agricultural busy seasons. When the labour power is not sufficient from the same village, the farmers look for possible labour sources from other villages for agricultural activities no matter whether the labour is skilled or experienced. The activities in agriculture which are meant to be done by skilled labourers play an important role at present times which are not possible to non-skilled labourers, so the farmers prefer to engage the skilled labour for activities such as sowing the paddy, weeding, water distribution to the crops, spraying of pesticides etc. which need little

experience. So farmers engage the people who know those activities even if they are not highly experienced labour. Few skilled farm activities such as ploughing, levelling, cage wheels, rotavator, boiling and polishing processes of the turmeric, etc. will be done by the skilled labourers’.

Recruiting the village labour and labour from other villages

This section tries to give an account of the farmer’s preferences in recruiting the labourers from within the village and neighboring villages. When enquired with the farmers regarding their preference for labour, they opined that, generally they prefer to recruit the labourers from the same village rather than labourers from other villages. The following reasons were given by the farmers in preferring to recruit the village labour:

1. Generally, the village labourers are available on time. The personal relations and the networks among the labourers and farmers play an important role in recruiting the labourers from the same village. Since it is not that hard to get contracts on time and the process for making contracts does not take more time.
2. The trust levels matter in recruiting the village labourers since the labourers from the village have good contacts with farmers.
3. When the labourers are available on time for reasonable wages, there is no need for recruiting outside labourers.
4. The farmers do not need to pay extra charges on transport for the village labourers. The labourers from neighboring villages need to be paid transport charges. It means a lot of time and resources are saved by recruiting labourers from the same village.

The reasons given for recruiting outside village agricultural labour:

1. In agricultural busy seasons, such as at the time of paddy transplantation, sowing, and harvesting more number of labourers are required. When the number of labourers available in the village is not sufficient the farmers recruit the labourers from neighboring villages. The labourers come to village from other villages. The distance ranges from five to 15 kilometres

from the study village. Since there is a need to complete the agricultural work on time, recruiting the labourers from neighboring villages is the only option available to the farmers so that the works do not get delayed.

2. It is said that farmers recruit the labourers from other villages as most of the labourers from neighboring villages are experienced in farm works and they are also known for their fastness in agricultural works. Hence the farmers in peak agricultural seasons prefer to hire the labourers from neighboring villages. The same can be seen with the skilled labourers, harvester operators and the labourers who work in turmeric fields after harvest.

Socio-economic conditions of the agricultural labourers:

Agricultural labour is one of the important elements of production in agriculture along with other inputs. Agricultural operations require sufficient labour power in agricultural seasons round the year. Human labour plays a significant role in Indian rural agrarian sector since it is not completely mechanized. So the present Indian agrarian sector depends on human labour for works where machines cannot be used. The Indian agrarian sector constitutes majority of small and marginal farmers who perform their agricultural operations with the help of human labour along with the available machinery. The members from marginal landholding households also involve in agricultural operations as labour since these marginal farmers do not get sufficient yield from their marginal landholdings and at times they depend on their family labour along with the hired labourers in agricultural operations. These small and marginal landholding farmers also cannot afford the high costs on inputs along with labour and for recruiting skilled labour. So these small and marginal farmers generally prefer to recruit the landless labourers.

It is observed from the study village that agricultural labourers belong to different castes. Majority of the women members from castes such as *Mala*, *Madiga*, *Kurma*, *Tenugu* and *Vaddera* castes work as agricultural labour. Another source of labour for agricultural operations is the labour that have migrated from other districts and settled in the village. It is observed that most

of the migrant labourers in the village are from other villages of Medak district. Most of these settled households belong to *Mala* and *Tenugu* (*Muttarashi*) castes. Most of the *Tenugu* caste members who settled in the village migrated from the villages of Pedda Shankarampet mandal of Medak district. It is observed that the women labour from these households work for the agricultural operations along with the labourers from the same village.

In the study village, majority of the population belongs to *Mala* caste and the majority of the agricultural farmers and landless households also belong to *Mala* caste. In Telangana villages, the dominant castes such as *Reddy*, *Velama* and *Munnuru Kapus* were major land holding castes for many decades in the post-independence period. The study village also experienced the same for decades. The *Reddy* caste landlords were the only land owners in the village till 1980s. In later decades, majority of the agricultural lands were transferred to other castes in the study village. The *Mala* caste households emerged as the major land owners at present and only two farmers from *Reddy* caste own lands in the village. It is observed that a few landless household members from *Reddy* caste are also working as agricultural labour.

It is observed in the study village that the agricultural labourers belong to various castes. The percentage from Scheduled castes *Mala* and *Madiga* is 10.1 per cent whereas backward castes *Vaddera*, *Kurma* and *Tenugu* together constitute 9.3 per cent. There are 46 landless families from a total of 130 *Mala* families who work as agricultural labour. *Mala* households do not own any agricultural land and these households generally engage as agricultural labourers. From *Kurma* caste, out of 22 total households 13 households do not own agricultural lands and most of them work as labourers. The total 9 households from *Tenugu* Caste involve as labourers in agricultural seasons and these households do not own any agricultural lands. As has already been mentioned, some members from *Reddy* caste also work as agricultural labourers. They constitute 8.3 percent of the *Reddy* caste which was a dominant caste group (politically and economically) in the study village in the past. An important observation from the study village is that out of total 14

households belonging to Reddy caste, 11 households do not own agricultural lands and some of them work as daily wage labour in the village either on the farms of *Mala* or other *Kurma* castes farmers.

As has been already mentioned, migrant labourers are an important source of labour in the study village. Besides migrants from Medak, many of them are those who migrated from Nizamabad district to the study village and settled in the village work as agricultural labourers. These labourers are the major source for farmers in the village. These migrated labourers either work as casual labourers or yearly attached labour with the lower caste *Mala* and backward caste *Kurma* farmers.

It is observed that the labourers who have migrated to the study village from Medak and Nizamabad (Both the districts share a common border) work predominantly as agricultural labourers. These labourers have no other employment sources at their place. Interestingly, all the members from the households who have come from Medak district engage as wage labourers in agricultural work with the farmers in the village. The labour households which migrated to this village mostly belong to two major castes i.e. *Mala* and *Tenugu*. The settled *Tenugu* caste labour households who have, settled from other village maintain good relations among them and some of these settled households have already known each other before they came and settled in the village. Most of these households either belong to same village or nearby villages. It is said that the labourers who had migrated in the past to this village are found to be intimating the new landless labourers regarding the employment opportunities in agriculture in the study village.

Housing conditions and basic amenities:

The living conditions of the migrated labour households from other districts were investigated during the study period. It was found that most of them live in rented houses and which were very small in which all family members adjust. These houses belong to the farmers for whom they work often. Most of these houses were built with cemented roof or red tiles.

These migrated labours were found living in small rooms (in most of the cases, only two small rooms) with concrete roofs where three to four members adjusted. Most of these houses did not have basic amenities like bathrooms, toilets, drinking water and water for their regular usage. They fetch water from community water tanks and bore wells for drinking and other purposes.

In some cases, these households lacked proper electricity connection. In some households there was no electricity at all. Most of the households were found cooking either with the help of kerosene stoves or in traditional hearths.

The hygienic conditions of these households were found to be poor when compared to that of the locals. Most of these labourers were living along the side of the main road which leads to the village. There was an open drainage running along the road where these labourers lived.

When it comes to communication and recreation aspects, most of the labour households owned at least a mobile phone. A few labour households owned television sets and ceiling fan. On the whole, the basic living conditions of the landless households from the same village are found to be better when compared to those households which migrated from other districts and settled in the village.

The housing conditions of the Vaddera households are found to be miserable when compared to other castes in the study village. The housing conditions of Vaddera caste members are really poor except 5 families from total 31 households. The housing and economic conditions of the remaining 26 households are miserable. The houses are built with mud walls and the roofs are covered with plastic covers and asbestos sheets or iron sheets. When it comes to recreation and communication, more than half of the Vaddera households own television sets and were found watching serials and movies during free time. It is also found that almost all members from Vaddera caste own mobile handsets, and interestingly many young generation own android

mobiles. The young boys from this caste spend time listening to latest movie songs, and surfing social networks sites such as Facebook and Whatsapp.

Education levels among the labourers:

It is observed that the education and the literacy rate among the landless labourers from the village are found to be very poor. The total numbers of landless labourers are 126 members in the village from total 1318 population. There are only 9(7.14 %) members have done their primary education and 17 members (13.4 %) have done their secondary school education. Only 3 members completed their intermediate education and a single member has completed his graduation. A significant finding is that 96 members (76.19 %) are illiterates from a total of 126 are illiterates. It is understood that majority of the labourers are illiterate from the study village.

Table 4.1: Education status of the agriculture labour

Education	Agriculture labour	
	Number of persons	%
1 - 5 class	9	7.14
6 - 10 Class	17	13.4
Inter/Diploma	3	2.38
UG	1	0.79
PG	0	0
Illiterate	96	76.19
Total	126	100

Source: field work (2015-2016).

It can be understood that, majority of the labourers did not even complete their primary schooling and very few members did their secondary school education. It shows that these labourers do not have proper education. It is the same with most of the labourers all over Telangana region who belong to backward and scheduled castes.

The children from these labour households were found going to study in Government primary School located in the village and Higher Secondary located in Aloor. No child from these migrant households was studying in corporate schools. However the children from landless households belonging to the study village were found studying in corporate schools in Armoor town. The labour households earn on average of Rs. 75,000/- to 90,000/- per year in case of settled labour whereas the earnings by the labour belong to the study village ranges from Rs.45,000/- to 50,000/-. It is found that the labour households spend an average of 30000 rupees on their health problems in a year. They spend more than rupees 30000 to 40000 per a year when they get some major health issues. Whenever in need of money in urgency and emergency times they borrow from the farmers or employers on interest for whom they work most of the times. They repay the amount either at a time or in more than two installments. Some of these labour households were found having debts which they borrowed for different purposes such as marriages in the family, health related problems, ceremonies, festivals etc.

Marital status of the labourers:

It is observed that from the total 126 labourers, 111 members (which constitute 88.0 per cent) are married and 15 members (11.9 per cent) are unmarried. These numbers include both male and female labourers in the village. These numbers also include the settled labourers as well as the labourers who belong to the same village.

Table: 4.2: Marital status of the agricultural labourer

Status	Number of persons	%
Married	111	88.0
Unmarried	15	11.90
Total	126	100.0

Source: Field work (2015-16)

It is observed that the more number of labourers are married than those unmarried and the married laborers are more among those who have migrated and settled in the village from neighboring districts and from other mandals of the same districts. The labour households from other districts found migrating to this village along with their family members. The young children also found living with their parents in the study village since nobody is there to take care of these children back home when their parents migrate. The children below 10 years are found living with their parents in the village. Some of these migrant laborers leave their children at their hometowns or with their relatives for the education purpose. It is also observed that in few cases that the newly married couple i.e. one year after their marriage also found migrating to the village to work as agricultural laborers. It is understood that in most of the cases the labourers from the same village are found unmarried also found to be working as agricultural labourers.

Age groups of Agricultural labourers involved:

From the total 126 landless labourers, it is found that 34 members (26.98 percent) belong to age group of 46-60 years. 34 members fall under the age group of 16 to 30 years. 48 members belong to the age group 31 to 45 years, the group which has the highest number of labourers.

Table: 4.3: Distribution of agricultural labour based on age

Age Group (in Years)	Agriculture labour	
	Number of persons	%
Below 15	0	0.0
16 - 30	34	26.98
31 - 45	48	38.09
46 - 60	34	26.98
61 - 75	8	6.34
76 - 90	1	0.77
Above 90	1	0.79
Total	126	100.0

Source: Field work (2015-2016)

Recruitment procedure and wages for agricultural labour:

In study village, it is found that two types of labour contracts play important role i.e. the daily wage contracts or casual labour contracts and the annual labour contracts recruiting the annual labour. The traditional labour relations such as free labour and bonded labour systems lost significance. The difference between these two labour contracts relates to the duration of the contract that exists between the employer and the labour. In daily labour contracts, the contract between the labour and farmers is formally free on both sides. The labourers are free to choose their employer and at the same time they are free to withdraw the contracts if they are not satisfied with the proposed payments and duration of work etc.

The contract between the daily wage labour and the employer lasts for a single day, whereas between the attached labour and the farmers, it lasts based on the requirements. It is observed that the labourers are recruited mostly on annual contracts and in some cases it is for half yearly. The daily wage labourers get their wages paid either at end of the day or after completion of work whereas the attached labourers or annual labourers get their payments either half yearly or annually. The both daily and annual/ attached labour are free wage labour, as the labourers are free to decide when and where and to whom they will sell their labour power and for how much.

The following labour arrangements are seen in the study village for agricultural activities. The farmers communicate with the labourers according to the need and the number of labourers required. Either the farmer or a member of the farmer household often goes to labour households on the morning of the day the work starts and coordinates with the labour to reach field on time. When the labours work in gangs, the farmer coordinates with the leader or one of the members from the gangs. These gangs generally take the work on contract based on a particular amount for a particular period of work. These labour gangs /groups complete work on time and within expected time.

When it comes to the satisfaction levels of the farmers, they expressed that the labour generally do their best in the field since they are from the same village and they have good relations with the farmer's households. Most of the times farmers do not suspect the labour for their work and their capability for farm work. However they expressed that it is important to communicate with the labourers some times that there should not be any wastage of labour resources and that the work should not get delayed. Some of the farmers expressed their opinion that these days the relations between the farmers and the labour do not exist as they were in the past. The labourers work for wages rather than any other reason and the relations between them are more commercial these days. In a way, the trust levels between the two groups have been declining due to various factors in present situations. Factors such as the employment avenues available in the non-agriculture sector, migration to cities for various skilled jobs, employment through education, etc. have played an important role in the decline of the dependency of the labour on the farmers. So the relations between the farmer and the labour do not play that important role as they had played in the past.

When it comes to the wages and payments of the labour, it is observed that the wages for male and female agricultural labour vary based on the work they perform in the field. It is found that the male agricultural labourers get minimum 100 rupees extra than what the women labour are being paid for the various agricultural activities. Women labour engage in works such as transplanting, weeding, reaping, harvesting etc. whereas the male labourers engage in works such as constructing bunds in the paddy fields, water pumping and clearing the fields by removing the weed plants, applying pesticides and fertilisers, etc.

It is found that the wages are being paid in two ways; one is that the farmer pays money to the labourers after completion of the work, either on the same day after work or on the last day of the work completion. The other way of paying wages to the labour is that the farmer gives the wages to a member from the group, and he gives the money to the other members of the group.

Generally the person who leads the group or the one who takes the responsibility of arranging labour will be given the amount. The leader distributes the money among all the members of the gang. Generally, this is observed when the labourers work in the field on contract/*gutta* labour for a particular amount of the work they undertake. All the members of the group, who work as contract/*Gutta* labour, negotiate with the farmer regarding their payment, based on the work they perform. Accordingly, the farmer pays the wages to these contract labourers. The wage payments were found to differ from crop to crop in the study area. For instance, the labourers are paid little higher wages when they engage in clearing turmeric crop and little less when they work in Paddy transplantation, sowing of Jowar, Soya been and other crops. During field work period, the *gutta* labour charge around 1800 to 2000 rupees per acre in the study area. The work completion will be left to their choice, since they have to work with other farmers; also there is more work available with other farmers too in peak seasons. Hence they do not want to miss the chance of earning more money during busy seasons.

An important thing to discuss here is that the *gutta* labour system helps to complete the work soon and on time. The daily hired labour may delay the work since there is no possibility of getting any extra payments to the work they perform on daily basis. So there is a chance of delay in the work when the labourers work on daily contracts. So the farmers generally coordinate with labourers by staying with them in the field so that the work may not get delayed much, and the labour resources may be utilised to the maximum extent.

When it is enquired with the agricultural labourers about the kind of payments they receive for the work they perform, it was said that they are often being paid by cash these days. Sometimes, the labourers also get vegetables, food grains etc. from the farmers according to the interests of the laborers on times. It was opined by some labourers that farmers never say no to the labourers who work often for the same employers most of the times in agricultural works. These kind of exchanges are seen mostly between the settled labourers

households and employers where they generally depend on the farmers for the food grains, vegetables etc. When these labourers need vegetables for household consumption they get for free with no objection from the farmers. In some cases, the farmers provide loans to these labourers on interest at the times of urgency and need. Especially it was said that this could be found only with the labour households who often work for the same farmer in agricultural season. The personal relations between the farmers and the labourers play an important role in such exchanges.

When it comes to the yearly attached labour (*Jeethagallu*), they work with the farmers for a period of one year as per the initial agreements. Later it is up to the interest of the farmers and the labourers whether to continue further. At present, the yearly attached labour is being paid rupees 80000/- to 85000/- per year for agricultural activities in the study village. The recruitment of the attached labour will be based on the experience and the trust levels of the labourer. Even the payments are also given on the basis of experience one has in performing various agricultural operations. At present, nine members are working as attached labourers with farmers from castes like Mala, Kurma and Reddy in the study village. Regarding the payments and recruitment, the farmer and the labour come to an agreement by discussing the nature of work to be performed round the year, working hours, etc. They fix a particular amount per year. It is said that half of the amount is paid at the time of recruiting labourers in advance and the remaining amount is paid after the successful completion of the agricultural year. If the labourers fail to fulfil the agreement made at the time of recruitment, the remaining amount will not be paid to him by the farmer. It was said that there were instances in the past where the labourers left their work mid-way of the year, by breaking the agreement made at the time of the recruitment. Based on such experiences, farmers never prefer to give full payments to the labourers at a time at the beginning of the year.

It is found that the payments for the yearly attached labourers are made in the form of cash these days. Sometimes the farmers also provide loans to the

labourers whenever needed. In case of the attached labourers who have come from other villages, the laborers get food and shelter at the farmer's place. These labourers also receive new clothes during festivals, money for expenditures once or twice in a week or on a regular basis like Rupees 50 per day from the employers (farmers). These kind of provisions are seen mostly among the yearly attached laborers than the casual daily labourers (*Kaikilidarulu*).

It is found that the labour recruited on annual contracts or yearly attached labourers have come to work in this village from other districts of Telangana such as Medak an adjacent district, Nalgonda and Mahabubnagar. When enquired about the reasons for migration to this village they said that most of these settled labour do not own agricultural lands at their native places. In some cases, they own marginal lands but the land they possess is rain fed and the sources of irrigation are absent in their area. Since there have been no sufficient rains for the last five, six years, there is no option left for them except physical labour and so they had migrated and began to work as attached labourers. These attached labourers migrated to this particular village because some members from their village and neighboring villages have already migrated and settled in the same village. It is found that, through the members who have already migrated to this village and with their assistance the new labourers are recruited.

Employment scenario in agriculture:

The landless labourers opined that in normal agricultural seasons (except in the months of March, April and May) they get employment for 15 to 20 days in a month on an average. However, in agricultural peak seasons (especially in June, July and August months) they get continuous employment upto 25 days. Besides, as agriculture is the primary occupation for the majority of the households in the study village, the agricultural landless labourers do get employment somewhere or other. Since the farming operations depend primarily on irrigation through borewells, there will be continuous farm work

for the farmers as well as for the landless labour. For those labourers who have migrated to this village, agriculture is the only source of employment.

It is observed that, all the members from these migrated landless labour households work as labour in agricultural activities round the year. The farmers provide accommodation to these labourers for the period of stay. The stay period ranges from one year minimum to five years on an average. There are a few households which have been staying for the last 20 years in the study village. The labourers who stay for the period of one year are given shelter by the farmer for whom they work. Some of these labourers are also found living on rent; it is found that these labourers who live in rented houses are free to work wherever they get work in seasons. These labourers do not have any restrictions on their freedom in choosing the work whereas some labourers opined that they prefer to work only for few farmers with whom they found shelter.

Regarding the wages, the wages differ based on the operations they perform in agriculture. For instance, the women labourers are paid Rs. 150 when they engage in weeding, and rupees 250 when they work in other operations such as clearing the turmeric. The wages for male labourers are found higher than the women labourers that the men get minimum Rs 100 more than the women labourers. It is because the male labourers are considered as more capable and they involve in such works that women cannot. It is said that when the men work in construction of bunds in paddy fields at the time of plantation they get Rs. 400 per day as payment. Even when the men work in digging out the turmeric crop also paid Rs. 300 to 400 per day.

Hence the wages for agricultural labourers vary based on the work they do such as transplantation of paddy in paddy fields, cutting the Jowar, harvesting etc. The earnings of the labour households who settled in the village from other districts are, it was found that these labour families earn more than Rupees 150000/- per annum. The monthly income ranges from Rupees 15000 to 25000/- average. It is said that all the male and female members of these

labour households work as agricultural labourers. For instance if there are six members in a labour family, all the six members involve in labour work. On an average, there are six to eight members in every labour household. In few families there are around ten members and all of them work as labourers. This can be said as one of the reasons for high income in case of these labour households in the study village and this does not applies to the casual labourers from the same village hence they do not prefer to work continuously for whole seasons.

It is observed that these migrated labourers were working majorly for *Mala* and *Kurma* caste farmers in the village. The majority of these labour households who migrated to the study village belong to *Tenugu* and *Mala* castes. The male and female members from these caste households engage as labour round the year. It is said that though some of these labour households possessed small agricultural lands at their native places, due to drought situations in agriculture they had left their villages and settled in the study village. The landless households' members from the same village are also found to work as labour for the agricultural works in the village. They belong to *Mala*, *Tenugu*, *Kurma*, *Reddy* and *Vaddera* castes. Some of these labourers opined that the employment conditions in agriculture are better in the months of July to October. They engage in various agricultural activities in that period.

After October, they do not find the same number of working days when compared to July to September months whereas in the months of December and January they get good number of employment days in agriculture. After February, again they do not get work in agriculture at least for three months. This situation continues till the month of June where the agricultural lands are cleared and prepared for the next crop. During these three months, farmers involve in works that require handling of machinery such as tractors. At this time only the skilled labourers such as tractor drivers get employment and the women labour do not get work. They either stay at homes or work in MGNREGA. This can be noticed mostly in the months of March, April and

May. Those members who do not have the MGNREGA job cards stay at home or engage in some other works. It is said that these landless labourers get employment on an average of 15 days in a month in normal agricultural seasons and on an average of 20 days in peak agricultural seasons round the year except three months i.e. March, April and May. These three months are lean periods in agriculture and labour do not find employment in agriculture. Some of these labourers opined that over all they get employment for six to eight months in a year.

Employment in non-agriculture sectors:

In the study village agriculture is the major source of livelihood for the households and the landless household members work as agricultural labourers and also work in other non-agriculture sectors. The majority of the women from landless households engage in labour work as beedi rollers besides working on farms. After agricultural operations beedi making/rolling is the major occupation in the village for the women from different castes such as *Devanga*, *Mala*, *Vadla*, *Tenugu*, *Reddy*, *Kurma* etc. It is observed that not only landless households' members engage in beedi making work but the women from the land owning households also engage in beedi work. The women members from above mentioned castes engage in beedi work whereas the majority of the men from the *Devanga* caste work as beedi work agents and as tailors.

Four members from *Devanga* caste are working as beedi agents. They supply the material for preparing beedis and collect the beedis in bundles and sell it in the town. Only men from *Devanga* caste are working as beedi agents and no men from other caste are working as beedi agents. In *Devanga* caste, ten families have agricultural lands, all these ten families fall under small and medium farmer category. Few medium land owning farmers (2-6 acres) are found doing other works along with agricultural activities.

There are different other works where landless members engage are; they work as labour in construction sites (especially the *Vaddera* caste members)

and other skilled works such as tailoring, electrician, welding works, attenders, plumbers etc. It is observed that only three members from *Vadla* caste in the village engage in carpenter work whenever someone approaches them with some work. Otherwise they do not work as full time carpenters. Eight members from the village work as drivers, it includes four members from backward castes, three members of scheduled caste and a one from general caste. Three members from the *Chakali* caste (Washermen) engage in washing which is their traditional occupation. Two members from scheduled caste *Madiga* work as cleaners under gram Panchayat in the village. It is known that infants, age old members and those who are not capable of engage in any work due to disabilities and physical injuries which constitutes 61 members and 87 members respectively.

Beedi Work:

It is observed in the study area that most of the households from all castes except the *Vaddera* caste engage in Beedi making. Beedi rolling is one of major occupation for all the women round the year in the village. It is observed that majority of women from almost all the households are busy involving in beedi work round the year.

The women from landless households and even from the landowning households involve in beedi work. The women from all the socio-economic backgrounds involve in Beedi work. Women from landowning caste when busy with farm activities do not work in Beedi manufacturing in busy seasons in agriculture. Whereas the women from landless households whose primary occupation is beedi rolling do involve in beedi work round the year. The women who stay at home engage in beedi making. The occupation can be seen majorly with the women of backward castes (*Devanga, Kurma, Gouda, Munnuru Kapu*) when compared to Scheduled castes. The reason could be because majority of the other backward caste households do not possess agricultural lands and do not prefer to work in agriculture whereas the majority of the scheduled caste households have agricultural lands and they work in agriculture as their primary occupation. Even the female members of

agricultural households also involve in beedi work when they are not busy with the agricultural activities in agricultural seasons. It is observed that the women from the backward castes such as *Devanga* (weavers), *Vadla* (carpenter), *Besta* (fishing) communities majorly involve in beedi making when compared to women of scheduled caste. *Vaddera* caste women are never found working for beedi since they go to work in construction sites. The other reasons are that they are not ready to work for the small amounts which they earn daily i.e. 75-150 Rs/-. They prefer to work for higher wages i.e. 300 – 400 Rs. /- per day. Hence the women from *Vaddera* caste accompany their husbands' rather than working in beedi rolling. It is opined that the earnings from beedi work are insufficient and not considerable in meeting their regular expenses. *Vaddera* caste households do not possess any agricultural lands. Since other caste households own agricultural lands and also work in beedi, they do not depend on beedi work as their primary occupation. The amount which *Vaddera* women get by working in beedi is insufficient for their daily expenses when compared to their earnings as daily wage labourers. Hence the amount from beedi work is not considerable by *Vaddera* caste women. Therefore they do not prefer to work in beedi.

Another reason that could be given for why the women from *Vaddera* caste never showed interest in beedi rolling is that they are not skilled at that work and never wanted to get into that work. It is observed that women from only two households involve in beedi rolling, that too not regularly but whenever they felt like doing so. The women involve in beedi work the whole day and it is also noticed that the women from *Devanga*, *Reddy*, *Tenugu* castes involved in beedi rolling work though these households are better in economic status. Women from *Devanga*, *Kurma* castes involve in beedi work irrespective of their social and economic status. It is observed that even the women from large land owning households i.e. *Mala*, *Kurma* and a single household from *Madiga* also involve in beedi rolling.

There is a provision of pension for beedi workers after their retirement. For that they need to work for a particular period i.e. a particular number of days

per year. To retain their membership, the women need to work for certain number of days in a year so that they can claim the benefits after retirement from this work. So the women engage in beedi rolling for at least two to three hours every day which supports them in economic matters. Hence it is found from the study village that the women members from the caste such as Devanga and Mala work predominantly in Beedi rolling. The women from Devanga caste involve in Beedi work as the primary source of livelihood whereas the women from other castes work in both Beedi rolling and agricultural works.

Another caste in the study village which is hugely involved in beedi work is Devanga. The major occupation of *Devanga* household women is beedi making/rolling. Out of the 45 households from *Devanga* caste, 35 households do not own any agricultural land and this is the only employment source for these women. In *Mala* caste, out of 130 households, 46 households do not have agricultural lands and remaining all households own agricultural lands. Women of both the castes involve in beedi work. The total number of villagers, women especially who engage in beedi work are 199 members. Out of this 49 women from *Mala* caste engage in beedi work according to their convenience. In *Vaddera* caste, out of the total 109 members, only three women engage in beedi work; that is only 2 per cent from total members (199) involve in beedi work. These landless women from *Vaddera* caste work in agricultural activities such as paddy transplantation, weeding, threshing etc. The women labourers from *Vaddera* caste work for the Mala and Kurma farmers on daily contracts in agricultural activities.

The women work in groups while rolling beedis. Women from neighboring households sit together and complete the beedi work while chatting with one another. Sometimes, three to four women sit together in front of houses and do the work. In some cases, a resident woman involves in beedi work and other women sit along with her and assist in beedi work. Beedi work is found as the major money earning activity for the women from all castes in the village. Women ranging from 14 years to 65 years of age engage in this

activity. Generally, women sit at home and work and there is no force on them to work for long hours. They earn rupees 150/- per day and around rupees 1500 to 2000/- per week. This is a good income for them in a week time working two hours minimum per day.

Migration as a source of employment:

Migration is one of the major sources of employment in non-agriculture sector for the members from the landless households. Every household from the village is having at least one member who migrated to Gulf countries like UAE, Kuwait in the past and at present. Men between the ages 22 to 35 years were found majorly in the process of migration. In some cases, the age groups of 45 to 50 were also found to migrate to the Gulf countries. It is understood that migration is not only for livelihood but also for earning better income. Villagers migrate to the Gulf countries with the help of their relatives, friends and family members who have already migrated. The other non-migrant members from the village get influenced by the migrated and migrate to the places where their relatives and friends had already migrated.

In some cases, it is found that when a member of a household migrates to another country, he or she helps the other family members to migrate to that particular place. It is also found that, more than one member of the same household migrate, either to the same country or different countries. It is observed that villagers who migrate to other countries belong to *Devanga, Kurma, Tenugu, Munnuru Kapu, Mala, Madiga* and *Vaddera castes*. Thus migration can be noticed in all the households irrespective of the social and economic status of the individual or family.

In most of the cases, the prospective migrants seek financial assistance from the rich farmers of the village. It is observed that rupees one lakh to one lakh fifty thousand is the average amount that the members take on interest for the purpose of migration. In some cases, it is found that more than two lakhs rupees are also sought as loan on interest to migrate. In most of the cases the members borrow money on interest from friends and relatives. The

repayments of the debts which are taken from different sources are paid after they receive their salaries at the migrated places. The money taken as loan is returned monthly, sometimes at a time in the given period, according to the agreement made while taking the loan.

It is noticed that a few male members of the Vaddera caste have migrated to Gulf countries (Dubai, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait and Yemen etc.) in search of employment. The women, who stay back at home, get money from their husbands once in three months or two months which helps to run the family. With the remittances sent by their husbands and sons the women at home look after their children, and incur expenditures on food, clothes and education. It is observed that, in some cases, the children of these households were found studying in Government primary schools, and residential schools. Interestingly, some children are also going to study in corporate schools in town. It is observed that the age groups between 20 to 35 from Vaddera caste migrate majorly in search of employment and the same age groups are involve in migration more in number from other castes too.

Generally the migrated members do different kinds of jobs at the migrated places such as labour in construction sites, construction of roads, sanitary works, petrol bunks, baggage sections in airports, sheep herders, etc. It is not the matter of what kind of work they do at the migrated places; they need to work since most of them have to repay the debts taken back at home.

There were cases where villagers have been cheated by the middle men or agents and returned without earnings. In most of the cases everything goes in favor of the migrants as they earn money and send remittances to homes. The members from different castes were found migrating to Dubai, Muscat, Bahrain, Riyadh, U.A.E and other countries.

As already discussed in preceding sections, women from the *Vaddera* caste hardly involve in beedi work, instead they work as construction labour in work sites such as road construction, construction of buildings. There is one household in the Vaddera caste which takes up the digging and construction of agricultural wells. The women from *Vaddera* caste go to labour work

along with their husbands wherever they get work either in the same village or the nearby villages. Sometimes, these Vaddera labour travel nearly 30 to 40 kilo meters away from the village in search of work since no household from Vaddera caste owns agricultural lands in the village.

There are not many options left for them except daily wage labour for their livelihood. Generally the women labourers from Vaddera caste work as agricultural labour for the farmers round the year whenever there is work available in agricultural seasons. The women labourers from this caste are one of the major sources of labor for agricultural activities along with the other women labour from other castes such as Mala, and Tenugu.

It is observed that the men and women from this community go to work as daily wage labor or *gutha* labour in work sites or construction sites. The women assist their husbands in the digging works and installation of cables in the ground. Sometimes they stay back at home if they do not get work. Other than agriculture, the members from various castes in the village who are capable of working engage in many other non-agricultural activities.

The other major activities in non-agriculture sector is the labour work in Gulf countries, in different fields such as in construction works, in cleaning sections and in petrol bunks which consists 83 members from the village. The labour work abroad is the major source of employment for landless and marginal farmers. There are 15 members who are working as tailors and drivers abroad whereas 14 members are working as tailors in the village. There are total 15 shop keepers in the village, 8 drivers, and 7 electricians. There are 12 people who work as attenders in schools and also in private and government sectors. Three members work as welders and three members from *Vadla* caste are engaged in carpenter work. There are two members from *Madiga* caste who work as cleaners under gram panchayath and three members work as private teachers. Two members from washermen caste migrated to Mumbai and are continuing in the same profession there. . Other works such as plumbing are also seen and two members from *Tenugu* and *Devanga* work as RMP doctors in the village. These are the works existing in

the non-agricultural sector in the village. Due to developments in transport and communication, some of the villagers are found migrating to cities to work in shops and as welders, electricians, attenders etc.

Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act:

Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) is one of the sources of employment in lean agricultural seasons for landless labourers and also for small and marginal farmers in the study village. The implementation of MGNREGA can be seen in agricultural lean seasons i.e. in the months of March, April and May in general and also in the months of January and February. It is observed that for the last five years there have been no sufficient rains and water sources for irrigation and this brought drought conditions in agricultural production in the study village. The landless labour and the marginal farmers are provided with 150 days work under this act in agricultural off seasons. The landless household members involve in this work generally and the small and marginal farmers who possess less than two acres of land are also found engaged in this work. It is observed that many of the villagers from different castes involve in the work whenever the work under the act is called for. Work is provided under the act in the village in the months of March to June. It is observed in some cases that the farmers who possess more than two to three acres agricultural lands also involve in this work. Some of the following reasons have given by the small farmers who work in MGNREGA such as the scarcity of rains in seasons, lack of sufficient water through bore wells for irrigation which is the major source of agriculture apart from monsoon, and no other employment sources readily available in the study village. Almost every farmer owns at least a bore well for irrigation. Almost every landowning farmer depends on bore well for irrigation. Since rain is a major source of recharge of ground water for the bore wells, due to lack of proper rains the bore wells do have a problem to provide continuous water supply in agriculture seasons, so small and marginal farmers are involved in MGNREGA.

Under MGNREGA the villagers are working in desiltation process in the lakes, which is a part of Mission Kakatiya, an initiation of Telangana Government. It is observed that the landless household members and the marginal farmers in the study village engage in this work. They work from early morning 7.30 am to 12.30 pm in the afternoon and they get around rupees one hundred to 150 rupees for five to six hours of work. The villagers said that they work wherever they get employment in agricultural off seasons and they feel that the payment they get is reasonable for the time they spend in that work.

It is found that the landless household members from Scheduled castes *Mala*, and *Madiga*, and backward castes such as *Kurma*, *Tenugu*, *Goondla*, *Chakali* and *Munnuru Kapu* engage in this work. Since the work in MGNREGA is only for 4 to 5 hours and they get around one hundred rupees for the work, they do not want to stay at home idle. Hardly few members from *Devanga* caste engage in this work. During field work period, one or two women were found working for this employment act.

It is observed that the members from different castes together work in MGNREGA in groups. Around 10 to 20 members form a group and work to complete the task undertaken. A friendly environment can be noticed among the different caste members while working. The villagers talk and crack jokes among themselves which indicates the harmonious relations among the members from various castes.

Though MGNREGA has provided employment opportunities to many, the farmers in the village have a complaint against the act, the reason being that it causes shortage of labour for agricultural activities in peak seasons. Farmers have to pay more wages to labour when there is a demand for labourers. The landless labourers who work in MGNREGA are paid reasonable wages for less number of hours when compared to the work in agriculture. So the labourers prefer to work in MGNREGA than in fields.

The farmers who have large areas of agricultural lands and who have respect among the people were never found working in MGNREGA. Since they feel it is a kind of loss to their respect, large land owning farmers (6-8 acres) never work under MGNREGA. Instead they engage in agricultural works in their own fields in the months of March, April and May. These farmers involve in activities such as clearing the agricultural fields, preparing of soils for the next crops etc. Especially the farmers from *Mala* and few farmers from *Kurma* who are respected in village do not work for MGNREGA.

Farmers suggest that MGNREGA should be associated with agriculture and it should not be implemented in agricultural busy seasons. They say that there should not be any problem of labour availability for agricultural activities in peak seasons of agriculture. In such case, the farmers do not have to struggle to arrange labour for agricultural activities and the expenses on labour will also come down. When enquired about the success of MGNREGA, people from the study village responded that it has been running quite successfully in the study village.

One significant thing observed in the field was that the farmers, especially marginal and small farmers who have problem with irrigation through borewells in seasons, could not cope with the pathetic situation in agriculture. They work in MGNREGA to earn wages for whatever the money they get and not to sit idle at home. These marginal and small farmers opined that it is not about the wages they get from the work but it is about the employment available in agricultural off-seasons they found. Since there are no other sources of income readily available in off seasons they work in MGNREGA. The aim of introducing MGNREGA in rural areas is to provide employment to landless and small farmers in agricultural off seasons. However, MGNREGA could not stop the migration of small, marginal farmers and landless labourers who wish to work in Gulf countries for better earnings.

These small, marginal farmers and landless labourers opined that continuous employment in agriculture round the year is a problem. The earnings from

their physical labour in agriculture are not sufficient in meeting all the household expenses. It is observed that those who have experienced better income sources from the Gulf countries do not prefer to work in MGNREGA. It did not stop the landless and small, marginal farmers in migrating to the Gulf countries for better earnings and employment.

Impact of Technology on employment of agricultural labour:

The traditional methods of farming lost their importance to the maximum extent after the year 2000 in the study village and the new technology has replaced the manual labour in various agricultural activities such as ploughing, weeding, harvesting etc. The usage of heavy machinery such as tractors, harvesters came into practice which affected the landless labourers' employment in agricultural activities. The traditional crops were replaced by commercial crops in the post Green revolution period in the study village. The fruits of Green revolution majorly enjoyed by the states like Punjab, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. Along with these states, coastal belts of Andhra Pradesh and the areas under Sriram Sagar project in Telangana also experienced the changes in agriculture with the Green revolution technology.

New technology such as usage of variety seeds, usage of machinery for agricultural activities created new employment conditions in agriculture for skilled labourers. The usage of machinery plays an important role at present in the study village since most of the agricultural activities need to be done on time and production process mostly involves usage of machinery. During the peak seasons in agriculture, most of the large landowning farmers, medium, small and marginal farmers hire heavy machinery for agricultural activities. Ploughing, leveling the agricultural fields and many other activities demand the use of tractors and other machinery by the farmers in recent years.

Prior to 1990, the landlords in the village used to cultivate large areas of lands and the usage of pump sets were seen for drawing water from tube wells. It is said that around 10 agricultural tube wells were owned by these landlords as a source of irrigation. Before the introduction of pump sets, Reddy landlords

were using the traditional water pumping method called Mota. In this Mota method the manual labour along with bullocks are used for drawing water, for paddy fields in large areas. The traditional ploughs and other agricultural implements used in tilling and levelling and other farm works with the help of landless labourers from other lower castes and backward castes before the entry of the tractors in the village. According to a landlord most of the landless families used to work as labourers for the landlords either as bonded labourers or attached labourers for the long years. He also says that around 80 to 100 members from landless families used to work as bonded or attached labourers for these landlords prior to 1970s and 1980 where the population of the village from all castes do not exceed more than 150 to 200 members in the past.

The other marginal farmers from Mala, Madiga, Kurma, Yadav and Munnuru Kapu used to depend on monsoon for the cultivation of their marginal lands. It is said that the mortar pump sets were used in distribution of water in cultivation of paddy fields by the landlords in the second phase of technology. In later stages, the landlords lost their authority on lands and started selling their lands to the other landless castes such as Mala, Madiga, Kurma, Yadav, and Munnuru Kapu. These marginal and landless families purchased lands from the landlords and became the farmers. These farmers started cultivating the agricultural lands through bore wells after 1990.

The study village first experienced the usage tractors for agricultural activities in the year 2000. A large landowning farmer belonging to *Reddy* caste from village purchased a tractor for the first time and started using it for ploughing and other activities in his fields. Since this farmer owned large agricultural lands, he started hiring the tractor from neighboring villages in cultivating large areas of farms before he purchased a tractor prior to 2000. He also used to rent out the tractor for other farmers in and neighboring villages either on hourly basis or on the basis of acres. This landlord and his brothers used to engage the heavy machinery for the farm activities in paddy cultivation.

In later years, between 2000 and 2008 two farmers from *Mala*, a farmer from *Kurma* and another farmer from *Madiga* castes purchased tractors and other implements used for agricultural activities. They started using the machinery for various agricultural activities. During fieldwork period, there are five tractors in the village used by farmers on hire basis in agricultural activities. With the advent of machinery, the landless agricultural labour lost their employment in many agricultural works. Before the usage of machinery has begun, the activities such as ploughing used to be done with the help of human labour and cattle and with traditional agricultural implements. For instance, traditional ploughs were used in tilling with the help of bullocks.

The introduction of heavy machinery in agriculture reduced the employment conditions for landless labourers in such works where the farmers started using machinery for ploughing, levelling land, cage wheels in paddy fields, usage of harvesters etc. All these works used to be done with the help of human labour before the entry of heavy machinery in agriculture in the study village. The usage of heavy machinery decreased the employment opportunities and the number of working days to the landless labourers though it helped to cultivate large areas of agricultural lands by large farmers when compared to the past.

Farmers opined that mechanization process made the working conditions easy and reduced the working hours in agricultural works. The mechanization also helped the farmers to cultivate large areas of agricultural lands which helped in better production with the usage of heavy machinery which also brought profits to the farmers in the village in recent years. The usage of machinery also helped to overcome the labour shortage in peak seasons in agriculture though the mechanization is costly affair for the large and medium farmers. The activities which used to be done by manual labour such as ploughing, constructing bunds, leveling agricultural lands, harvesting procedures are replaced by mechanization.

The large and medium farmers opined that the usage of heavy machinery involves lot of expenditure in agriculture. The marginal and small farmers cannot afford the expense on hiring the heavy machinery all the times and they recruit the manual labour according to their affordability and cost for agricultural activities. Hence manual labour has its own significance though mechanization affected the employment conditions and working days in agriculture for the landless labour.

With the usage of machinery the farmers found cultivating large areas and spending more money on inputs and the skilled labourers. The preference of labour also changes with the usage of technology in agriculture in recent years. The large farmers started recruiting the experienced labour on yearly basis to look after the farms activities. These large farmers preferring the labour from the neighboring districts than the village labourers in recruiting as attached labourers on annual basis since these labourers are experienced and skilled in certain farm activities and dedicated in nature. It is also observed that the medium and large farmers seen recruiting the capable and hardworking labourers than the age old labourers in recent years. The large farmers recruit the experienced labour in search of continuous support in farm works and when these large farmers found hard to manage the farm works without the attached labourers.

It is observed that the village has experienced many changes in agriculture sector during the last 30 to 40 years of period. Especially, the changes that took place in the last 20 years in the agriculture sector of the study village are remarkable. The agricultural activities underwent changes with the use of machinery and the traditional agricultural practices have almost lost their importance in the last 15 to 20 years. The introduction of new commercial crops such as turmeric and mirchi etc. brought better profits for the medium and large farmers than the traditional crops in recent years. Most of the medium and large farmers prefer to cultivate these commercial crops in order to get more profits though it is costly affair when compare to paddy cultivation.

Farmers found hiring the heavy machinery for activities such as boiling and polishing processes in turmeric. The usage of machinery in such activities minimizes the cost on labour and time for the farmers hence they hire the boilers and polishing machines in recent times. In traditional methods, the boiling (turmeric) used to be done in big pans called “*kadai*” with the help of manual labour and this process used to take 7 days and more number of labourers. However, the usage of modern machinery i.e. boilers and the machinery for polishing reduced the number of manual labour and time and no farmer prefer to follow the traditional methods in these activities. Since the usage of this machinery reduced the working hours and cost, the farmers hire the machinery from neighboring villages or towns on hourly basis or on basis of bags processed. There are no farmers owning such boilers or polishing machines in the village and all of them hire the machinery from neighboring villages.

At present in the study village, almost all the farmers depend on modern methods in agriculture. Almost all the farmers hire the heavy machinery such as tractors and harvesters in agriculture since it is an easy method and less time taking though it is costly some times. The cost for the machinery is also reasonable according to the small and marginal farmers and the farmers prefer to engage the machinery in paddy, turmeric, Jowar and other crops. It is significant that in the agriculture activities mostly machines are engaged these days and the traditional agricultural implements such as ploughs and bullocks are replaced with the modern machinery. Except four members, remaining farmers do not own bullocks, traditional ploughs and bullock carts in the study village. These farmers depend on traditional method of agriculture with the help of attached labourers. The medium and large farmers from Mala, Madiga and Kurma castes are depending on heavy machinery for the agricultural activities.

It is observed that the farm activities that labour involved are; sowing, weeding and harvesting is combined with labour and harvesters. The number

of labourers involved in farm activities in the presence of machinery is less when compared to the times i.e. in traditional farm practices. The activities such as sowing, spraying weeding are done with the help of human labour and did not replace with the machinery in the study village. The other activities such as reaping and harvesting involve both labourers and machines. Though mechanisation affected the recruitment of labourers in many farm works still manual labour plays a significant role in the study village. The agricultural busy seasons need more number of labourers to work along with the heavy machinery. It is said that most of small and marginal farmers also hire the machinery since they do not have any scope to do traditional kind of agriculture and the traditional methods in agriculture lost significance hence these farmers hire the machinery along with agricultural labour. The farmers do not prefer to maintain the bullocks and traditional implements at recent years.

Labour shortage and migration:

The medium and large landowning farmers opined that the migration to the Gulf countries causes labour shortage on times in the study village. The shortage of labour on times especially in peak seasons in agriculture create problem for the farmers by increasing the cost on labour. Recruiting of outside labourers in peak seasons coupled with expenditure on inputs is found to be too taxing to the farmers. The wages paid to the outside labourers in peak agricultural seasons include transport charges as well. The medium and large land holding farmers opined that the migration of working males (especially, the landless and small, marginal farmers) from the village has created a dearth of people who are capable of handling agricultural works. Even the migrations of landless labourers who work in farm activities in the study village create the shortage of labourers in peak seasons. This situation needs to be compensated by hiring labourers and for this the farmers have to pay extra wages for labourers as per their demand. Hence the migration to the Gulf countries as seen one of the major reasons for the shortage of labour for farm works. It is said that the migration helped to increase the economic status of

the households and the stay of long durations in migrated places create the absence of working males in the village.

The labour requirement varies based on the crop sown and also based on the type of crop sown. For instance, a minimum of 6 to 8 members are required to work in an acre of turmeric crop at the time of plantation as well at the time of harvesting. If the turmeric crop is sown in more than an acre the requirement may change as the farmer recruit 10 to 12 members/labourers. Recruiting around 12 members in a day is costly affair however the farmers prefer to recruit the sufficient number of labourers to complete the work on time. During paddy plantation, 6 to 8 members are required to work in an acre and some times the number also goes up to 10 members. The preferred numbers of labourers are 8 members.

In peak seasons such as at the time of plantation, harvesting, the labourers are recruited from the same village and also from neighboring villages. When the farmers found shortage in getting required number of labour from the same village they recruit from neighboring villages. As already discussed all the labours are recruited from same village in normal seasons such as for weeding etc. Whereas at the time of plantation, labourers are recruited either from same village or from neighboring villages based on the number of labourers available at times.

The changes in wages:

The introduction of machinery has also caused a surge in the wages of the agricultural labourers and the mechanization in agriculture created new employment conditions for skilled labourers such as tractor drivers, harvester operators. The wages have been found increased after the entry of machinery in agriculture. The activities such as harvesting and ploughing displaced the human labour to the maximum extent and the employment of labourers is confined to certain activities where machinery cannot be involved. It is said that there is an increase in the wages compared to the past for the labourers in the study village. It is observed that skilled labourers such as harvester

operators, tractors drivers who work with agricultural machinery earn more wages than the casual labourers in the study village at present.

The payment for the harvester operators ranges from Rs. 30,000/- to Rs. 35,000/- in agricultural busy seasons whereas the labourers who work in weeding and other activities earn fewer wages. It is opined by the landless labourers that use of modern machinery for agricultural activities has displaced the labour from certain agricultural activities. The labourers also have an opinion that the usage of machinery is creating unemployment conditions in agriculture. The lack of employment in agriculture is causing the landless labourers to move to cities and towns in search of employment. It is also driving the labourers to migrate to other places in search of employment. With the intervention of modern machinery skilled and capable working labourers are preferred by the farmers. Old, unskilled and inexperienced labourers are not recruited for certain works in agriculture.

There is availability of employment in non-agricultural sectors in the village and towns. The landless household members are seen working in those works and it is also found as one of the reasons for the increase in the wages for the labourers in the study village. The employment in MGNREGA also found as one of the major reason that forces the farmers in paying higher wages to the labourers in peak seasons of agriculture. The labourers prefer to work in MGNREGA since the working hours are less when compare to the farm activities and the wages are also slightly high in MGNREGA when compared while involve in farms works. The farmers pay minimum Rs.100 as extra at the time of peak seasons and also when the labour have work in MGNREGA and the labour also demand more wages during these periods. The farmers either pay the higher wages or recruit the labour from neighboring villages during shortage periods. Hence these factors are found to be the major reasons for the increase in wages to the labour and demand for the laborers.

Conclusion

Over a period of three decades, there has been a gradual improvement in the living conditions of many poor and landless households in the study village. The traditional patron-client relations between the land owning castes and landless labour families (from lower and backward castes) have lost its significance in due course. Migration and availability of alternative employment sources for landless labourers have opened up new employment avenues in non-agriculture sectors. The landless labourers became the landowners in due course with the remittances brought by the migration. Prior to 1980s only few upper caste *Reddy* households were the land owning castes and the landless labourers belong to lower castes like Mala, and Madiga and other backward castes in the village. The relations between the landless labourers and the landowning castes were reflected in bonded relations even after post-independence period.

The developments in agriculture such as usage mechanization and new technology provided new employment conditions for skilled labourers. With the rise in employment conditions in non-agricultural sectors, many landless laborers started working in non-farm sectors. Migration became one of the major sources of livelihood for landless, marginal and small farmers. These groups were found migrating to Gulf countries and cities to work in other sectors such as construction, cleaning etc. Migration to the Gulf countries and other areas caused labour shortage for agricultural activities in peak seasons. This situation created problem to the farmers as it increased the demand for wages in recruiting the labourers. The demand for wages in peak seasons of agriculture became burden to small and medium farmers in the study village.

The introduction of technology and the developments caused the unemployment conditions for the landless and for artisan castes in their traditional occupations. They started working in different sectors. The artisan castes are found working as labourers in agriculture and in other sectors. In a few cases these artisan castes emerged as agricultural farmers, purchased agricultural lands and have been cultivating them. The introduction of

mechanisation in agriculture did not substitute the human labour completely. It has resulted in loss of employment opportunities to a certain extent; the landless labour still plays a significant role in agriculture.

Chapter 5

IMPACT OF MIGRATION AND AGRARIAN RELATIONS

Introduction

The migration is seen as one of the major employment sources for the people from the study village. Agriculture is the primary source of livelihood for most of the households in the study village and along with agriculture most of the landless household members, marginal and medium farmers found migration as source of employment and better income. Hence it is important to discuss about the migration process and the impact of Gulf migration on the households of the village.

In Migration Studies, international migration of labourers occupies a significant place in understanding the changing socio-economic conditions of the rural labour. Studies relating to migration of agricultural farmers (small, marginal and medium) have not received much attention in Social Anthropology and Sociology. Hence it is important to develop a holistic approach while trying to understand the migration of agricultural labours and farmers. The present chapter argues that migration of small and marginal farmers from rural Telangana to the Gulf countries is happening because it gives them better avenues of employment.

The present chapter shows that migration has resulted in the socio-economic development of households in the village. It has helped in improving the socio-economic conditions of deprived castes like the Malas, the Madigas and the backward castes like the Devangas, Kurmas, Goudas and others.

“Migration is a complex process symptomatic of basic economic, social and psychological problems. Migration which is a pragmatic and universal phenomenon has two major forms viz., international and intra-national (Kalin and Berry, 1980). The internal migration may take place from rural to urban, urban to

urban, urban to rural and rural to rural and is related to the international migration either overseas or overland. The latter creates imbalances in certain regions in labour supply and internal migration comes as answer (Gupta, A.K, 1988).

International Migration from rural areas takes place in those places/regions where employment conditions, livelihood sources, wage rates; climatic conditions etc. are not favorable. The rural areas in India have been experiencing these conditions for many years. Gupta (1988) opines that migration takes place from areas of limited economic opportunities, unemployment and retarded social development to developed and fast developing areas where migrants can expect better payments and continuous employment and a better living with improved socio-economic status (Krishna, 1975; Premi, 1976; Singh, 1980).

According to Mukherjee (1979) the more an individual is poor, landless and socio-economically deprived, the greater the chance of his migration from rural areas to other areas. This idea is also supported by some earlier studies such as those of Joshi (1957), Sinha (1958) and Sharma (1977). According to Swanson et al. (1979), the socio-economic status consists of three factors, i.e. education, occupation, and income. The higher the socio-economic status, the greater the migration. On the other hand, some scholars like Sovani (1966), Rao (1974), Connell et al., (1976), Saxena (1978) have contended that both the rich and poor are almost equally prone to migration. The rich migrate out of desire for better and greater comforts of life while the poor migrate out of economic compulsion to their living” (Gupta 1988).

International migration has affected the traditional relations (inter-caste relations) between landlords and labourers in study village. It has helped labourers get better wages and thus improve the economic conditions, especially of the lower castes and other backward castes in the study village. Migration has helped to improve the socio-economic status of the landless in the study village and has helped the landless and small farmers become financially self-reliant by reducing their dependency on the landlords.

The study used parameters like the purchase of agricultural lands, improvement in the educational status of the labourers, ability to construct own house, purchase of movable and immovable properties and increase in material possession by the households under study before and after migration in order to understand the socio-economic changes in the households pre and post migration.

Gulf Migration became one of the major employment sources since 1980s for the people from the study village especially for landless labourers and marginal farmers. Migration is also seen from other districts of Telangana like Karimnagar, Mahaboob Nagar and Adilabad. Migration to the Gulf countries is seen in other districts too but not to the extent as one sees in Nizamabad district from the Telangana region. The present study also helps to understand in general the socio-economic aspects of an underdeveloped region like Telangana as well as the employment conditions existing there.

Process of migration

It is observed that 216 members from total 333 households have migrated to the Gulf countries (United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Oman and Kuwait) from the study village during the last 30 years period in search of employment. They belong to the landless households in the study village. They are from Mala, Madiga, backward castes Devanga, Kurma, Tenugu, Gouda, Munnuru Kapu and Vaddera. In the initial stages, the males of most of the landless households from the Mala, Madiga and the backward castes like Devanga, Kurma castes migrated to the Gulf countries in search of employment and livelihood. The researcher enquired about the process of migration with a set of structured questions focusing on who they took help from during this process, whether it were middle men or relatives who had already migrated, It was found that many of them depended on middle men or agents who provided them with Visa and work permit. Leela Gulati study (1987) also discuss about the possible ways of coping with the process of migration.

The data were collected from the migrants who have come to the village on vacation as well as from the household members who stay in the village. The migrants who have returned to the village after staying in Gulf countries for a certain period (it ranges from 2 years to 25 years) and are currently staying in the village were approached for the information related to Migration. It is found that the initial migration happened with the help of either their relatives or people from the same village or neighboring villages. The majority of the migrants took help from the Middlemen/Agents when they migrated for the first time. Later they managed to migrate to the Gulf countries by themselves and find accommodation and employment in the migrated places. The migrants who have migrated more than one time, the experience which they had when they migrated initially helped them to manage with the expenditures and also in choosing the work location in later stages of migration. It is also known that the migrants who are already there in Gulf countries helped their family members, relatives and friends to migrate to the Gulf with their support either in providing Visa and information related to employment or with initial adjustments in migrated places. In the initial stages, they helped their relatives and family members to find employment in the Gulf countries. Either in the same company they were working in or with the companies they knew. The old migrants helped the new migrants in the process of initial social and cultural psychological adjustments.

Generally in the initial stages or in the first phase of migration, the migrants who went with the help of agents or middle men have got the assistance from the company that recruited them to find employment and accommodation. Those who migrated on their own had to do it on their own or seek the help of people known to them at migrated places. Generally in the first phase of migration, they try to seek help from people they know if there are any already. The migrants search for their native language speaking groups or other Indian migrants to cope with the process of adjusting to their surroundings.

As far as the modes of migration are concerned, it is observed that in most of the households, only the single male member migrates to the Gulf initially and later

other male members follow. It is also seen that sometimes more than two male members from the same household have migrated either to the same place or to two different places in the Gulf and mostly they are father and son or siblings. In a few cases, all the male siblings and father from the same household were found to have migrated leaving behind married women, children and family members in their old age. For instance, it is found that from a Scheduled caste Mala family four members (who are siblings) have migrated to the Gulf countries for employment. Here the senior member who migrated in the past helped the other members to migrate by helping in work permission etc. Another example is that there are two brothers from a Madiga family who work in the Gulf countries. The similar cases are seen among washermen families, three siblings from a single family work in Gulf countries.

Since 1980, there are 216 members belonging to *Mala, Madiga, Kurma, Yadav, Tenugu, Munnuru Kapu, Gouda, Chakali, Devanga and Vaddera* castes migrated to the Gulf countries. Majority of them are staying there for minimum two years and the period of stay can be up to twenty years in a few cases. The average stay at the migrated destination is about four to five years. The respondents' informed that it takes even 4 to 5 years to adjust to a new and unfamiliar place.

When it comes to the source of expenditure for migration, in more than half of the total cases, the migrants borrowed money from people known to them or from money lenders in the same village or from other villages at high interest rates. In a few cases, it is also found that their relatives help them with the expenses incurred during migration to the Gulf which they pay back after they get employment there either fully or in installments. Most of the migrants were found to borrow an average of 50, 000 to 1, 00,000 rupees for the purpose of migration. A few members who migrated and came back to their native village opined that during the initial stages, it was very difficult to adjust with the conditions in the places they migrated to and that the debts they had incurred back home made them stay there at least for a minimum period of 3 to 4 years. In such cases, it is viewed as a compulsion to stay back at migrated places though the migrants have problem of

adjustments at the new location, food habits, language and other social and psychological adjustments, so that they can repay the debts incurred back home.

Socio-economic conditions of the migrant households

It is observed that Mala, *Madiga* and the backward castes *Devanga*, *Kurma*, *Tenugu*, *Munnuru Kapu*, *Gouda* and *Mudiraj* members are mainly migrating to the Gulf countries. Table 1 gives the details of the migrants from different castes from the village since the 1980s. The table shows the data related to migrants from the study village since the 1980s from different castes. It can be said that the number of migrants are more from the Mala and *Devanga* (a backward caste) followed by the lower caste *Madiga* members followed by those from the *Kurma*, *Yadav* and *Vaddera* castes. It is understood that the agrarian conditions and the social structure in the village before even after independence (till the 1990s) have been feudal in nature. The economic and political powers were under the control of the local landlords where the other castes used to work as servants for the landlord households in the village. Till 1990s the domination of landlords could be seen in many aspects and the dominance was there in all the resources of the village. The agricultural production and resources were under the control of the landlords and completely dominated by the big land holding households which belong to the *Reddy* castes. Members belonging to the lower castes like *Mala*, *Madiga* and backward castes like *Kurma*, *Yadav* and *Tenugu* (*Mudiraj*) used to work in the fields of landlords as either free labour or bonded labour.

As already mentioned in previous chapter (3rd chapter), the members from artisan castes and lower castes used to work in their traditional occupations and services were rendered to the landlords. The services from the artisan castes are primarily centered for the Reddy landowning households, for instance the blacksmith, washer men, potters used to render their services to the landlord castes majorly than for other castes. The services of artisan castes to other castes along with landowner castes could be seen only after 1960s. Before this period, only the landlord castes were receiving the services from these artisan castes. According to the *blacksmith* (*Kammari*) from the village, their services were seen in providing

agricultural implements to landowning households who used to involve in agricultural activities. In return, these artisans used to get the payments in kind mostly i.e. grain after the harvest from the landowning households. The traditional services among different castes were not involved cash payments but in kind.

Table.5.1: Caste - wise distribution of migrants

Caste	Number of persons	%
Devanga	33	15.3
Yadav	6	2.8
Mala	87	40.3
Madiga	19	8.8
Goud	6	2.8
Goondla	7	3.2
Vaddera	13	6.0
Chakali	6	2.8
Kurma	13	6.0
Munnuru Kapu	4	1.9
Reddy	4	1.9
Vadla	11	5.1
Tenugu	3	1.4
Mera	2	0.9
Kummari	2	0.9
Total	216	100

Source: Field work 2015-2016.

Except for a few Reddy households, no other castes in the village owned agricultural lands. Few households from Mala and backward castes such as

Munnuru Kapu, Kurma, and Yadav used to own small agricultural lands often less than an acre or an acre. These marginal landowning households had to depend on monsoon for agriculture whereas the upper caste Reddy households were controlling the irrigation sources i.e. canal and tube wells in the village. The lake which is located near the village is also one of the sources for irrigation in the village. One significant thing is that the lands under this lake were owned by the upper caste Reddy households for decades and the agricultural production was dominated by Reddy landlords in the village. The other castes were hardly found engaged in agricultural activities since these other caste households did not have any agricultural lands. For those small and marginal farmers irrigation sources were not there and they had to depend on the monsoon.

Regarding the reasons for migration, it can be understood that the agrarian structure and the unevenness in land holding pattern in the village and the dominance of the landlords are the major reasons. The more number of migrants have been found from the *Mala*, *Madiga* and *Devanga* castes in the village. It is important to mention about these three castes because population wise *Mala* and *Devanga* households occupy the first and second places. The migrants from these two castes were found more in number when compared to the other castes in the village. It can be said that the Malas and Madigas are the victims of social hierarchy and the domination by the landlords when compared to other backward castes. The social structure of the study village represents the features of the traditional Indian villages which also help to understand the features of Indian society. The caste system and the hierarchy in Indian society is one of the major obstacles for the lower castes in accessing the agricultural lands which is the only means of production.

The lower castes used to work as manual labour in the farms of Reddies the labour used to receive minimal payments in kind for their physical labour which was the only source of their livelihood. According to the respondents from *Mala* and *Madiga*, these lower caste landless laborer used to receive punishments by the

landlords (Reddy landowners) when they could not work up to the expectations of the landlords. There were instances where the labours get physical abuse by the Reddy landowners whenever they feel not satisfied with the work.

It is said that there was the system of bonded labour where these lower castes used to work as labour for their entire lifetime and for generations used to serve the same family of landlords. It is understood that the system of bonded labour was prevalent till the 1970s and later it started disappearing. In 1980s, when migration to Gulf countries started from the village, the relations between the land owning upper castes and lower castes started changing. The Malas and the backward castes took the initiative to migrate to the Gulf countries in the mid-1970s and early 1980s which helped them to get employment outside the village. Until the members from the lower castes started to migrate to the Gulf countries, they did not have any other alternative option for livelihood but with the migration process, they could find an alternative source for livelihood. Migration can be understood as the medium for the breakage of traditional relations between the upper castes and lower castes and among the different castes groups especially among the farmers' households and the labour households.

For the lower castes, migration is not only a source of employment and livelihood but also the source of better earnings. Migration can also be seen as one of the major sources of liberation for these lower castes from their traditional bondages to the upper castes landlords. The lower castes and a few backward castes from the village migrated to the Gulf countries and started working as labour in different sectors such as in construction, cleaning sectors etc. A few revealed that they even worked as watchmen and shepherds in the Gulf countries. Employment in the Gulf countries brought much enlightenment into the lives of the lower castes and that of a few backward castes in the village. The salaries which they get in the Gulf countries are sent back home where their family members spend the money on basic needs like food, clothing and health etc. In later stages, the remittances which they sent back home also helped their children to provide an education. The first generation migrants are mostly illiterates while the children of

these migrants are found to be literate. Migration helped these lower castes to liberate themselves from the traditional bondages and helped them to earn by their own by not depending on the upper caste landlords in the village.

Gupta (1988) highlights the relation between caste and migration, that is, castes which are no longer functionally integrated into the village economy are mobile than those who are still integrated to the village economy. Contrary to Gupta's study, the present study found that after 1980s when the traditional caste bondages were losing their significance, migration started from the village to the Gulf countries. The *Mala*, *Madiga* and the backward castes such as *Devanga*, *Tenugu*, *Kurma* and *Gouda* members are found to be migrating along with these lower castes in the initial stages of migration from the study village. Many lower castes people migrate from rural areas to other places with a view of liberating themselves from the age old social discriminations and to conceal their low social status in the hierarchy of caste system. Even the same observations have been given by other scholars (Majundar and Majundar, 1987) Gupta (1988). The lower castes *Mala* and *Madiga* from the study village were the victims of traditional bondages. In order to liberate themselves from the traditional bondages, they started migrating to the Gulf countries hence migration was viewed as one of the liberating sources from the traditional uneven labour relations (bonded and free labour systems).

One of the respondents from *Madiga* caste, Teddu Pochaiah, 65 years old, opines that, "*we the Mala and Madigas landless families used to work as bonded and free labour called as Vetti labour(Jeethagallu) for village Reddy caste landlords (Dora) in the village till late 1970s. Though we used to work for long hours, we were never paid according to the working hours in the agricultural works .So we decided not to continue in these traditional forced labour systems. Then we got an opportunity to work outside village and we viewed the Gulf migration as a source of liberation and livelihood*". In the larger context, we can see the operations of push and pull factors in the out migration from the study village.

The landless household members who could not find any source of employment in the village opted for migration in the initial years (1980s). These landless households could purchase agricultural lands ranging from 2 acres to above 10 acres in the post migration period. In recent years, the land owning households belong to predominantly Mala, Madiga, Kurma, Yadav, Munnuru Kapu and relatively few households from Devanga in the village are either landless or own marginal land holdings (< 1 acre). Hence the landless households have achieved the status of the major land owners in post migration period.

Educational levels of the migrants

It is observed that the educational levels of the migrants from village are found to be poor. The data related to the education levels have been collected for a period of three decades i.e. from the 1980s from the village. The migrants who migrated in the initial stages did not have any education and most of them were illiterates. The migrants who started migrating after 1995 have at least school education and the migrants in the later stages after 2000 have completed intermediate and graduation. In the recent data collected which was related to the education of the migrants, the migrants were found to be graduates. A few migrants had also done their professional degrees such as B. Ed and had migrated to the Gulf since there is no continuous employment available in the village. It is found that the graduates who completed their education had to migrate to support their family with better earnings from the migrated places.

An interesting finding of the present study is that the number of illiterate members is almost equal to the members who completed their schooling (38.4 and 35.2) from the 1980s. It is found that from the migrated members (216) from different castes, the number of illiterates are equal to the members who have only school education.

The following table (2.3) shows the education levels among the migrated members from different castes in the study village. From the total migrated 216 members since 1980s the education levels are analyzed. It can be understood that

most of the migrants from Devanga and Mala caste have better education levels when compare to other caste migrants. Number of illiterates also almost equals the numbers who have completed their school education.

Table 5.2: Education status of migrants

S. No	Educational status	Number of persons	%
1	1 to 5 Class	18	8.3
2	6 to10 Class	83	38.4
3	Inter	29	13.4
4	Degree	7	3.2
5	Illiterate	76	35.2
6	Professional Degree	3	1.4
7	Total	216	100

Source: Field work 2015-2016

Age groups involved in migration:

Most of the migrated members are between 20 to 35 years of age. There are also members in the age groups of 45 in some cases and the members above 55 of age also found migrating in a few cases. The age groups from the twenties to the mid-thirties are found migrating majorly. The factors could be that they are capable of taking challenges in foreign lands. The view of better earnings is one of the major reasons that the migrants prefer to migrate at early ages from the study village. The assistance from the migrants who are working in Gulf countries and the support from the family members working in the Gulf are influencing the member at their young ages. The payments which they receive in Gulf countries are

comparatively high compared to the earnings they get in their native places and the members prefer to work in Gulf countries than working in towns and cities hence most of the young generation found migrating to the Gulf countries.

Impact of migration on socio-economic conditions of the households

Migration to the Gulf countries has brought many changes in the socio-economic conditions of the households in the village. Migration has helped the people to establish themselves better in economic matters. The economic changes in the household's conditions brought by the migration are significant. Migration has been seen as a source of employment and livelihood in the initial stages and the opinion on migration to the Gulf countries has changed among the people of the village in later stages. Now, the process of migration to the Gulf countries is seen as the source of better income. The changes brought in economic matters by the migration can be seen in the assets and the material possessions held by the households in the post migration period. It is observed that there is a clear cut difference in the income levels of households that have migrated and those who have not migrated to the Gulf countries. It is found that 216 male members have migrated to the Gulf countries since the 1980s from the study village.

The migration process here began as a source of livelihood and employment opportunities during the 1980s. Later it is found that migration helped in achieving economic advancement. Most of the households' data reveal that the drought situation in the village forced people to migrate to the Gulf countries. The migrants found that the migration to Gulf countries is one of the best choices for them. Most of the migrants found that the better wages in migrated places and the influence of the migrants already in the Gulf are the positive aspects for the new migrants to migrate to the Gulf countries. It is found that only four members from Chakali caste migrated to Mumbai and working in their traditional occupation washing clothes at migrated place. The small and marginal farmers migrate because of low productivity caused by shortage of irrigation in the region. These marginal and small farmers could not cultivate the lands due to the scarcity of water in bore wells and hence they left lands fallow and had to migrate to the Gulf

countries. The landless labourers who migrated to the Gulf countries opined that the lack of employment opportunities and continuous employment round the year in agriculture are the major factors for the migration.

It is found that unemployment and underemployment conditions prevailed among landless households, and drought and famine conditions for small and marginal farmers in the region are the push factors for the migration in recent years (between 2010- 2016). The regular employment conditions, better employment opportunities and better wages in the Gulf countries are found as pull factors for the small and marginal farmers.

It is found that 35 households from the lower castes were found to own more than 6 acres and three households could purchase more than 10 acres of agricultural lands with the remittances money brought from the migration. Whereas only four households from Munnuru Kapu and Kurma castes could purchase an average of 6 acres lands with the remittances from migration. A Madiga caste farmer could purchase 25 acres of agricultural land in the village with this money and he is the only large land owning farmer in the village. Migration to the Gulf countries, with a long stay for a period of 25 years brought economic advancements and empowerment by purchasing the agricultural lands. Also to build his own house, to provide higher education to the children and to access better mode of transport that he owns a car and two wheelers in 2 numbers and a tractor.

Among Kurma households, 8 members own 2 to 4 acres land and 3 members who own 6 to 8 acres of land could buy agricultural lands due to their migration to the Gulf. From *Munnuru Kapu* (one of the dominant land owning castes in Telangana region along with other landowning castes) caste four members who have migrated to the Gulf countries possess 2 to 6 acres of agricultural land. Among upper castes Reddy households, only one member owns 2 to 4 acres of land and was found to have migrated. The members from the castes like *Vaddera*, *Mera*, *Kammari* (Blacksmith) *Kummari* (potter) who were found to participated minimally in the process of migration when compared to Mala, Madiga and Devanga. These households hardly own any agricultural lands in the village. Even

the economic conditions of the households are not better than those households who were found to migrate to the Gulf countries.

It is observed that majority of the Mala households (i.e. 84) own agricultural lands and the majority number of farmers belong to Mala caste in the village. The Madiga (16 households), Kurma (9 households) and Devanga (10 households) occupy second and third place in landownership which is the result of Gulf remittances. The economic conditions of these castes were found to have improved a lot compared to the other non-migrated castes in the village. The migrated households could own large agricultural lands, own houses (in all cases pakka houses with concrete roof and walls), have better education levels, own better mode of transport facilities (two wheelers, four wheelers), own better communication equipment such as costly television sets, mobiles, better furniture in the house etc. The conditions of the households of those non-migrants are not as good as that of the migrant households. Among the migrant households, the household conditions of Devanga, which occupies second position population wise, are relatively better. But these Devanga caste households do not invest the earnings in the purchase of agricultural lands. Instead they invest in other businesses i.e. more number of shop keepers found from Devanga caste. They also invest the earnings in providing education to their children and in constructing good houses along with better furniture.

The household's conditions from Vaddera caste are found to be poor. They have poor housing conditions and in most of the cases, are found either thatched or cement sheets and are also covered with polythene covers. Very few families live in houses constructed with cement roof. The education levels among these Vaddera caste families are found to be very low when compared to other castes. No family from Vaddera castes own agricultural lands and found working in irregular occupations such as daily wage labour in and outside villages. Most of the women members found working as agricultural labourers and daily wage labourers in non-agriculture too. Another interesting observation is that out of the total migrants in the last three decades the medium farmers who own 2 to 6 acres

of agricultural lands also found to be migrating to the Gulf countries to get better earnings while the other family members back home look after the agricultural works. The same betterment in economic conditions cannot be seen with any other farmers belong to the other castes including Reddy caste and many backward castes farmers in the village.

The social status of Mala and Madiga castes is found to be better comparatively in the post migration periods. The Mala castes members became politically active and could influence the politics in recent years. The marriages, ceremonies and other rituals etc.in the village are open for Mala, Madiga. The younger generations and the member from lower castes found attending the marriages, festivals related families in the village in recent years without any restrictions.

Case study: 1.

Madari Srikanth, Aged 27 year from the scheduled caste, who recently came to village on vacation who is working in in U.A.E says, “Migration helped us to live better life and also helped to overcome the economic problems to a great extent. His parents were separated in his childhood and his family did not possess any property .His mother moved to this village along with him in his childhood after the separation and his father did not allow his mother to bring his elder brother along with them. Even his father’s property was not given to them and his property share was given to his brother. His father is living in another village, when his parents parted these two members (mother and son) came to the study village. When he was two year old they moved to this village that they can live with their uncle (mother’s brother) and grandmother in the village. But they never get any help from their uncle when they were struggling financially and even in emergency times. He says that they never used to get money from any one for their needs and they suffered and struggled a lot to meet their basic needs and for daily expenses. His mother sent him to a Government hostel to adjust up with the financial burden of his education. It helped him to manage with the expenses on food, clothing and accommodation. Till his

secondary schooling he managed with the expenditures on education. After schooling, he joined for intermediate education but the financial constraints did not permit him to complete his intermediate education and further studies. Then he decided that he wanted to live according to his wish and thought of earning money. He was influenced by the other members from the village who have migrated already and receiving better earnings from the Gulf countries and wanted to migrate to Dubai. He discussed with his mother about his plan to migrate to Dubai. His mother arranged the money for expenses from the known people for the ticket fare and for other expenditures. He approached a middle man (agent) for Visa work, and then he paid him the money for the rest of the procedure. When he was travelling to Dubai he came to know that the visa provided by the agent was fake and he could not do anything further then he had to return home. He worried a lot because of the debts, as he had to return to the money lenders. In the second trail, he could manage money on interest from known people and migrated to Dubai where he joined in a Transport Company. He used to carry luggage and worked as a labourer for more than three years from 2008 to 2011. He returned to the village in 2011 and later he migrated to U.A.E in 2012 where he has been staying for the last four years. He came to his village in December 2015 and got married on 6 January 2016. He managed to get the required money to construct a new house and for expenditures on marriage. He opines that the people in the village appreciate him and respect his efforts for the progress he has had in economic conditions. He says that a large land owning farmer in the village, who own nine acres of agricultural land, got his daughter married to him. He says that the farmer could have found a richer groom if he wished for his daughter. The progress in his career had made convinced him to give his daughter for marriage. He spent around four lakh rupees on his marriage that he earned from the Gulf earnings. He also opines that, once his life was full of struggles but now he is in a position where he can manage financial matters and have respect from the people of his community and from the villagers too. After he

migrated to Dubai in 2008, he worked for basic salary for the period of 24 months. Because of financial constraints the company where he was working got closed down then he joined in another company in U.A.E. Thus migration to the Gulf countries provided him with employment and better earnings. Which also helped him to construct a new house in the village; this is in sharp contrast to his earlier situation where he and his mother had no proper house in the village. Migration also helped him get a marriage with a girl from large land owner in the village which also brought him the respected position in the village and from his fellow beings.

Case study: 2

Mekala Vamshi, Aged 24 year, B.Tech student belonging to the Mala caste from the village explained his views on the migration and its impact on household conditions. He says that for lower castes Mala and Madiga migration helped to overcome financial obstacles in recent years. Migration to the Dubai helped to get financial assistance to construct a house and also in purchasing agricultural lands. Their family did not inherit any property or agricultural land from their ancestors. His father's decision to migrate to the Gulf brought economic stability on expenses. He also says that he could pursue his graduation in Engineering stream (B.Tech) and his sister completed M.Tech from a college located in Hyderabad. He also explains that they could access to better education and other facilities from the earnings saved from the Gulf migration.

Now his father is working in Dubai and for last 25 years he has been staying in Dubai and sending the remittances to home that their family could access the basic needs and other. It is said that his father visits the village once in two years when he gets vacation. His father is a graduate and wanted his children to have a better education. So he underwent a lot of struggle to make them study. He said that after his father started working in Dubai they could purchase three acres of agricultural lands and could construct a good house. They didn't get any land or property from their forefathers but just a

piece of small land for the household and 0.5 acres of agricultural land. Whatever the assets and property they have now is just because of the remittances brought from the Gulf migration by his father. It can be understood that the migration to Gulf countries helped the landless households to own agricultural lands and homeless to construct new houses in the village. The household conditions of the migrants have become better in post migration periods.

The above mentioned case studies show the impact of migration on lower caste households in the village. Many cases of these kinds can be seen in the village where the betterment can be seen in household conditions by the Gulf migration and all the land owning farmers from Mala and Madiga caste could purchase the agricultural lands due to the migration to the Gulf countries. These lower castes emerged as the major farmers in the village in recent years where once they were the landless labourers in the village.

Case study : 3

Rasa Naresh, Aged 29 years, belongs to Devanga (backward caste) caste working as beedi agent at present in the village. He narrates his experiences about his migration “I stayed in Dubai and Qatar for almost seven years from 2007 to 2013. I was working as an assistant in accommodation management. I had to receive the workers and labourers coming to Qatar from other countries and assist in providing accommodation for them. In later years, I went to Dubai and worked in the airport as an agent in the baggage section where I had to check the luggage carried by the passengers. Since our family does not own any agricultural land, I had to migrate to meet the expenditure. I finished my tenth standard and discontinued my intermediate since I had to go to Saudi. We had around four lakh debt on our household so I decided to go to the Gulf and earn money to clear the debts which we had. I took rupees two lakh on interest from known people to go to Qatar with the help of an agent. In total, it is six lakhs rupees we had as debts and it would have been more difficult for me to repay the debts

if I had not gone to Qatar and Dubai for seven years. Because of the migration, I could repay the debt of rupees six lakh and could build a new house for us. Now we even have some money in our hands for future expenses.” At present he is working as an agent in a Beedi Company and supplies the material to the beedi workers. He is also working as a shop keeper in the village where he maintains a tea stall as well a general store. Further he says that the money which he saved from the Gulf migration helped him to invest into a business. He could manage to establish a Kirana General store on his own and which became a major source of employment for him.

Challenges involved in migration

It is observed that economic conditions and education levels of castes like Kurma, Mala, Madiga, Munnuru Kapu and Devanga are better compared to other castes as the result of the remittances sent by the migrant members. Migrants mostly stay in the Gulf countries and send the remittances uninterruptedly to the home and with these remittances, the children at home can access better education and spend on food and other things.

In most of the cases, migration has brought happiness, in a few cases; it has brought sorrow in their lives. There are such incidents where their family members go missing in the Gulf countries and no information is given to them. In some cases, accidents in the Gulf give physical injuries to the migrants and they have no one to take care of them and they are sent back to their native places.

Though migration has helped the households to become better economically, the psychological status of the family members was not found to be good in the study village. The married women, children and old people from the migrant’s household back home experience the mental stress. Since the working males generally migrate from the households. No

women members have been found to have migrated to the Gulf along with their husbands; it is the women who are the easy victims of migration.

Surinder Jetley (1987) opines that the male out migration from the rural poor over extended periods of time increases work burden and compounds their difficulties of basic survival. The study also views that the income from the out migration did not help them to come out of the economic burdens but it led to emotional deprivation and an insecure future as well as prolonged disruption of family life.

Gupta (1988) opines that, besides the desirable aspects, the migration of people also begets some social, demographic, economic and political problems. There are instances of villages without male members because most of the adult and able males have migrated leaving behind their wives, children and old parents. It is observed that the women in the village from the migrated household feel insecure in their everyday life in the absence of male members of the households. It involves emotional and social insecurity. Women are found living with their children in the households mostly where they always face trauma. Their husbands are not there with them. It is found that the women, wives of the migrant male members, feel helpless when they are in emergency situations (such as ill health, delivery etc.). At the death of any family member, it takes one to two days for the migrants to come back to the village to perform the post death rituals. These kinds of incidents are very common in the study village and it brings intense suffering and long term psychological depression and unhappiness in the family.

The study by Sundari (2005) found that though migration did not help to improve the economic well-being of the total migrated households, particularly female headed households, it has helped the migrants' households in avoiding hunger, starvation and death. The study found that the major push factor was lack of employment opportunities in the place of origin because of drought and the pull factor was favorable employment

situation in the destination areas. A similar situation has been experienced by the households belong to lower castes and backward castes in the study area for a certain period before 1980s.

Impact of migration on farmers: (marginal, medium and big farmers)

The impact of migration on farmers can be seen in the aspect of labour supply for agricultural works in peak seasons. The large farmers opined that there is direct impact on the labour supply sometimes due to migration to the Gulf and other cities from the village. Some of these farmers viewed that the labour shortage also leads to the demand for labourer some times and the increase in the wages also one of the major issues seen among the large farmers.

The big farmers in the village are those who have been able to purchase the lands because of the migration to Gulf. In particular, the Mala, Madiga, Kurma farmers became big land owners with the help of remittances from Gulf migration. The Big farmers from Mala and Madiga caste migrated to Gulf and stayed there for long years i.e. up to 20 years and were able to purchase agricultural lands .The Malas are the big farmers in the village and only two farmers from Kurma backward castes were found to own big lands in the village.

Kondi Gangadhar, a Mala farmer, did not own any agricultural land in the past and used to work as daily wage labour. He migrated to the Gulf in the 1980s and later years his brothers also migrated to the Gulf with his help. His father owned less than an acre in the past whereas at present he owns around 7 to 8 acres of agricultural land where he managed to buy lands with the remittances from migration that he purchased land gradually over three decades. The migration of big farmers can be seen from the Mala in the village. The agricultural activities from the big farmer's households looked after by their family members such as wife and children in the absence of the farmers who work in the Gulf. The remittances send by the migrant

absentee farmers from the Gulf help their family members to purchase the inputs for cultivation. The education levels among the children of these big farmers were found better when compared to other small and medium farmers. The owners of the tractors in the village are big land owners from Mala, Madiga and Kurma. There are three tractor owners from the lower castes Mala and Madiga and two big farmers own tractors and other implements from Kurma castes (See Table No 6.2 for details). The remaining castes in the village were found to be engaged in non-agricultural activities. The known fact in the village is that the present big farmers once had small lands and with the help of Gulf migration, they could purchase big lands. With the produce from agriculture, they were able to invest their money in purchasing the tractors etc.

The backward Devanga castes are not involved in agricultural activities whereas two Munnuru Kapu households are involved in agricultural activities. The Kurma caste households also own big lands in the village. Two big farmers in the village from Kurma caste migrated to Gulf in the past and could buy lands and give on hire their tractors for agricultural activities for other farmers during the agricultural season in the village. It is interesting to know that all these five tractor owners in the village benefited from the Gulf migration.

The small and marginal farmers from the village who own 2 to 3 acres of land are much influenced by the migration to Gulf. After seeing the conditions in post migration periods with big farmers, a few small farmers also wanted to purchase more lands and they found migration to Gulf is better source for those achievements. The small farmers were found migrating to Gulf when they did not find agriculture as productive as before. The drought situation in agriculture led these groups to migrate to the Gulf countries in search of employment in other sectors.

It is found that migration to the Gulf helped medium and small farmers to get employment in bad agricultural seasons. They migrate to the Gulf when

the conditions in agriculture are not favorable. The earnings from the places of migration help these households to run their day to day life.

Migration and upper castes:

The impact of Gulf migration on upper castes is not the same as on the lower castes, from upper castes only Reddy caste lives in the village and no other castes found. The other dominant land owning caste Munnuru Kapu (comes under other backward castes in Telangana) households are also found less in number when compared to other neighboring villages. Munnuru Kapu caste members are doing better in agriculture in villages like Aloor, Issapaaly and Ankapur located within 10 km range from the study village. These Reddy caste households have not been much involved in the process of migration to the Gulf in the last three decades. It is found that only four members have migrated during the last three decades from the village. The upper caste households which belong to the Reddy caste are not many in number. It is known that except Srinivas Reddy and Hanmanth Reddy remaining other families who claim as Reddy caste have migrated to this village over a period but not the native Reddies. They are also known as patels by the people in the village.

The economic conditions of Reddy households are not better than those in the other caste households like Devanga, Kurma, Yadav, Mala and Madiga. Except for the two households (belonging to Hanmanth Reddy and Srinivas Reddy), remaining households from the Reddy caste either work as shopkeepers in the town or as labour for agricultural activities in the village. It is observed that the male members work in different sectors like shop keeping and daily wage labour. The female members from the Reddy households engage in Beedi work and work as agricultural labour (only from these two households). It is found that the migration to the Gulf countries from these households is negligible and the impact of Gulf migration on these families not considerable. When it comes to the economic and housing conditions, two houses are built with concrete roof;

the remaining houses of Reddy castes are seen with red tile roof. It can be said that the migration did not have any impact on this caste when compared to the lower castes and the backward caste households in the village. The household conditions, expenditure levels and the education levels among the migrant households is found better than in these Reddy caste (non-migrant) households in the village. When it comes to the landholding pattern among upper caste Reddies, only two households possess agricultural lands and the remaining twelve families do not own any agricultural lands.

Migration and lower castes:

It is observed that the members from Mala caste got more benefits from the migration, compared to the other castes in the field study village. The economic conditions of the migrated households become very much better when compared to non-migrant households from the same caste and the other castes in the village. Households belonging to the Mala caste are greater in number compared to all other castes in the village. Out of 333 households surveyed in the village, 130 households belong to the Mala caste in the village, i.e. 40 percent of the household are from the Mala caste. The second largest caste households belong to the Devanga which occupies second place in the population as well. These households constitute 13.5 per cent out of the 333 households in the village. The remaining castes like Vaddera caste occupy the third place in the total number of households. Other castes like *Kurma*, *Reddy*, *Vadla*, *Tenugu*, *Kummari*, *Kammari*, *Chakali*, *Goondla*, *Goud* and *Madiga* represent less than 5 per cent of the total households. Households from the Kurma caste represent 6.6 percent of the community and are doing well in agriculture.

It is found that 40.3 per cent of individuals have migrated to the Gulf from the Mala households since 1980s. It means that at least a member from

every household of this caste is found to have migrated to the Gulf. In a way, it can be understood that the number of migrants are more from this caste when compared to the other castes in the study village. It is found that 15.3 per cent members from the Devanga caste have migrated to the Gulf which is the second highest percentage of migrants to the Gulf from the village. The migrants belonging to Madiga, another lower caste represents 8.8 per cent since the last three decades.

Mala and Madigas were given least importance in the decision making process in matters related to village such as festivals etc. three decades back whereas now, the lower castes are given equal importance with the other backward castes in the village. It is said that the developments brought by migration among the lower castes helped to raise their status in social matters. One of the key informants from the study village opines, “the Malas are doing well economically which helped these castes gain a respect in the village. Earlier, these Malas were working as bonded labourers for the landlords in the village and hardly owned agricultural lands. In recent times, due to migration, these lower castes could purchase agricultural lands emerged as farmers. These households are doing better in agriculture when compared to the other castes in the village.”

Another respondent from Mala opines, “earlier our families did not own any agricultural lands in the village. It is only after the migration to the Gulf by our parents that we have started experiencing the better living conditions .It is no longer possible to expect one’s income to come from agriculture like before. It is because of our parents’ hard work and struggle to migrate to the Gulf that we are able to access better education in the village. In the activities related to village development, especially in the organizing of village festivals the involvement of lower castes is compulsory in recent times whereas in the past decades these castes were not given the same priority in the decision making process”.

It can be understood that migration to the Gulf from the lower caste households not only helped the lower caste members to earn better income but also helped them to occupy better social status. In the earlier decades, the levels of discrimination towards the lower caste Mala and Madiga by the other castes were significantly high and there were instances of discrimination. In recent years, the discrimination based on social status is disappearing and the lower caste members are free to access the various sources in the village. The lower caste members are seen participating in various activities along with other backward castes such as in M.G.N.R.E.G.A and in other activities related to village. The lower caste members are found to be attending the marriages and other ceremonies which take place with other castes in the village. Especially the younger generations from lower castes and other castes are found actively participating in religious processions and rallies during festivals such as *Vinayaka Chavithi*, *Dassera*, *Ram Navami* etc. The lower castes members do not face problems in accessing such religious activities in the village. The educated members from different castes are seen interacting freely and the younger generations also found to be taking part in organizing of various festivals and marriages taking across the castes.

In recent years, the lower castes also take part in the decision making process in the village at recent times. The number of students from lower castes who have completed their higher education, and the number of students studying in colleges are more in number when compared to other backward castes in the village. Even the Government employees like Government teachers can be seen only from this lower caste Mala and no Government employees can be seen from the other backward castes in the study village during the study period. The awareness on social issues is the result of better education and the education levels among lower castes are significantly increased. .

Thus migration helped these castes to free themselves from the traditional unequal caste bondages and also to earn better incomes which helped them to occupy the status of agricultural farmers. Agricultural production has brought more prosperity and better economic conditions since the 1980s in the study village for these lower caste households. The average land holdings for the Malas in the village are around six acres. The farmers who own around 8- 10 acres of agricultural lands also can be seen more in number among the Malas when compared to other castes in the village. It can be said that the ultimate beneficiaries of migration are the Mala, Madiga and Devanga Castes (Other Backward Caste). It has been observed from the study village that the households' members from Mala and Madiga castes have been migrating to the Gulf countries for more earnings and also for better employment opportunities.

Case study: 1

Kondi Chinnaiah, aged 40 years, a farmer from Mala caste describes the changes that took place in economic conditions of his household as a result of migration to Gulf countries. He says that “till the year 1975 we did not have a proper house to live in and we used to stay in a hut where around ten members had to adjust. At that time, we owned only a half-acre of agricultural land which had come as hereditary property from our grandparents. Upper caste Reddy landlords given that land to our grandfather for the services rendered by him. Our grandfather used to work as attached labour for those landlords in the past. Between 1988 and 1990, our family managed to purchase three acres of agricultural land whereas in 1996 we purchased nine acres of agricultural land. In 1998 we purchased more than five acres of agricultural land. Later in the year 2000 further we could buy three more acres of agricultural land. In overall, our family was able to purchase twenty acres of agricultural land over a period of 30 years. When the land distributed as shares among all our six brothers, we each got 3.5 acres. All my six siblings together managed to purchase twenty acres of

agricultural land in the village from Srinivas Reddy who possessed vast tracts of land in the village for more than 70 years and who ruled the village since the 1930s (according to the information given by Hanmanth Reddy, brother of Srinivas Reddy). We were able to build a good house in the village with remittances we got from the migration to Gulf countries”. All the five brothers from the family migrated to Gulf countries and earned money and managed to buy lands as well build a big house in the village.

Before these members migrated to Saudi, their father also migrated to Gulf and stayed there for nearly six years and later he helped his sons migrate to Saudi. The house they have constructed in the village is palatial and is grander than even the house of the Reddy who ruled the village for more than 50 years. Their economic wellbeing can be gauged from their lifestyle. Among these six brothers from the household, one brother operates the tractor with agricultural machinery in the village and also hires the agricultural machinery for the farmers in agricultural seasons. He also told that they managed to dig more than 50 bore wells from 1991 to 2016 in agricultural fields for irrigation purpose for which they had to spend a lot of money. This was because it was not easy to get water in the bore wells. Since they spent lot of money on agricultural bore wells, they could not built a good house till 2005. Out of the six siblings, one brother managed to maintain a petrol bunk in the nearby village whereas the other sibling managed the agricultural operations so successfully that even politically he was able to wield power in the village.

Regarding their annual expenditure on the household, it is observed that they spend good amount on basic needs such as food and clothing and an equal amount of money on their children’s education. The younger brother from the family managed to go to Norway for his higher education with the help of his brothers and the young generation now study in corporate schools in the town. The households are having separate bore wells for water consumption. The houses are all well-furnished.

The overall development in his household conditions is the result of the remittances brought by the Gulf migration. As he opines that before 1980 they did not possess any agricultural land and property whereas they could achieve in recent years. Even the social status in the village became considerable where they can influence the all the members from the Mala caste where the majority population belongs to the Mala caste in the study village. Thus the migration brought the changes in socio-economic conditions of the household. The same more cases can be found in h village that got benefits from the migration to the Gulf countries.

This case study helps us to understand the impact of migration on the economic conditions of the households belonging to the lower castes in the study village in post-migration period.

Case study: 2

Teddu Sakkari aged 58 years, a lower caste Madiga farmer from the study village owns above 20 acres of land which is the highest land owned by a single farmer in the village. The long years of stay in the Gulf countries fetched him all the assets and property. The household conditions of his family are much better when compared to the other households belongs to any caste in the village. He owns a car and two-wheelers in two numbers. He is also owner of a tractor which is used for agricultural activities and also gives on hire to other farmers in agricultural seasons.

It is known that he was working in the Gulf countries for almost twenty five years as labour in construction sector and managed to earn good money during the stay period. He had to stay away from home and also from his family members. After that, when he returned to the village in 2000, he was able to purchase large agricultural lands. The lands were not purchased together, but one after the other over a period of twenty years he could

purchase the large areas from the Reddy landlords. Later he was able to purchase a tractor from the profits earned from the agriculture.

The people from the village identify him as a large farmer who owns the highest agricultural lands which shows him great respect since he is a prosperous farmer and one who worked very hard to achieve his present status. His son and daughter could access better education such as in fields like Engineering and Pharmacy. The household conditions and the housing structure are much better and the household expenditure is much higher in this household when compared to the non-migrants households. It can be understood that the migration to Gulf countries helped him in achieving a better economic and political status too in the village.

He says, “The migration to the Gulf showed me the way to improve my family’s economic status. Before migration, we had nothing; we only had agricultural land less than one acre which were not suitable for agriculture. Even it was hard for us to manage our day to day expenses. When I was twenty five years old, I migrated to Gulf, where I worked in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain etc. as a labourer. I used visit the village whenever I was sanctioned leave and managed to stay away from the family for long twenty five years”. We can understand that dedication, commitment and the motivation to achieve the betterment in economic conditions help in improving one’s situation.

Impact of migration on the elderly people in the households:

It is observed that no women members have been found to have migrated from the village for the last three decades either on their own or along with their husbands. Since the migrants never wanted to take their wives to foreign countries that the security for their women found as a major issue. It is observed that only men are found migrating to the Gulf countries while married wives, children and the parents of the migrants stay at home. The

elderly in the households who are unable to cope up with their day to day activities depend on other members of the households like their sons and in-laws. The elderly in the households were found to stay at home and they do not involve in any work because of their old age. Some of the older members involve in agricultural activities and the works related to home in the absence of their sons. It is observed that the aged members found struggling to fulfill the household responsibilities in the absence of their sons. Leela Gulati says (1987) in her study that women in old age with children mostly stay with their in-laws and are better equipped than the young brides who are still struggling to cope up with the problem of separation from husbands. The environment they experience is not unfamiliar at least in the absence of their husbands and sons.

In the study village it is found that the parents of the migrated members found living with their in-laws where their sons live since that the responsibilities and duties are shared some times among the members at home and also to minimize the work load in the absence of the male migrants. In some cases, it is found the parents of the migrants are living in separate house where they found struggling with economic burdens and illness. Some of the age old women members from the migrant households found working in Beedi and who are capable found working as casual labourers in agricultural farms. Some of the old male and female members also found working in MGNREGA work.

The elderly members from the land owning farmer households look after the fields in the absence of their children while those households who do not own any agricultural lands engage in activities like MGNREGA. The elders from low economic back grounds struggle to take up all the responsibilities of the households and take care of the activities related to agriculture in the absence of their sons and other working men. A few older women are from Vadla, most of them from Devanga whose sons have migrated to the Gulf are found working as shopkeepers in village instead of spending time at

home leisurely. Most of the women from migrant households who are capable of working are found engaged in beedi working. The elderly among the different castes are found engaged in different work. The elderly women from Devanga, Munnuru Kapu and Kurma castes are found involved in beedi work and the women from Vaddera caste are found staying at home taking care of the children.

Impact of migration on women and children:

It is observed that married women and children from the migrant's households found suffering the most as a result the Gulf migration by the male members. Though migration enriches the households economic conditions, the disadvantages of migration are seen as well. The newly married women, wives of the migrants and the children from the migrant households are found experiencing different problems related to day to day life. Since the migration process involved only the male members from the households, the women stay at home and look after the responsibilities. Leela Gulati (1987) says that the women with young children feel secure and have a clear role to play within the husbands' family given their access to funds, they feel more free to spend and their movements outside the house is far less constrained. In study village it is observed that the women who have children below ten years age are taking the responsibilities related to their children's education and health and other financial matters.

Migration to the Gulf countries by the male members from the families enhanced the responsibilities on women, especially in the matters of family responsibilities. It is found that the women who stay back at home while their husbands migrate to Gulf have found taking care of the agricultural activities along with the household works as well. It is seen that the works which are supposed to be taken by the men now have been shifted to women.

The women from land owning households are taking the responsibility of farm activities such as providing necessary assistance in recruiting the workers for agricultural works. And also the women involve in farm activities along with the labour recruited in works such as plantation, weeding, harvesting etc.

The women from migrated households are looking after their children education, taking care of the elders in providing food and health etc. “The impact of migration on the family dynamic process constantly keep changing with the period of migrant’s stay. The women gradually take increased responsibilities for the running of households on their own on the health and education of children and for the management of the funds and properties. In this process, the women have broken down their isolation, increase their mobility, and brings themselves into contact with a wider network of institutions that were not experienced. This results in their confidence in themselves with the length of the stay of migrant away from home. She also opines that the women from migrant households start with many hardships. In order to overcome these hardships the women depend not only on their relatives but also whole network of relatives, friends and neighbors. The dependence increases in the absence of their male members and it is remarkable that how well women have coped with the situation created by the long absence of their husbands and sons in the matter of running households, management of funds childcare and education and with their own loneliness” (Leela Gulati 1987). Similar findings are seen from the study village that migration of male members to the Gulf increased the responsibilities on the women, especially family related responsibilities. It is found that the women who stay back at home while their husbands migrated have to take care of the agricultural activities and also the household related works. It is found that the works which are supposed to be taken care of by the men now has been shifted to the shoulders of the women. The women from migrated households are looking after their children’s education, taking care of the elders at home, providing food and care etc. Even the

newly married women found to be living in the absence of their husbands. It is found most of the time; women are taking the responsibility of the agricultural activities in the migrant households. The younger boys from migrant households found to be assisting the women farm activities such as water distribution, in harvesting procedures, transporting the grain with the help of tractors etc. Those who know the farm works are found assisting in those works.

One of the significant things is that the women with young children who stay at home alone without their in laws suffer at emergency times such as during illnesses, during pregnancy and at the time of delivery etc. The women reported that they feel the absence of their husbands. One of the key respondents from the study village whose husband has been staying in the Gulf for the last 15 years says that she has been living alone for the last 15 years from the time of her husband's migration. She says, *"I have to take care of my girl children such as looking after the expenses on education, food, clothes etc. Since my husband is working in the Gulf, we do not receive money on times and the delay in financial support leads to frustration and burden in coping up the situations. At times, we have to struggle to meet our expenses on food and school fee etc. when we don't get money on time"*. She further says that she suffered a lot to bring up their children when they were young. Looking after three children alone at times felt like a burden, but since she had no other option, she had to take care of those responsibilities. She says one of the saddest experiences of her life that when she was in hospital for delivery she felt the absence of her husband keenly, though her mother assisted her on emergency times. It was difficult for her to bear the loneliness since the other women admitted in the hospital got the assistance of their husbands during emergency time.

Conclusion

Migration brought changes in the socio-economic conditions of the households belonging to deprived castes over a period of three decades in the village. It helped to improve the economic conditions of the landless families belong to Mala, Madiga, Kurma, Yadav, Gouda, Munnuru Kapu, Devanga and other artisan castes in the study village.

Along with the other factors i.e. education, availability of employment in non-agricultural sectors, introduction of beedi industry migration also one of the major factors which affected the traditional relations between the landlords and landless. It also helped to abolish the bonded labour system and put an end to the dominance of the upper caste landlords (Reddies) in the village. The Malas have emerged as large land owning farmers in recent years as a result of purchasing lands from the remittances got from Gulf Migration.

The members from other backward castes such as weavers, barber, and washer men also found migrating to the Gulf countries in search of employment and better earnings. The traditional occupations for these artisan castes no longer provide employment, in order to enhance the earnings these artisan castes started migrating to the Gulf countries and to other cities like Mumbai.

In recent years, unemployment conditions in agriculture for the landless laborers is found as the major factor for the migration of these landless laborers from various castes in the village. This causes the shortage of labour in agricultural peak seasons in the study village. Though migration has resulted in a few disadvantages such as psychological stress and loneliness among the migrants and the family members, it has helped in the empowerment of deprived castes like *Mala, Madiga, Kurma, Gouda*, and *Munnuru Kapu* in improving their economic conditions.

The economic condition of the migrant's households improved better among the castes such as *Devanga, Mala, Madiga, Kurma* and *Gouda* etc. In some cases, members from *Devanga* caste started own businesses by establishing General stores in the village from the remittances brought by the migration. The housing conditions and the level of expenditures on food, health and education have increased in post-migration period in the study village.

The castes which are more mobile than other castes are found to migrate more than the others. The studies of Eames (1954), Joshi (1957) Eames and Schwab (1964) and Connell et al., (1976) clearly reveal the fact that upper castes are more migratory than those belonging to the lower castes (Gupta 1988). Contrary to these studies, the present study found that in the study village, the lower castes (*Mala, Madiga*) are found more migratory than the other backward castes in the village. One of the reasons could be that the *Mala* population in the village is more compared to the other castes. Another reason could be that, for many years, these lower castes did not own any agricultural lands. They were the “*free labour (Vetti labour)*” under the landlords and the artisan castes in the village did not experience the same suppression as the bonded labourers (*Vetti*). So the social structure of the village itself one of the reasons that the lower castes migrants are more in the village

Migration helped the landless households to purchase the agricultural lands in post-migration periods. In some cases, for medium and large landowning farmers' employment in Gulf countries still helps them in meeting the expenses on inputs in agriculture. For small farmers, migration acts as an alternative source of employment when they don't get sufficient output from agriculture. The land holding pattern has elevated over a period among the castes like *Mala, Madiga, Devanga* and *Kurma* households due to migration. In some cases, farmers started increasing their land holdings i.e.

around 15 to 20 acres in the village from the remittances got from the migration.

Political aspirations among the migrants from various castes have changed in the village as an indirect result of the increase in their economic power. The backward castes and lower castes could contest in elections and compete with the traditional land owning castes that held the power for many years. The Mala and Devanga caste members found active participation in political aspects when compared to other castes in the village since 2004. In the Earlier decades, till the 2004 the upper caste Reddis influenced the village political matters. Thus migration needs to be understood not simply as a process which brought economic betterment among the different castes in the village but also a process which involves many other disadvantageous processes such as the psychological imbalances back home among the family members and the disconnection with migrant family member for long durations. The MGNREGA was unable to stop the small farmers and landless labourers from migrating to the Gulf countries. Though the scheme is providing employment to the small marginal farmers and labourers but still there has been no change in migration patterns among the villagers. Even now many marginal farmers and landless labourers are migrating to other countries in order to get better income and employment which facilitates a better status overall.

Overall it can be said that the migration to the Gulf countries affected the traditional relations between the landlords and landless. Migration is seen one of the major factors which helped to improve socio-economic conditions of the landless and affected the dependency on landlords in recent years. Migration helped the landless lower caste labour households to liberate themselves from the traditional uneven bondages. Even in case of artisan castes the dependency on landlords lost significance due to the economic prosperity brought by the Gulf migration in recent years.

Chapter 6

Landholding pattern and viability of agriculture

Introduction

In developing countries like India a majority of rural population still depends on agriculture and allied activities for livelihood. Agriculture is seen as the primary source of sustenance and employment. The ownership of agricultural lands is a privilege in rural settings. Even today, land is considered to be one of the major assets which decide the economic and political status of an individual in rural India. The possession of agricultural lands decides the status of a person in rural areas and as a result, these large landowning households are considered rich whereas the landless members are measured as have-nots. These landowners belong to certain caste backgrounds in different regions. For instance, in Telangana- Reddys, Velmas, Munnuru Kapus are the major landowning castes while Malas and Madigas, the lower castes remain as the majority landless laborers. The same applies to other regions like Andhra and Rayalaseema. This ownership of land, which brings about a good social position, also gets with it, other privileges such as economic and political powers. Therefore, the landowning castes control the entire economic and political resources in villages in rural India.

The agricultural production depends on factors such as the area of the landholding, the inputs and the sources of irrigation available in that particular area. The Indian agrarian sector constitutes a majority of small and marginal farmers. The production in agriculture is always associated with many factors as mentioned above and also with the timely operations in agriculture, which is one of the important factors that decide the production. The viability of agriculture can be seen in connection to the application of inputs on time. Hence, this viability demands more farmers to take up agriculture as an occupation and the unexpected yield in agriculture leads to distress among the landowning farmers which also influence and affect the food production for the population in whole. For this reason, viability in agriculture has become

one of the major issues in agriculture at present for farmers (small, medium farmers and large landholding farmers).

According to Mohanthy (2012) in a less developed country like India, land continues to be the principal source of livelihood for the majority rural population and it is the pivotal property around which socio-economic privileges and deprivations revolve (Beteille 1971; Raj 1970). In the post-independence period, Indian agriculture has experienced rapid transformation through large-scale irrigation, mechanization, land reforms, expansion of credit network and other associated modernizing measures. The cumulative and collective effects of these new measures have brought corresponding changes in the various aspects of rural economy which in turn have affected the traditional land ownership relations” (Mohanthy 2012 ed.).

The agrarian studies subscribe to two different views on the impact of agricultural modernization on land ownership structure. One group holds that agricultural modernizing measures have reduced the earlier landowning disparities (Bhalla 1977; Harriss 1985; Hazell et.al.1991; Athreya et.al.1990).The other argues that they have created further disparities (Dhangare 1984; Griffin 1974; Frankel 1971; Parthasarathy 1970). Most of these studies are highly concentrated on Punjab, Haryana, Western UP and Tamil Nadu which may not be fit into the Telangana situation because of its distinct socio-economic features, agro-climatic conditions, and historical specificities. Hence it is necessary to understand the kind of landownership pattern that is emerging which needs to be examined. With this background, the present study intends to understand the landholding pattern and the agricultural operations in the study village.

Land holding pattern

“Landownership confers prestige and status on the owner and also puts him on the network of relationships where he can dominate. In short, political or power relationships develop between farmers and others. The greater the holding, the greater is the prestige a person enjoys and generally his words

carry weight and he remains powerful. Landowning also serves to increase competition among potential equals and more so when the available land is limited and does not come into the market frequently” (Parvathamma 1964). In a village study, Parvathamma opines that the ownership of lands was confined to Kshatriyas and Lingayaths where they enjoyed the social and political status in the study village.

In Telangana, where the major land owning castes belong to upper castes and the landless people belonging to the lower castes work as agricultural labourers. It has been observed that in the study village, backward castes like *Vaddera*, *Tenugu*, and *Chakali*, *Kurma*, also work as agricultural labour along with Mala and Madiga. Similar findings were also given by the scholars who worked in Telangana.

The land holding pattern in the study village differs from the other areas in Telangana region at present and whereas in the past the upper castes Reddies were the only landowners. At present the majority of the landowning households belong to Mala, *Madiga* and backward castes like *Kurma*, *Munnuru Kapu*, and *Yadavs* in the village at present. Whereas in the past, Reddy caste folks were the only landowners for many decades and it continued till 1980 in the study village. During field study, Reddy caste households are very less in number in the study village, where only two individuals own agricultural lands and these were the landlords in the past. For the present study 333 households have been surveyed. Landholding details from different castes have been obtained and they have been classified as follows:

I) Landless households:

It is found from the study village that there are 186 households which constitute 55.7 percent that does not own any agricultural lands. These landless families are found among the castes such as Mala (46 households), Devanga (35 households), Goud (8 households), Goondla (3 households), Vaddera (31households), Chakali (7 households), Kurma (13 households), Munnuru Kapu (4 households), Vadla (12 households), Tenugu (9 households)

and Reddy (11households). Significantly only a single household from Madiga caste own no agricultural land from the total 17 households. Remaining all 16 households from Madiga caste own at least one acre on an average. And a single farmer owns around 25 acres of agricultural lands which is the highest owned by an individual farmer from all castes in the study village. It is observed that the members from landless households work either as agricultural labour or engage in other non-agricultural works in and outside the village. While some of these members are found to be migrating to Gulf countries in search of employment and better earnings, the major group from Devanga caste and few others from different castes involve in occupations like tailoring and shopkeeping. A total of 31 households belonging to Vaddera caste, 10 households of Tenugu caste in the village and 9 households do not own any agricultural land. But a farmer from these 10 Tenugu households was leased 3 acres of agricultural land from Munnuru Kapu household on an agreement of Rs.30000 per acre, in a year. There are 13 from the total 22 households belonging to Kurma caste, who do not own agricultural lands in the village. Among the landless members from Kurma, Mala, Tenugu and Vaddera castes the number of agricultural labour is more.

II) Small and Marginal Farmers: (< 2 acres)

From the study village, it is found that there are 59 farmers from different castes occupying this small farmers' category that constitutes 17.8 percent. The data collected from the study village shows that 22 small and marginal farmers (having less than 2 acres of land) belong to lower castes Mala and 10 farmers from Madiga which constitutes the majority of small and marginal farmers in the village when compared to other backward castes of the same village. These Mala and Madiga caste households occupy the first and second position in the category of small and marginal farmers. Whereas the households belong to Devanga caste occupies the third position in this category (i.e. only 6 households). The castes like Goondla (5 households) Kurma (3) and Goud (3 only small farmers and other remaining 8 households do not own any land from the total 11 households from Gouda caste in the village) households occupy the later third place. Only 2 households from

Vadla and 2 households from Kammari caste and 1 household from Chakali caste also occupy a place in this category.

III) Medium farmers' category (3 – 6 acres):

It is observed that 71 households (from total households 333) from the village fall under this medium farmers' category which constitutes 22.6 per cent. Out of these 71 medium farmers 53 farmers (15.9%), belong to Mala caste which is the highest number of medium farmers in the village. This constitutes 35.5 percent within the total landholding farmers/households i.e.147 (44.4%) (Total households own agricultural lands in the village). The second major group among medium farmers category belong to two castes i.e. Kurma and Madiga with 5 households from each of these two castes. Whereas from Munnuru Kapu and Devanga, 4 households each (together 8 households) fall under this medium farmer's category. Only 3 households from Yadav caste and 1 household from Reddy caste occupy this category while the remaining do not have lands.

IV) Large land holding farmers (6 to 8 acres and > 8 acres):

It is found that 9 farmers from Mala caste own 6 - 8 acres and more than 8 acres of land which constitutes 6.12 percent of total 147 landowning households in the village which is also a major number of big farmers. But, only 2 households (out of 14) from Reddy caste and 1 household from Madiga caste (from 17) and 1 household from Kurma caste (out of 22 households) fall under this category in the study village. It is observed that a farmer from Madiga caste owns 25 acres of agricultural land which is the highest, owned by a single farmer in the village so far. Only 2 farmers from Mala caste (from 130 households) own more than 8 acres of agricultural lands. Whereas, Reddy's who were the landlords and the only land owning caste in the village until 1980, lost their significance in the landowning pattern and only 2 farmers from this caste own more than 10 acres of agricultural land presently in the village.

It becomes obvious that most of the marginal, medium and big farmers belong mostly to the lower caste Mala households, who make up the majority of agricultural farmers in the village. The second major group of farmers belong

to another lower caste- Madiga, of whom 17 households (from total 18 households) own agricultural lands. Similarly, 9 households (of 22 households) from the Kurma caste own lands, 10 households from Devanga caste (out of 45 households) occupy small and medium farmers' categories in the village. And only 4 households from Munnuru Kapu own lands, 4 households own 2-6 acres of land and only a single household fall under marginal farmers' category, whereas 5 households from total 8 Yadav caste households own lands.

Shift in the Land Ownership Pattern:

It is observed shift in the land ownership pattern that from the Upper caste Reddy farmers who held major (above 90 percent) of the agricultural lands in the village for decades have transferred to lower castes *Malas, Madiga and Kurma*. It is also notable that other lower castes- Mala, Madigas and other backward castes like Kurma, Yadav, Vadla, Tenugu, Chakali, Kummari, Kammari and Goondla castes did not own any agricultural lands prior to 1980's.

The developments brought with migration in the economic conditions of lower castes and few backward castes after 1980 were significant. The lower caste Mala, Madigas and some of the backward castes such as Kurma, Yadav, Munnuru Kapu and Gouda castes could purchase lands in post-migration periods, as the Government initiatives and implementation of land reforms and land ceilings affected the upper caste Reddy landlords which made them giveaway their huge lands in post-independence period. Before 1980s the lower castes Mala, Madigas and backward castes could manage their livelihood by migrating to Gulf countries. But in the later years these lower castes and backward castes Kurma, Yadav, Munnuru Kapu households started saving from the Gulf remittances after meeting their regular expenses on food, health, and education. With these savings, some of these lower caste Mala, Madiga households started purchasing small lands like an acre or two in initial phases of migration. Later, these landless migrants from Mala and Madigas

were more interested in investing their remittances on the purchase of agricultural lands.

In the process, upper caste Reddy landlords started selling their large agricultural lands to those members who were ready to purchase. It is said that the pressure from the state Governments through land ceilings and land reforms in the post-independence period made these landlords to minimize their excess landholdings. The major land transfers happened between the period of 1980-2005 and the lower caste Malas and Madigas started purchasing lands in due course one after the other. One of the reasons for migration, along with the Government initiated land reforms and transfers is that a good number of educated people started moving to foreign countries to pursue higher education like M.S etc., after 1980 and also in search of better employment. In this practice, members of the Reddy families started to settle in foreign countries (U.S.A, Canada, and Australia) in fields like engineering and medicine. Since then, mostly youngsters who started migrating to foreign countries from these Reddy families in search of employment in different sectors also began to establish their careers in alien lands. There was no option left for the Reddy landlords than to give up their lands, because their younger generations were not interested in taking up the agricultural work. Therefore, these Reddy landlords were left with limited options and they had to sell their large agricultural lands to the available buying parties, at the time of sale. The absence of male members or occasional migration to other places or misfortunes might bring about the sale of land (Parvathamma 1960). This situation was existent with the landowning upper castes in the study village, as there were no members available to care for the agricultural activities, and hence, this forced them to sell their large lands. It was after this episode, that most of the members from upper caste Reddy families were found migrating and settling in towns and foreign countries in the name of employment and education.

Table: 6. 1: Distribution of land ownership

Land ownership (in acres)							
Caste	Landless (%)	< 2 acres (%)	2 - 4 acres (%)	4 - 6 acres (%)	6 -8 acres (%)	> 8 acres (%)	Total (%)
Devanga	35 (77.8)	6 (13.3)	3 (6.7)	1 (2.2)	-	-	45 (100)
Yadav	3 (37.5)	2 (25.0)	3 (37.5)	-	-	-	8 (100)
Mala	46 (34.9)	22(17.1)	28 (21.7)	25 (19.4)	7(5.4)	2(1.6)	130(100)
Madiga	1 (5.9)	10(58.8)	3 (17.6)	2 (11.8)	-	1(5.9)	17 (100)
Goud	8 (72.7)	3 (27.3)	-	0 (0)	-	-	11 (100)
Goondla	3 (37.5)	5 (62.5)	-	-	-	-	8 (100)
Vaddera	31 (100)	-	-	-	-	-	31 (100)
Chakali	7 (87.5)	1 (12.5)	-	-	-	-	8 (100)
Kurma	13 (59.1)	3 (13.6)	5 (22.7)	-	1(4.5)	-	22 (100)
Muslim*	-	1 (100)	-	-	-	-	1 (100)
M.Kapu	4 (44.4)	1 (11.1)	1 (11.1)	3 (33.3)	-	-	9 (100)
Reddy	11 (78.60)	-	1 (7.1)	-	-	2(14.3)	14 (100)
Vadla	12 (85.7)	2 (14.3)	-	-	-	-	14 (100)
Tenugu	9 (90.0)	1 (10.0)	-	-	-	-	10 (100)
Mera	1 (100)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (100)
Kammari	-	2 (100)	-	-	-	-	2 (100)
Kummari	2 (100)	-	-	-	-	-	2 (100)
Total	186 (55.7)	59(17.8)	44 (13.3)	31 (9.3)	8 (2.4)	5 (1.5)	333(100)

Source: Fieldwork 2015-2016 * M.Kapu = Munnuru Kapu

The above table gives the information related to the landholding pattern and the ownership of agricultural lands in the study village.

The lower caste Mala, Madiga and backward castes Kurma, Yadav, Gouda members were the buyers at hand, who purchased lands from the Reddy landlords over a period. At present, only two farmers (Srinivas Reddy and Hanmanth Reddy) from Reddy caste live in the village. These two farmers own more than 20 acres of agricultural lands together. The agricultural

operations are undertaken by three labourers who work as yearly attached labour.

The artisan castes Kummari (Potters), Mera (tailors), and Chakali (washermen) do not own any agricultural lands in the village. But a household belonging to Kammari (blacksmiths) and another from *Vadrangi* (carpenter) castes own around 1.5 acres each. The *Kammari* farmer involves in agriculture as his primary occupation whereas the *Vadrangi* caste farmer does not take up agriculture as his chief occupation and is seen leasing out his land to other farmers in the village.

Analysis of landownership structure at different phases of the pre- and post-independence period reveals that the village land is gradually being concentrated into the hands of lower caste groups at present, such as *Mala*, *Madiga*, *Kurma*, *Munnuru Kapu*, *Yadav* etc. It is found that prior to 1980, the village's major land (90 percent) was distributed among only four families belonging to upper caste Reddies, and the marginal lands (10 percent) belonged to few other castes such as *Mala*, *Devanga*, *Kurma* and *Munnuru Kapu*. Reddy caste people were the only ones who owned the largest part of land, followed by other castes in the village that held marginal lands, which hardly accounted to a minimum of one acre or even lesser. After 1980, the landholding structure was drastically changed. While the lower caste *Mala*, *Madigas*, backward caste *Kurma*, *Munnuru Kapu*, *Yadavs* raised their position from landlessness to landholders, the upper caste Reddies lost huge portions of land due to the factors explained in the previous sections of this chapter. Although the majority of landowning families belong to lower caste *Mala* and *Madiga*, the greater part of landless households also belong to *Mala* caste along with *Devanga* (35) *Vaddera castes* (31) and *Tenugu* (9). The landless households from *Mala* caste (46) and marginal landholding families from *Madiga* (11) mostly work as agricultural labourers. The landless household members from *Devanga* caste involve in Beedi rolling and tailoring works and also in other small business sectors such as grocery stores and kirana shops

etc. The Vaddera caste families do not own any land and mostly they work as agricultural labour or in other earth digging works.

Cropping pattern:

The major type of soils found here are: black soils (*Nalla regadi*), *chouka*, *choudu*, red soils (*erra dekka*), and *isuka* (*Sandy*). These soils are suitable for crops like paddy, maize, turmeric, soya beans, jowar, and vegetables. Thus, the farmers decide which crop is to be sown in different agricultural seasons based on the nature of soils available to them.

With regard to cropping pattern Mohanthy (1992) states that new cropping pattern is heavily dependent on the new technology, HYV seeds, chemical fertilisers, pesticides etc. It makes the traditional skill, technology and seeds almost irrelevant and forces the farmers to enter into the wider market as regular buyers of agricultural implements and inputs. It is observed that the farmers follow two major agricultural calendars in the study village and generally, the agricultural operations depend on the availability of water from bore wells. Bore wells are the primary source of irrigation for agriculture in the study village and some farmers also depend on monsoon when they sow dry crops such as jowar, green gram, etc. Small farmers own at least a single borewell as a source of irrigation. Whereas the medium and big farmers own more than two bore wells in most of the cases. In few cases, big farmers who own more than 8 acres land are also seen having more than three to four borewells for irrigation. It is said that with a single borewell it is not possible to distribute the water for the crops in agricultural seasons. In summer season, shortage of ground water is reported by the farmers, so they prefer to have more than one bore well to cope up with the shortage in unfavorable conditions

The agricultural operations are seen with two major agricultural seasons are Kharif (from the month of June to December and Rabi (from September). The major crops grown in Kharif season are Paddy, Red Jowar, Turmeric, Maize, Soya beans, Chilly and Green gram. The crops grown in Rabi season are

Paddy, Vegetables, Bajra (sajja) and Sunflower. The crops Maize and vegetables are sown in all seasons in the study area and study village as well. Mirchi, Coriander etc. are sown as internal crops with turmeric as a major crop.

These internal crops are grown for the purpose of consumption, while crops like turmeric, red jowar, maize and soya been are primarily grown as cash crops. The farmers believe that agricultural activities and its production always depend on the availability of water through bore wells in the study village. It is observed that the medium and big farmers involve in agricultural activities round the year growing various crops, but marginal farmers do not follow this. Big farmers engage in various agricultural operations such as applying pesticides, fertilizers and weeding, harvesting operations in agricultural seasons. After the harvest, they start preparing agricultural lands for the next crop by removing the previous crop wastes, tilling, leveling etc. The major crops grown commonly by all the farmers in the village are maize, paddy, turmeric, vegetables, and soya and these crops are sown in all agricultural seasons.

The following table gives the information related to the area of crops grown in the study village during 2014 and 2015.

Table 6.2: Crops grown in Kharif season during 2014 -2015

S.No.	Name of the crop	In acres
1	Paddy	71
2	Maize	46
3	Soya	218
4	Turmeric	38
5	Cotton	15
6	Vegetables	8

Source: Records from Gram panchayath (2015-2016)

At the outset of agricultural seasons i.e. in the month of June and July, agricultural crops such as paddy are sown commonly by most of the farmers. Medium and big farmers sow paddy in large areas like 3 to 4 acres and more, whereas small and marginal farmers tend to manage with one or less than one acre. In the remaining land, they grow other crops such as vegetables and soya according to their necessity. However, big farmers grow crops in large areas since they own big lands compared to small and marginal farmers.

After paddy, turmeric is a second major cash crop. As the farmers get better profits from this crop, they prefer to grow it in an agricultural year. Turmeric takes seven months, thus needing more time and inputs than other crops like paddy and Jowar, the major crops. Availability of irrigation through bore wells is one of the important factors why farmers prefer to produce turmeric. Small and marginal farmers either prefer to raise paddy or turmeric in the land available to them. It is perceived that these small and marginal farmers adjust the agricultural lands for the crops like paddy and some vegetables too. But the medium and big farmers prefer to cultivate various crops in the same agricultural seasons of paddy, soya, turmeric, maize, Jowar, and vegetables. The major crops are grown either in the same season or in different one. For instance, if a farmer wants to sow paddy and turmeric in the same season he manages to sow two crops. If he is a medium farmer he adjusts the available land according to the need of the crops and he allocates land for those crops. In case of big farmers, there are options to cultivate different crops according to their interests. And when it comes to marginal farmers, they do not have many options. Marginal and small farmers, who own less than 2 acres of land, adjust the crops according to the necessity. Even the yield always depends on the area sown for particular crops in seasons. These farmers generally depend on food crops like paddy and vegetables which can be cultivated with low expenses on inputs, unlike big farmers.

Viability of agriculture - Technology and inputs availability:

According to the available sources, it is known that until 1978 there was no supply of electricity in the village. The irrigation for agriculture was dependent on tube wells and canal and the agricultural operations were majorly confined to a single landowning Reddy caste in the village. It is said that, till the late 1980s the irrigating operations were mostly performed with the help of manual labour. Machinery like pump set was nonexistent and it was only with the application of traditional methods, that water distribution became possible.

During 1990 and 1995, a member of backward caste Goondla and another member from scheduled caste Mala approached the court against the upper caste Reddy landlords to claim legal rights on agricultural land for their eviction by the landlords. These two members eventually succeeded in their case in claiming the lands. This particular incident exposed and brought awareness among the lower castes and backward caste members about years of dominance and forceful acts of Reddy caste landowners. After this incident, these two members received support by the villagers, for standing up against the landlords. People in the village found the incident as a revolt against the dominance of landlords. This particular incident was the first resistance, and was not witnessed earlier, because members from the village never had enough courage to stand against the landlords and such was the fear the people had in the study village. People from lower caste Mala, Madiga, and all backward castes welcomed this particular incident as a great success against the supremacy of landlords. Majority of the Mala, Madiga, and backward castes stopped serving landlords in later years (after 1980) and started migrating to the Gulf countries in search of employment. The employment conditions outside the village and the access to education for the landless castes created awareness on available livelihoods, other than labouring in agriculture. The traditional uneven labour bondages such as bonded labour and free labour systems also lost its significance over a period and after the 1990s almost disappeared in the study village.

The betterment of economic conditions from the lower caste Mala, Madiga backward castes Kurma, Yadav, Devanga, Munnuru Kapu households brought developments. These landless members started purchasing agricultural lands from the Reddies and over a period of thirty years, these landless castes emerged as landowners. After 2010, major lands are owned by Mala, Madiga, Kurma, Munnuru Kapu and Yadav castes along with two members belonging to Reddy caste. As discussed in previous sections, the Government initiatives such as land reforms and land ceiling act, along with other factors, has indirectly affected these Reddy landlords to sell their excess lands.

It is said that the marginal agricultural lands owned by Devanga caste households in the past were also purchased by Mala and Madiga farmers in due course (after 1980s). Large number of Devanga caste members in the village started beedi work, tailoring, shopkeeping as full time works in the later period. At present 10 households (from 45 households) own agricultural lands. From these ten households, only 4 farmers own 2 to 6 acres of land who are the medium farmers and six households own marginal lands i.e. less than two acres. Over a period of 30 years, a majority of lands have been sold by the Reddy landlords and the majority from the lower caste Mala and Madigas purchased lands from them. The lower caste Malas could purchase huge lands and emerge as a major landowning caste in the village. The remittances brought from Gulf had been invested in buying the agricultural land by lower caste Malas and Madigas and also by few Kurma and Yadav farmers.

The households those experienced the migration from *Mala, Madiga, Kurma, Yadav*, and *Munnuru Kapu* emerged as the major land owners in recent years. With these developments, the dominance, authority of upper castes on large agricultural lands lost significance in due course and is the same till today. The agricultural production highly depends on *Mala* farmers and then *Kurma, Yadav* castes are seen in second position of agricultural production in the study village.

Availability of Technology:

The use of HYV seeds, fertilisers, pesticides along with the use of other machinery such as pump sets and bore wells and also tractors in agriculture is termed as new technology. The village has experienced tremendous changes with regards to irrigation over a period of last three decades. The major lands were under the control of Reddy families and agricultural production was confined to a single caste in the past.

The source of irrigation for agricultural activities in the village was a canal, which is a nearby and the water was brought to this canal from Nizam Sagar Project. The Reddy caste landlords were controlling the irrigation sources (canal and tube wells) with their economic and political powers. The agricultural operations prior to 1980 were dependent on tube wells for the irrigation of farms located far from the canal. As a result of the long distance the canal water was inaccessible to these farms. The water pumping and distribution system involved human labour. Before the introduction of motor pumps for water distribution, farmers depended on traditional water distribution methods called as Mota (Mota is the traditional method of pulling water from the tube wells either with the help of manual labour or with the help of bulls. Since electricity was unavailable, the farming activities relied on traditional *mota* for water distribution for growing the crops).

The upper caste Reddy households used to cultivate their large lands through canal irrigation. The remaining people were either landless or worked as labourers mostly. It is known that, before the introduction of technology through borewells, the monsoon season was one of the major sources of irrigation in the study village. Human labour was used to involve in the water distribution process, which involved more number of males. This was a hard task and a time consuming process. Later the usage of technology started with employing bore wells. Almost all the farmers those who are holding a minimum of 1 to 2 acres lands also own at least a single bore well. In some cases more than two bore wells are also owned medium and big farmers who own an average of 4 to 8 acres of agricultural lands.

As a part of new technology, heavy machinery such as tractors, harvesters and the machinery used for boiling and polishing turmeric in agriculture increased the production and profits in recent years.

These developments also substituted the manual labour to a large extent as a result the traditional methods of agriculture lost its significance in the study village. The traditional methods like ploughing, leveling the fields are replaced with the introduction of heavy machinery like tractors. The traditional ways of tilling the land with ploughs have been replaced by the machinery and also the harvesting methods of paddy, Jowar and the processes of boiling and polishing of turmeric has been changed in the study village. Since the crops such as paddy, soya, red Jowar and turmeric are mostly grown in agricultural seasons, the usage of machinery became one of the significant aspects in the village. The machinery involves activities such as tilling; leveling the land (blade), cage wheels, removing weeds (rotavator) and harvesting (cutting paddy and Jowar) procedures are done with the help of machines in the study village and these implements minimized the employment conditions of the agricultural labour.

The availability of irrigation for agriculture through bore wells created the need for heavy machinery among the medium and large farmers, as the usage of machinery associated with high production and profits. Even the farmers those who do not own any machinery also started hiring it to complete their works on time. Srikanth (2014) says in his study Telangana that the introduction of canal irrigation in Thogata village made the farmers to buy heavy machinery for agriculture. The idea of getting more profits from agriculture created competition among the farmers, which resulted in buying of more tractors. He further says that with the availability of tractors in the village by the owners created the opportunity for other farmers to use machinery on hire basis which helps saving time and energy.

The traditional agricultural methods lost its importance to a maximum extent from the year 1995 to 2010 in the study village. The developments in

agriculture related to technology is more high in the recent years and in the study village it is seen after 2000. most of the traditional agricultural implements such as plough etc. have been replaced by the heavy machinery. At present around 90 per cent of the small, medium and large land holding farmers depend on machinery in spite of their economic and social status. The farmers who cultivate in seasons are seen hiring the heavy machinery for harvesting and other activities. The developments brought by Green revolution technology and the intervention of new technology in the presence of mechanization changed the entire scenario in production in agriculture sector and the study village is not an exception from these changes. Majority of the small, marginal and medium farmers are seen hiring the machinery in order to avoid the delay in agricultural operations and the traditional agricultural practices lost their importance. Hence the farmers prefer the heavy machinery in agricultural operations in recent times in the study village.

The usage of HYV seeds, fertilizers, pesticides caused high production in rural agriculture. These changes in the presence of irrigation sources yield more production. Presently, the same condition is experienced in the study village too. The first tractor has been purchased by a Mala caste farmer in the village, later other two Kurma farmers and Madiga caste farmer purchased tractors. Currently, almost 90 percent of the farmers use tractors for various purposes such as tilling, leveling, removing weeds, cage wheels and for transporting grain after harvest. Since the traditional methods are not available at the time, and also due to the affordable cost, the small, medium farmers are reaping the benefits of using tractors. They prefer to engage machinery for agricultural activities. Gradually, after 2000, the use of machinery started and presently almost every farmer employs machinery for their work.

The usage of traditional agricultural implements such as traditional ploughs etc. replaced by heavy machinery in agricultural works in the study village and these developments are seen after 2005 significantly. It is found there are only 4 bullock carts and 8 bulls from the total 147 landowning households in the village during the study period. There are four landowning farmers who own

these bulls and bullock castes and these farmers belong to three different castes in the study village. The following table gives the information relating the ownership of bulls and bullock carts in the study village.

Table 6.3 Ownership of bullock carts and bulls

S.No	Name of the owner	Caste	No. of Bullock carts	No. of bulls	Category
1.	Boogolla Santosh	Mala	1	2	Medium farmer
2.	Boogolla Ramesh	Mala	1	2	Medium farmer
3.	Potharaju Laxman	Madiga	1	2	Small farmer
4.	Srinivas Reddy	Reddy	1	2	Large farmer

Source: field work 2015-2016

From the study village, no farmer depends on the traditional ways of ploughing and other activities. The traditional ploughs and other implements, even the bullock carts and bullocks are hardly found. Except the above given farmers all farmers depend on machinery for their agricultural operations in the study village. Of course, activities like weeding, spraying also involve manual labour sometimes along with machinery. It is found there are only 8 bulls available in the study village, from which 2 belong to Srinivas reddy who is a large land-owning farmer in the village since many years. He was the only landowner in the study village before all other castes could purchase lands.

Most of the small, medium and big farmers depend on machinery for agricultural works. It is observed that only the big farmers (own 6 to 8 and above 8 acres) in the village own agricultural machinery. There are five tractors, owned by three lower castes Mala, Madiga farmers and other two tractors owned by two backward caste Kurma farmers. Almost all the works by the big farmers involve machinery. Even the medium and small farmers are also observed engaging machinery for agricultural activities round the year.

Farmers without machinery hired it from those who owned it in the village. They hired it in agricultural seasons, and paid for it either on the number of hours used or on the number of acres they worked. Machinery in the village plays a significant role in agricultural works presently, as traditional ways of agricultural operations are not practiced. With the introduction of technology the traditional practices of using ploughs and other implements used with bullocks lost their importance. Even the bullock carts which were used for transporting grain are not seen much. So far, only 4 bullock carts have been found with four farmers in the village.

Tractors play a significant role in ploughing, leveling, cage wheels, rotavator etc. activities related to agriculture. Generally, the crops grown in the study village like paddy, turmeric, maize, red Jowar, and vegetables require agricultural operations i.e. tilling the land, leveling processes that mainly depend on tractors. At the time of harvesting, the harvester (machine) is engaged for agricultural works. These harvesters are beneficial for cutting Jowar stalks and separating grain from the stalks.

At the time of harvesting turmeric crop, generally the manual labour is suitable in removing the turmeric from the ground. So, around 6 to 8 female labourers and 1 to 2 male labourers are employed in acres of land. The women labour plays an important role in turmeric crop harvest. They clear the turmeric roots by removing small fibers on the crop. The male labours involve in removing the turmeric rhizomes (*kommu*) from the ground. Later they collect all the roots and gather them in the field. When they complete these removing and gathering tasks they boil the turmeric, then lay it on the ground and dry them for a week to 10 days. Later they take it for polishing, which is done by machines. The labour who involve in boiling and polishing processes are often hired by the machinery owner. The farmer's household members also assist him in other works.

Table: 6.4: Ownership of Tractors

S.No	Name of Owner	Caste
1	Boogolla Prabhakar	Mala
2	Kondi Suresh	Mala
3	Teddu Sakkari	Madiga
4	Kurma Navvanna	Kurma
5	Tractor Boganna	Kurma

Source: field work 2015-2016

It is observed that out of five tractor owners only two tractor owners have engaged drivers so that the owners themselves can involve in field work. And it is also noticed that the young males from the owner families also involve in driving tractors, generally for transporting grain and other related activities from the fields to their houses.

Dairy activities:

The other economic source in the village for agricultural households is gained through rearing buffaloes and selling milk (dairy). Most of the farmers own buffaloes which they use for the dairy purposes. It is observed that every farmer owns at least a buffalo or more than one. These farmers prefer to rear buffaloes since they do not have any problem in getting fodder for their cattle as they grow crops round the year with the help of bore wells(as a source of irrigation). The frequency of owning buffaloes in non-agricultural households is very low or nil in comparison to agricultural households. It is found that many small farmers who own less than an acre or below two acres do not own buffaloes as these farmers have problems with the expenses and input of time. At times when these small farmers don't get expected harvest from the crops they struggle for other agricultural things. Whereas, big farmers can afford for the expense on inputs since they can manage with the irrigation sources by having more than one borewell for agricultural purpose.

It is observed that few households, other than Mala belong to Kurma and Yadav castes are found to own buffaloes. These households do not exceed

more than 10 and they sell buffaloes milk for their earnings. The members who own buffaloes sale the milk either to the center located in the village where they collect the milk and sales in town. It is also said that few member sale the milk to the milk vender who comes to village daily and buy the milk. The milk is sold on the basis of liter and the money is paid immediately or once in a week. The average income for selling milk ranges from 4000 to 5000 accordingly.

It is observed that there are total of 115 buffaloes in the village and the owners have an agreement with a man, who take these buffaloes for grazing. Almost all the buffalo owners send their buffaloes to graze in herds. These owners pay a certain amount to the man who grazes the buffaloes on yearly basis.

Another notable thing is the rearing of sheep. The households belonging only to Kurma and Yadav own sheep in the entire village. There are 220 sheep present in the village in Kurma and Yadav households. These 220 sheep belong only to 4-5 households and the remaining Kurma and Yadav households do not own sheep. These sheep owners (belong to Kurma caste) found to be recruiting the labour on annual contracts for grazing their sheep. It is found that only a single owner (Kurma) who owns sheep does go for grazing the along with the labour. But the remaining owners engage labour for their sheep while they involve in full-time agriculture. In a way it can be said, that the few farmers from Kurma caste involve in full-time agriculture and also own sheep.

Procurement of inputs (Seeds, Pesticides, and fertilizers):

It is observed that the farmers cultivate paddy, maize, turmeric, red Jowar, Soya beans, and vegetables in agricultural seasons. It is said that most of the farmers (almost 90 per cent) prefer to cultivate paddy and turmeric (60 per cent of the farmers) as major crops in agricultural seasons. The farmers depend on various sources to procure seeds. These include formal and informal agencies, agents, their own fields and also from other farmers. It is found that along with other sources, farmers purchase seeds from dealers from the Armour town and prepare seedlings in paddy cultivation. The farmers

manage seedlings for turmeric crop from the previous harvest and also buy from other farmers if needed.

Many small, marginal and large land owning farmers across the caste lines buy seeds from dealers from the Armoor town located 10 kilometers away from their village. The large landowning farmers collect seeds for paddy and turmeric from their own fields. The seeds such as Soya bean, Maize, and Jowar are provided to farmers on subsidy by Government agencies. The quantity of seed provision is based on the size of landholdings by the farmers. The most preferred seed varieties, locally known as “*Ankapur seeds*” are popular in the study area. These seed varieties are used in the cultivation of paddy, maize and vegetables.

The farmers who cultivate turmeric generally preserve some amount of crop for the purpose of collecting seeds for the upcoming agricultural seasons. They select the quality turmeric from the harvest for the next crop and these farmers do not buy seeds from dealers. In some cases, the farmers who plan to sow turmeric for the first time, purchase seeds from the already cultivating farmers and also sometimes from the available sources at the time of cropping. Turmeric which was borrowed for seeding from other farmers will be returned after harvest. And the farmers who provided seeds will be paid either in cash for the amount of seed or for the same amount of crop. The returns in cash to the farmers is on the basis of market value on that particular year.

The farmers, maintain good relations with the local seed and fertilizer dealers. The network and relations between the farmers and dealers helps to get the inputs on time, especially, in peak seasons of agriculture and also during shortage periods. These dealers provide seeds to the farmers without cash payment and instead collect money after the harvest of the seeds. The dealers do not charge any interest although they wait until harvest. Generally, the farmer and dealers have an agreement that the crop will be sold to the same dealer or agent after the harvest. It is significant that the farmers still purchase seeds and other inputs from same dealers from many years. Their personal

connections with dealers and agents, help the farmers to manage expenses on inputs. These dealers purchase the crops after harvest and provide seeds and other inputs for the farmers.

It is observed that the dealers who provide the seed of red jowar to farmers generally do not take money for the seeds at the time of purchase. It is known that the dealers and seed agencies that provide seeds in seasons, also purchase crops from the farmers to whom they provided the seeds. The amount that is equal to the seeds will be deducted at the time of buying the crop from the farmers. It is found that around 60 percent of small, medium and large farmers cultivate red jowar crop in agricultural seasons. Since this crop has a commercial value and high demand than other crops in the market, most of the farmers prefer to cultivate this crop. The farmers cultivate jowar not for consumption but for the market. This crop needs no much investment of time and input unlike other crops. It is said that the farmers who cultivate the vegetables, purchase the seeds from the local dealers in the town. They prefer local seeds for vegetable crops and the *ankapur seed* variety is preferred by a majority of farmers, because they are locally made, more productive in nature and are suitable for the soils.

It is to be understood that not only the seeds, but the inputs such as fertilizers and pesticides play a significant role in the production of crops. The availability of inputs is always associated to the profit from the crops. The failure in inputs availability on time leads to loss of crop or minimal profits in agriculture. But the timely availability, accessibility and application of inputs always decide the crop production. In the study village, it is known that the farmers procure pesticides and fertilizers from the following sources. One of the sources is the subsidy from agencies run by the Government. The farmers will be provided these inputs (fertilizers and pesticides) on the basis of area of land cultivated for a particular crop. The village panchayat secretary and Sarpanch monitor the distribution of the fertilizers and pesticides in agricultural seasons. Another source of procuring the fertilizers and pesticides is from the local dealers and agents. The inputs provided by the Government

are not adequate for the farmers, especially to those who cultivate large areas and also for medium farmers. These farmers depend on local dealers for the inputs in seasons. Kondi Gangadhar, a large farmer, opines that the relations between the farmers and dealers help them to get inputs on time. Large farmers use their fame and political background to procure inputs during shortage. It is also known that farmers who have good connections with farmers from neighboring villages also get help in exchanging inputs in crisis. These networks help the large farmers to cope up with the inputs shortage.

It is observed that a few farmers from the village supply seeds, fertilizers, and pesticides. They act as agents between other farmers and local dealers in providing these inputs. Boogolla Pradeep, a Mala caste farmer was selling inputs in previous years in this village. He took up a contract of selling fertilizers for one to two terms. The farmers are seen exchanging inputs timely, among them this is seen among the farmers belong to Mala and Kurma.

Agricultural loans:

Application of inputs on time involves the financial expenses too and the financial support to farmers is always a challenge in agriculture. The farmers face problems in receiving financial support and the expenditures vary for every farmer based on the area of the land they cultivate. The small, marginal medium and large landholding farmers need to allocate the expenditure according to the crop they cultivate. It is known that the small, medium and large farmers (above 8 acres) from the study village avail the formal credit whenever required. In order to avail the loan facility, the farmers depend on Government agencies and banks. Generally, Telangana Grameena Bank, located in Armoor Mandal provides loans to the farmers in the study village. This bank provides loans on the basis of the area cultivated by the farmers. It is said that the amount of loan also differ based on the variety of crop. Such as for the crops paddy and turmeric the amount is not same and it varies. Farmers avail loan whenever they need for the expenses on agriculture inputs. And for

this purpose, farmers prefer Government agencies rather than private agencies as the interest rates are lower in Government agencies than private ones.

The large farmers are major beneficiaries when compared to the marginal and small farmers as the credit agencies, banks and cooperatives always provide loans to the large farmers as they own major lands. The small and marginal farmers depend on local money lenders or relatives for the financial assistance. As these agencies provide a loan to those who own land and the amount of loan is proportionate to the quantity of land, large landowning groups are major beneficiaries. The existing formal credit agencies such as Cooperative banks instead of providing relief to the small and marginal farmers they serve the interest of the major landowning groups.

“The credit facilities provided by the formal agencies act as a boon for the rich to strengthen their usury capital, land purchasing and labour controlling capacity. The poor have seldom been benefited by it; rather, in several cases, it acts as a burden which invariably pushes them further into the debt traps of the private money lenders. The small and marginal farmers, in order to avail the credit facilities from formal agencies, are required to visit these institutions several times to get the loan sanctioned, to negotiate the loan, to withdraw it, to repay the amount in installments. All these involve waiting for long hours, traveling long distances and meeting the expenses of the companions” (Mohanthy 1992). It is said that most of the small and marginal farmers face problem in availing the formal credits from the Government and cooperative agencies. The loans once taken by these small and marginal farmers need to be repaid in order to avail a new loan. At the time of low and insufficient yielding from the crops, mostly, these small and marginal farmers do not repay the loans to the banks and agencies. The delay in clearing the loans received in the past by small and medium farmers restrict in availing the new loans. In order to meet the expense of inputs, they approach local money lenders, known people or relatives. The large landholding farmers get better yielding from the major crops grown in large areas. Even the crop production is better than the medium and marginal farmers and these farmers have more access to the loans

from agencies. These big farmers repay the loans taken generally whenever they need further loans.

The marginal farmers are found migrating to Gulf countries because some of these small and marginal farmers face problems with unavailability of irrigation through bore well due to drought situations in agricultural seasons. The inability to repay the loan availed from different sources force them to migrate to the Gulf countries. Even the unfavorable conditions in agriculture also force these small and marginal farmers to migrate to towns and cities from the study village in search of non-agricultural employment.

Earlier, the state Bank of India located in Armoor town used to provide loans for the farmers from Gaggupally and Issapally village on small interests. The Telangana Grameena Bank (TGB) provides loans to the farmers of Gaggupally. It is observed that even many large farmers also depend on cooperative banks such as Karur Vysya Bank (KVB) and ICICI bank located in Armoor mandal. It is said that the large farmers also provide loans to the other farmers in the village who are in need of it. The farmers who are rich enough to support others financially provide loans on high interest rates to the farmers in the village.

It is known that the bank provides Rs. 40000 per acre of paddy and for an acre of turmeric it is 60000 rupees. Most of the medium and large farmers avail agricultural loans from formal agencies since the interest rates are low when compared to other agencies. Indian Overseas Bank (IOB) and ICICI banks also provide loans to farmers presently on the basis of the size of land owned by the farmers. One of the respondents opines that it's usually hard to find farmers who avail loans every year as they do not clear the previous loans and unless the previous loan is cleared new loans will not be sanctioned to the farmers.

Water distribution mechanism:

It is observed that most of the farmers prefer to have a temporary water storage tank in the fields to avoid the irregularity in water distribution to the crops whenever required. It is observed that the farmers dig temporary storage tank in the farms, the size of tank ranges from 10x 15 meters or 15 x 15 in length and width and the depth of the tank is found to be one meter. The purpose of maintain tank in the farm is that to get continuous water supply even at the time of power cuts. The crops like paddy, turmeric and vegetables need sufficient water distribution on time for that the farmers fill the tanks when the electricity is available and according to the necessity the water is supplied from this tank. It is found that having such tanks in the farms help the farmers in continuous water supply even at the times of power cut so the farmers found it is as a coping mechanism in distributing the water when required. This technique helps to avoid the delay in water distribution and also helps the farmers to minimize the time period of water distribution. When the water is stored in the tank it can be utilized whenever it is required.

Labour adjustments for agricultural activities:

Along with all other inputs, manual labour also plays a significant role in agricultural production and the timely availability of labour help the farmers to get better production. Hence, it is important to discuss the labour adjustments for the agricultural activities in the study village. The availability of labour in the village can be seen in the following ways: the major source of labourers are the labour who have migrated and settled in the village and the period of their stay in village, ranges from to 20 years and these settled labour households make up the labour for the agricultural activities in the study village.

The settled labourers play a significant role with their participation whenever required in normal agricultural seasons and also in peak seasons. These labour households stay in the village and involve in agricultural works whenever necessary by the farmers. These people do not have any agricultural lands and their major source of livelihood is their physical labour. They work in various

agricultural activities such as sowing, weeding and harvesting procedures. Though the machines have replaced many works in agriculture, manual labour has its own importance in certain activities. As agricultural processes in the village cannot engage machines for all the activities, some works can be done with the help of manual labour too. Activities require manual labour are sowing of paddy, weeding procedures in paddy crop and the procedure of spraying and applying the fertilizers. The labour of this village generally involve in sowing, weeding, cleaning of turmeric etc., The activities such as tilling, leveling, cage wheels etc. are generally done with the help of tractors these days in the study village so in such activities the manual labour is exempted. Here the heavy machinery with tractor replaces the labour. Even the traditional harvesting methods have been replaced by machines. But few other works need manual labour.

The other major source of labour comes from the landless households from the same village; these landless households belong to Mala, Madiga, Tenugu, Vaddera, Chakali, Kurma castes. These household members especially the women generally work as labours for agricultural activities in the village. From these landless households, one or two female members and sometimes male members also involve in agricultural activities for the farmers. Whereas the households settled in the village of another district all the female and male members together involve as agricultural labourers in the agricultural seasons. Nelakanti Sangamma a 45-year-old female labour and the head of a labour household, whose family has migrated and settled in this village involve as agricultural labourers in all seasons of agriculture. They belong to Tenugu (Mudiraj) caste. They left their previous village and live in the study village presently and they work in the fields of the village whenever available. All the family members work as agricultural labourers and it is their primary occupation. Generally, these household members get full-time work in busy agricultural seasons while sowing and harvesting and in between for removing weeds. In agricultural peak seasons they get work regularly but in lean agricultural seasons, they remain idle. In peak seasons, they get more wages

than in the normal seasons of agriculture. These members do visit their native village whenever there is no regular work.

The other source of agricultural labour can be seen in peak seasons that come from neighboring villages. These labours come to the village daily in the morning to work in the fields and return in the evening to their villages. They are paid on daily basis. These labourers are paid a little extra, since it is the peak agricultural season, which needs more number of labourers to complete the work on time. As all the farmers generally involve in agricultural activities it is hard to get labourers on time during the peak seasons. So the farmers engage the outside labour for agricultural works by paying them more wages. It is known that the farmer also pays travelling charges to these labourers.

Since the availability of labour in peak seasons is a problem the farmers have no other option than to pay more wages. One of the respondents, a farmer opines that migration to Gulf countries is one of the major reason for the shortage of labour. He says that the migration has become an important source of income for many households in the village. At present migration has occupied an important role in the village not only as an employment source but also as a source of better income. The small farmers and the landless household members who used to work as labourers in the village migrated to Gulf countries and this caused a decline in the number of labourers available for the work when necessary.

It is observed that the agricultural operations are supported by irrigation through bore wells. The households depending on agriculture as primary occupation possess minimum half acre of agricultural land and also a bore well. The last few agricultural years did not experience many spots of rain for crops and the farming operations depended mostly on bore wells for water. The agricultural operations can be seen round the year by the farmer's households with different varieties of crops like, paddy, and red Jowar, which are commercial crops that yield high profits. The farmers of this area transport it to the Green revolution affected states like Haryana, Delhi, and Punjab,

where it can be used as fodder for the cattle. This is possible as the climatic conditions here in the village are highly favorable to raise red Jowar crop (which is not suitable in those states). The other crops such as soya, curcuma, vegetable crops like Brinjal, Cabbage, Tomato, Chilly etc. are cultivated round the agricultural seasons.

Case study: 1

Gadda meedi Narsimlu, aged 30, is a backward caste member working as attached laborer in the study village. He had an agreement with a Kurma caste farmer for a year to work as a shepherd. He has studied until eighth standard and is now working as a shepherd in the village with Kurma Bojanna (Backward caste farmer). He is being paid rupees 6000 per month. It is said that the recruitment is for 6 months to 1 year. He has come to this village five months ago from another village in Bodhan Mandal of Nizamabad district, and started working as a shepherd. He is living with his wife here and she works a daily wage labour for agricultural activities. The procedure of recruitment was: he came to know about the work here through his relatives who have already migrated to this village in the past and are living in the village. When it is enquired with the family members regarding their stay in this village and the reason for leaving their own village, they said that there were no favorable conditions in agriculture in their village. Hence, they had to migrate in search of work. The researcher tried to probe what were those unfavorable conditions at their native village but they refused to give the reasons. So it is understood that there must be disputes in the family or in the village with others and they had come here to work in this village. This family is planning to live in this village for more than 2 to 3 years and earn some money for their future expenditures. It is only after this, they may think of going back to their village. His wife works as a daily wage labour in this village and she earns rupees 120 per day. She engages in weeding, seeding, and harvesting. They earn 9000 rupees per month through the work they do here. They live in a rented house and pay Rs. 300 per month. They spend Rs. 3000 per month for their basic needs. From this case study it is understandable that the agricultural labourers who have migrated and settled in this study village are a major source of

labour. The farmers prefer to recruit these labours as major source on times without much delay in farm works.

Agriculture and its related activities play a significant role in the study village because a majority of population depends on agriculture as a primary source of livelihood. The small, medium and large farmers and landless labour categories belong to various castes involve in agriculture production. The large landowning farmers belong to Mala, Kurma and a single farmer from Madiga caste in the village. These large landowning farmers engage in agricultural operations round the year in different farm works. Irrigation through bore wells provides work in agriculture for the medium and large farmers in the village. These large land owners and medium farmers cultivate various crops such as paddy, maize, soya, turmeric, and vegetables. So these two categories of farmers always involve in agricultural activities round the year. Most of the medium and big farmers own at least a single bore well and in most of the cases more than one borewell.

It is found that some of the medium and large landowning farmers own more than two bore wells. The number of bore wells increased due to the scarcity of water, as there are large areas of agriculture. And a single bore well, will not be enough to distribute sufficient water. The crops such as paddy, turmeric, and vegetables, which are the major preferred crops by farmers those need regular water distribution. This is also one of the major factors why farmers prefer to dig more than one bore well to avoid water scarcity on time. The other reasons for having more than two bore wells, is because, the big farmers wanted to have more profits from the production of agriculture without any disturbance in water supply. Another reason is that as there is shortage of water supply, the water distribution to crops, with only one bore well cannot be managed. So they prefer to have more than one bore well.

It is said that medium and big farmers dug more than 5 bore wells, to manage with the water distribution system. When they did not get sufficient amount of ground water they dug another bore well. There are cases, where they spend a

huge amount on bore wells that last for 20 years in the village. It is said that most of the medium and large farmers spend high expenses on digging of agricultural bore wells. Since there is no other irrigation sources available for the farmer in the village and borewells are the only source for the irrigation apart from the monsoon most of the medium and large farmers prefer to dig more than two borewells to have continuous water supply for the crops in all seasons. It is said that the bore wells which they dig do not successful and few farmers found digging more than 10 borewells in due course. It is said that a medium farmer who possess an average of 6 to 7 acres of agricultural lands had experienced the unsuccessful borewells and they dug a minimum of 5 borewells for which they spend more money than expected. In such cases medium farmers found agriculture as unviable and said depending on money lenders and banks for the loan to cope up the loss on the borewells and found borrowing the money from known people and the available sources. Some of the farmers found migrating to the Gulf to repay the loans taken for the inputs and on which they spent on borewells.

The opinions regarding the viability of agriculture differ from one farmer to another. It also depends on the extent of agricultural lands owned of the corresponding farmers. Few farmers opined that the viability differs as they spend more time and energy also. The case study discussed above helps to understand the coping mechanisms with the inputs in agriculture. Various sources of inputs availability for the farmers can be understood by looking into this case study. It is significant that the farmers cultivate crops round the year with the help of bore wells as source of irrigation and the availability of inputs as the farmers desire to get more production from the crops. The inputs such as fertilizers, pesticides, and others are in a way expensive for the small farmers. Whereas for the large landowning farmers it's not difficult to get the inputs on time and they get better production from the crops. Hence they spend sufficient money on inputs comparatively in case of small farmers when they don't get sufficient income from the crops, they struggle to manage the expenses on inputs. For small farmers, it's even harder to manage the expenses on recruitment of labour for high wages, which has become one of the major

problems. Since these small farmers are unable to meet their expenses, they sometimes need to keep their lands fallow, while some other farmers migrate to the Gulf countries during crop failures and in the scarcity of irrigation. When they move to Gulf countries for employment they lease-out their lands to other farmers and landless members who are interested in cultivating on lease. The medium and landless members in the village cultivate these lands on lease for the period of one year in initial agreements and the leasing the lands depends on the interest of both parties.

It is observed that some small farmers prefer to migrate to the Gulf countries when they do not get expected yielding from agriculture. They manage their expenses by migrating or by engaging in non-agricultural activities. When these small farmers and the landless members migrate to the Gulf and cities the shortage of labour occur, especially in peak agricultural seasons. So the wage rates found to be increasing due to the unavailability of sufficient labour on time. This situation creates lot of chaos and mental stress among the small farmers when the labours demand high wages.

This situation applies to large farmers also, as they are also victims of the shortage of labour due to migration to Gulf countries. Another significant thing from the study village is that the migration is also seen among the few large landowning farmers. In such cases, the other family members from these large landowning farmers' households have to take charge of agricultural activities in the absence of the head of the household. In some cases the women members and the younger generations found involving in agricultural activities in the absence of the farmers in the presence of hired labourers. The migration of medium and large farmers also leads to an increase in the expenses on agriculture, because in the absence of the working males the members of the household have to take the assistance of other members and they need to spend extra amount in recruiting the labour. It is observed that in the absence of migrated medium and large farmers, its need to recruit an extra labour to fill the gap which needs extra money to employ labour. In most of the cases, the farmers and the women from the medium and large landowning

farmer's households found engaging in agricultural works along with the hired labour in order to reduce the expenses on inputs. Some of the medium and large farmers opined that though they spend sufficient money on inputs in cultivating crops they do not get the expected yields and they opined that the minimum support price on crops helps them to cope up the low productivity and losses in agriculture.

Conclusion:

The agriculture and allied activities are the primary source of livelihood in the study village and majority of the population depend on agriculture as a source of livelihood. The majority of landowning households in the village belong to lower caste Mala and Madiga which constitutes more than half of the total households from the village. The agricultural operations are found round the year with crops like paddy, soya, Jowar, turmeric as major crops and internal crops like Mirchi, vegetables. Along with a large number of the landowners in the village from lower castes Mala, Madiga a few farmers are also present from backward castes such as Kurma and Yadavs, Munnuru Kapu. The landless households work as agricultural labourers or migrate to the Gulf to work in non-agricultural sectors. The agricultural operations are found to be depending on heavy machinery in many works. The usage of machinery and technology is associated with availability of irrigation where bore wells are the major source in the study village. Above 90 per cent of the land owning households own at least a bore well and most of the medium farmers own more than one bore well for agricultural purposes. The usage of heavy machinery in agriculture decreased number of working days for the landless labourers when compared to past. The landholding pattern has changed in last three decades. Before 1980s only upper castes owned the agricultural lands and the lower castes and other backward castes involved in labour work whereas in recent years the lower castes emerged as major landowners though there were landless before 1980. The lower castes occupy a majority of the landowners and all large farmers belong to Mala except two farmers from upper caste Reddy and a single farmer from Madiga castes.

The migration to Gulf countries caused a shortage of labourers for agricultural activities in respective seasons and the farmers opined that the agricultural labour wages became one of the major problems at present, as the expenses on labour became burdened along with other inputs. Small and medium farmers face a problem with the expenses on inputs whereas the big farmers do not face the same as marginal and medium farmers. The availability of machinery for agricultural activities is not that hard and the farmers hire machinery for agricultural works irrespective of their economic status since the traditional methods lost significance in the study village. The harvesters and the boilers are found to be hiring from neighbouring villages. The traditional ways of agricultural practices lost its importance to a maximum extent and the usage of traditional implements such as bullock carts, ploughs etc., lost their significance. While four households in the village own bullock carts and bullocks, the remaining farmers use machinery for activities such as tilling, leveling, weeding etc. Though the mechanization replaced major labour activities, manual labour still play a significant role in agriculture in the study village.

The agriculture is profitable to medium and large farmers than the marginal farmers. The expenses on inputs for the marginal farmers are seen as one of the major problems at times whereas the medium and large farmers do not face the same problem for inputs. On the whole, all the agricultural production is better present currently, than it was before the introduction of technology. The problem with the expenses on inputs by the three categories of farmers discussed in the chapter still persists.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The agrarian relations in India were understood in connection to the landownership and the social hierarchy. In pre-independence India the agrarian relations were represented by the land owners and landless castes where the castes which occupy the higher status in social hierarchy also owned major agricultural lands and the landless labourers were belonging to lower castes. The landless lower castes used to work as labourers for the landowners. The majority of the lands were occupied by the large landowners. They used to control the majority agricultural lands across the country. These large land owners were called with different local names in various regions in the country. Various studies have analysed the changes taken place in different regions under the impact of different factors in the post-independence period.

In Telangana region, under the Nizam rule, the large lands were controlled by landlords called Doras who majorly belonged to the castes like Reddy, Velama, and Brahmins and also by Muslim representatives of the Nizam government. The other backward castes used to work in traditional caste occupations and also as agricultural labourers in rural areas. These castes used to render their services in different forms to the landowning castes. The relations between the landowners and the landless were mostly service oriented than the individual relations. The landless members from various castes were dependent on landlords for their livelihood and these relations were feudal in nature. The physical labour of landless labourers was exploited by the landlords by extracting extra working hours and also for free labourer. In Telangana region, the traditional agrarian relations are seen also as patron-client relations and as Jajmani relations and these relations are more exploitative in nature. The landless labourers were the victims of traditional labour bondages by the dominance of the landlords in rural areas. After the introduction of land reforms, land ceilings, labour abolition policies the feudal relations lost significance in India and in Telangana in particular.

The changes are seen in feudal relations after independence all over India and in Telangana region with the intervention of the Government initiated policies and agrarian movements. The lands were distributed to the landless and the traditional labour systems such as free labour and bonded labour lost significance after independence. The landless labourers once worked as free labourers and in recent years they are free to sale their labour and no restrictions are seen in rural areas.

The agricultural lands were purchased by the landless, the government policies also contributed in distribution of agricultural lands among the landless. With these developments most of the landless emerged as small farmers and they also started working in non-agricultural sectors. There are changes in wages for agricultural labourers. The traditional castes' occupations are losing their importance and the artisan castes' members are seen working in many non-traditional occupations. The employment opportunities outside agriculture contributed in economic betterment among the labour households.

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I

For the present study, an anthropological study was conducted in a village in Telangana which represents the characteristics of the feudal relations before independence. The present study is an attempt to understand the changing agrarian relations in a Telangana village over a period of four decades. For this purpose, a village study was conducted in Nizamabad district of Telangana state. The village falls under the semi-arid region which experienced feudal relations between the landlords and the landless till 1980s. In the past, the agrarian structure of the study village constituted majorly three categories; landowning castes, landless castes and artisan castes. The upper caste Reddy families were the only landowners in the village till 1985. The lower caste Mala and Madigas and other backward castes such as Kurma, Yadav, and Munnuru Kapu were the landless and used to work either as bonded labourers (*Jeetham*) for the

landowning castes and these conditions lasted till 1970s. The families belonging to artisan castes such as Devanga (weavers), Gouda (Toddy tappers), Black smith (Iron tool makers), Vadla (Carpenter), Chakali (Washermen) and Kummari (Potter) are the landless, who used to work in their traditional caste occupations. The members from these artisan castes used to render their services to the landowning castes most of the times and they used to get the payments in kind after the harvest. Similar conditions existed in different parts of Telangana as can be seen in the studies of Kameswara Rao (1973), Satyanarayana (1992) and Srikanth (2014). These studies described the traditional relations between the landowning and the landless castes in Telangana region as feudalistic. These studies showed that the upper castes (Reddis, Velamas) were the only landowners and the lower castes were the landless labourers, and backwards castes were found either as labourers or service castes for the upper castes.

The families belonging to Mala, Madiga, Kurma, Gouda, Munnuru Kapu, Tenugu castes were landless and were dependent on upper caste (Reddis) landowners in the study village. The *Mala and Madiga* members were the labourers in most cases and the victims of bonded labour systems (*Jeetham*). Since these members had no other option but to work as bonded labour for their livelihood, they continued to work in such conditions until they started migration to Gulf countries. Prior to 1980s Reddies were controlling the resources i.e. the agricultural land and the agricultural activities and production were confined to the Reddis known as *Doras* (lords) in the village. Though the number of upper caste Reddy households were only eight in number the means of production i. e. land, was under their control and this control accrued them both economic and political powers over other castes in the village. The Reddy landlords used to control the local politics by occupying the local administrative positions such as Mali Patel, Karanam and Police Patel. The lower caste Mala, Madiga and backward castes (Kurma, Tenugu, etc.) were either labour in agricultural activities or servants in any other form. Since there were limited sources of livelihoods available till 1975-1980s, these landless castes and had no other option but to depend on upper caste Reddi families for livelihood.

The traditional agrarian relations between the land owning castes and landless castes lost significance in due course. These changes became especially prominent after the 1980s, when changes began to creep into the traditional labour bondages between the upper caste land owners and landless castes in the village. One of the major reasons for this is that the landless members from Mala, Madiga, Devanga, Gouda and Kurma, started migrating to the Gulf countries for livelihood and employment. The employment in the Gulf countries helped them receive better income when compared to their work as labourers in the village. For the first time, they received cash payments for their labour which they never got prior to their Gulf migration. Thus migration brought a change in the lives of these backward classes who had only experienced exploitation of their physical labour for centuries for less payment or no payments in their village. The increasing income levels brought betterment in economic conditions of landless households from lower castes, the artisan castes and other castes. These changes were observed in the households belonging to the castes such as Mala, Madiga, Devanga, Kurma, Gouda, Goondla, Yadav, Munnuru Kapu, Chakali and Kammari in the village. The shift in traditional agrarian relations is also associated with employment opportunities available in the non-agricultural sectors of neighboring towns and cities.

Besides migration and available employment opportunities in the towns and cities, the entry of Beedi making occupation in the village can be considered as another important reason for the shift in the traditional agrarian relations. Beedi rolling came into existence in the village around 1975. The women from landless households i.e. Devanga (which occupies the second place in numbers after Mala caste), Mala, Kurma and Vadla caste members started working in Beedi rolling. The members from Devanga caste started working in Beedi industry by leaving their traditional caste occupation i.e. weaving, since market for their products declined during 1975-1980. The beedi work provided employment for the women from various castes and most of the women from landless castes gradually started depending on Beedi work. The employment opportunities in Beedi work made the women from landless families (i.e. Devanga, Vadla, Gouda, and Munnuru Kapu)

give up working in the fields of Reddis in due course. In short the women from the landless households, who earlier used to depend on their agricultural labour, now became full-time beedi workers and are receiving better income levels. Thus migration and the introduction of beedi manufacturing significantly affected the traditional relations between the landlords and landless. Consequently, the bonded labour systems and the dominance of landlords on landless lower castes and other backward castes gradually disappeared over a period. The initiatives of successive Governments such as bonded labour abolition legislation, land reforms, land ceilings, employment opportunities in non-agriculture sectors and access to education further influenced the traditional unequal relations between the landlords and landless. In the past three decades, the Gulf migration along with income from other available sources helped the landless castes to purchase lands from the landlords (under whom they had earlier worked as labourers). In due course, Mala, Madiga and other backward caste families belonging to Kurma, Munnuru Kapu etc. emerged as major landowning castes. Few households from Yadav caste also purchased lands and emerged as farmers from landless status. For lower castes, migration became as a source of liberation from feudal bondages. The Jajmani kind of relations between artisan castes and landowning Reddies also started to decline with these developments over a period of three to four decades. After 1990 the dependency on traditional occupations by these artisan castes declined to a maximum extent. The male members of these households started working in non-agriculture sectors as shopkeepers, electricians etc. whereas the women started working in Beedi manufacturing.

After the advent of mechanization (1990-2005) the usage of traditional agricultural implements such as ploughs, bullock carts etc. lost their importance. For the farm works such as tilling, leveling and other related activities in agriculture the villages started engaging machines. During the study period only four farmers owned bulls and bullock carts in the village. Among these three farmers belong to lower caste Mala, Madiga and one farmer belongs to Reddy community.

Another major change in the study village is the shift in the traditional labour forms i.e. bonded and free labours have been replaced with the yearly attached labour and casual labour. As has been already mentioned, the erstwhile landless castes now emerged as landowning castes. Landless families from different castes began to work as casual and yearly attached labour for lower castes Mala and also for backward castes Kurma, and Yadavs in the village. While men involve in farm activities and the woman involve in households works as a maid servants. The annual contracts and the relations between the two Reddis and four annual labourers reflect the continuation of traditional labour forms. The payments are paid in cash for these attached labourers who work on annual contracts. The yearly attached labourers are recruited as shepherds and agricultural labourers by other caste farmers i.e. Mala, Kurma and Reddis.

The personal relations and networks between lower caste Mala, Madiga and backward castes Kurma, Yadav and Munnuru Kapu farmers play a significant role in agriculture as well. The mutual relations and interdependency among these farmers is seen in exchange of labourers and hiring of machinery in agricultural seasons. On the other hand, the relations between the Reddis and other castes i.e. Mala, Kurma, Yadav, Goud, Munnuru Kapu, Madiga etc. do not reflect any such bonding. The interaction levels among the erstwhile Reddi landlords and lower castes and backward caste members are not significant. It is because the members from Reddy caste who were controlling the politics and the land lost control on them. Even other people of the village do not have good relations with these Reddy caste members.

II

The present study supports the findings of Karanth (2000) that the changes in agrarian structure are the result of adoption of new crops and shifting cropping patterns and besides the spread of irrigation. Changes in labour force, changes in social, and political life of rural people are the reasons for the changes in social structure of the rural society. The findings of the present study are in agreement with the findings of Satyanarayana (1998) that there are changes taking place in the traditional relations between the labourers and farmers, and the changes are seen in occupational structure and inter-caste relations.

The present study indicates that the employment conditions in agriculture are considerably better in peak seasons. But overall, low income levels from labour work and better wages outside the village are attracting the landless labourers and small marginal farmers to migrate to the Gulf countries, and cities to earn better and also for continuous employment.

In the study village, the agricultural labourers mostly belonged to lower castes and backward castes and even in recent times the landless members and marginal farmers are from lower castes i.e. Mala and Madiga and backward castes (Kurma, Yadav) were found working as labourers in the study village. The findings of the study are in agreement with those of Tripathi (2005) that the low yield of crop results in poverty and the small marginal farmers turn into wage earners and some of them sell their lands. They search for employment within the village or migrate to nearby cities or districts in search of employment. The settled labourers those have migrated to the study village and are working as agricultural labourers experience similar conditions. The landless, small marginal farmers have migrated to this village due to drought situations and lack of resources in other districts of Telangana.

The employment opportunities in agriculture for agricultural labourers have increased in irrigated areas during recent decades compared to pre-60s. The share cropping and tenancy has declined and owner cultivation with hired labourers has

gone up. The farmers from the village are experiencing better production in agriculture with the introduction of new technology and mechanization. The farmers from lower castes and backward castes are found working as full time agricultural producers and the income levels are found to be better. These conditions are leading them to take up agricultural works in large areas which also provide better employment opportunities to agricultural labourers. The traditional labour contracts between the landowners and labourers became less prevalent and replaced by more commercial labour forms such as casual labourers and annual contract labourers.

The present study partly supports the findings of the earlier studies (Pratap Agarwal (1971), Chattopadhyay (1985) where they say that the majority of the farm workers do not get employment throughout the year in agriculture. The demand for labour increase with the introduction of mechanization and technological changes and in peak seasons the casual labours are more in demand. The study also supports the findings of Srikanth(2014) that there is a considerable increase in the wages for agricultural labourers and disparity in wages still exist between the male and female labourers. Both these studies support the claim that the irrigation facilities in rural agriculture promote the intensification of agriculture production.

The study supports the findings of Chattopadhyay (1985) that the demand for attached labourers or permanent labourers is more than the demand for casual labourers. This is due to the technological developments in agriculture such as use of HYV seeds and use of farm machinery. The large farmers in the study village were found to be hiring the labourers on annual contracts from other districts to support the agricultural works round the years since the farmers need assistance on times to cope with the cultivation in large areas. The availability of irrigation is one of the major reasons for the hiring of casual labour and also attached labourers in the study village. This in turn supports the claim that much faster irrigation induced growth and use of machinery and modern inputs of farming,

and sharp increase in the proportion of agricultural labourers among rural workers.

The findings of the present study support the findings of Jha (1990) that the poor conditions of the landless labourers resulted in large scale migration to urban areas. As a result, the agricultural sector is facing acute labour shortage, particularly during peak seasons of plantation and harvesting. Unemployment and underemployment has been found to be high as the agricultural sector has not been able to provide full time employment to agricultural workers. This situation either forced the labourers to migrate to other states or accept other jobs. In few cases, they have also been shifting to work in industries located in urban areas.

III

The betterment in the economic conditions is the result of better production in agriculture through the commercial crops supported by the irrigation through borewells. The better production in agriculture helped the farmers to increase their lands further and also to hire heavy machinery for agricultural works. The large farmers from Mala, Madiga and Kurma found purchasing heavy machinery by the better yielding in the agriculture in recent years.

The migration of landless members, small and marginal farmers to Gulf countries is happening not because of unemployment conditions in agriculture but for better earnings for better employment opportunities. The earnings from the Gulf countries gave them better economic and social status than when they worked as agricultural labourers in the village or in other sectors in towns and cities. Hence small, marginal and landless laborers are found to be migrating to the Gulf in order to have better earnings in recent years. As the small and marginal farmers attracted by the remittances from the Gulf countries and aspiring to purchase more lands to become large landowners in the village, are showing greater interest in migration. This is happening because the large farmers in the village also purchased land by the remittances brought from the Gulf migration. On seeing

them the small and marginal are farmers motivated to enhance their landholdings. The ownership of land is always associated with the social status in rural areas and the large farmers are found to be receiving good respect in the village.

The presence of irrigation through borewells, new technology, and heavy machinery combinations intensified the agricultural production for the landowning castes (Mala, Kurma, and Munnuru Kapu and Madiga castes). The agricultural operations are found to be the combination of manual labour and machinery in study village. The traditional agricultural practices lost significance with the introduction of new technology and use of heavy machinery. With all these developments, employment opportunities to the landless labourers are found to be plenty in the study village. The landless labourers who settled in the village from neighboring villages depend on their physical labour. However, the labourers from the study village are not interested to work as agricultural laborers throughout the year and they prefer to work in other available sectors according to their convenience. The skilled labour and the seasonal labour have demand in peak seasons of agriculture and the operators of heavy machinery have demand round the year in agriculture.

The migration of landless, small marginal farmers is not stopped by the rural employment schemes such as MGNREGA. Better earnings and employment opportunities in non-agriculture sectors attract them to migrate to Gulf. The youth from land owning families are hesitant to work in agriculture and they prefer to work in Gulf. The members from artisan castes also found migrating and working in new sector such as shop keepers, attenders, drivers etc. as attached choices. The migration of small and medium farmers enabled the small farmers and landless labourers to take up their agricultural lands on lease and to work as agricultural farmers. Thus the migration of farmers can be understood as opportunity for the landless to become farmers and involve in agricultural production process in the village particularly and in rural areas in general.

Thus the change in agrarian structure of the study village is the result of various factors which also can be broadly applicable to the other villages in the region.

The traditional labour relations replaced by the commercial contracts. The major agricultural lands from landlords (from upper castes Reddis) have been transferred to lower castes and backward castes in the study village. The traditional labour bondages have disappeared along with the dominance and oppression of the upper castes land owners on lower castes and backward castes. Along with other factors, the partition of large lands, the lack of interest to take up agricultural activities, the migration to cities and abroad by successive generations from the Reddy caste are found as the major reasons for the loss of control on large lands and their traditional dominant position.

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PLATES



Plate-1 Family labour working in paddy harvesting



Plate-2 Casual labour working in paddy harvesting



Plate-3 Casual Labour working in weeding



Plate -4 Casual Labour working in turmeric crop



Plate-5 Harvester in paddy harvest



Plate -6 Transporting paddy after harvest



Plate -7 Machinery used in boiling of turmeric



Plate-8 Operator using machinery for polishing turmeric



Plate-9 Turmeric crop (To be processed)



Plate- 10 Machinery involved in Ploughing



Plate-11 Water storage tank in the field