

Agrarian Relations in Telangana: A Case Study of Bussapur Village in Warangal District

*A Thesis Submitted to the University of Hyderabad in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Award of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

ECONOMICS

BY

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NOVEMBER 2020



CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled '**Agrarian Relation in Telangana: A Case Study of Busspaur Village in Warangal District**' submitted by Bhaskar Yempelli bearing registration number 12SEPH02 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for award of Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Economics is a bonafide work carried out by him under my supervision and guidance. This thesis is free from plagiarism and has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this or any other University for award of any degree or diploma.

Part of this thesis have been:

A. Published in the following publications:

1. Yempelli, B. (2019). Social category and gender wise employment and unemployment analysis of all India and Telangana. *International Journal of Research in Economics and Social Sciences*, Vol. 9, Issue 12, 14-21, ISSN (online): 2249-7382. And

B. Presented in the following conferences:

1. Presented paper on "Political Economy of Act East policy: North- East India" in the Two-Day National Seminar, hosted and organized by Rajiv Gandhi University and Arunachal Institute of Tribal Studies, Arunachal Pradesh, held on 18th and 19th March, 2019 at Itanagar, Arunachal Pradesh.
2. Presented paper on "Tribal Land Alienation in North-East India" in the Two-Day National Seminar, hosted and organized by Rajiv Gandhi University, Arunachal Pradesh, held on 7th and 8th October, 2016 at Itanagar, Arunachal Pradesh.

Further, the student has passed the following courses towards fulfillment of the coursework requirement for Ph.D. during his Ph.D.

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3. SE703	Research Methodology	4	Pass
4. SE751	Study Area	4	Pass

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DECLARATION

I, Bhaskar Yempelli, hereby declare that this thesis entitled, “**Agrarian Relations in Telangana: A Case Study of Busspaur Village in Warangal District**” submitted by me under the supervision of **Prof. K. Laxminarayana** is a bonafide research work which is also free from plagiarism. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or full to this university or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodganga/INFLIBNET.

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DEDICATION

To the peasants of Telangana who always dreamed and fought for social and economic change. And to my mother who introduced them through her songs and stories

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The thesis which I am submitting here is a result of collective effort. Many people through their discussions, suggestions and arguments helped me to complete this thesis. My village, the forest, the Adivasis, the river Godavari and the politics which they carry are the first teachers of my knowledge.

First and foremost, I must thank my supervisor Prof. K. Laxminarayana and doctoral committee members Prof. R. Vijay and Dr. G. Vijay for leading me to the submission of this thesis. Sir (Prof. K. Laxminarayana), you gave me so much freedom in choosing my topic and made me comfortable to make my arguments. Against all the established traditional academic culture we met in the field most of the times and discussed on different ideas and ideologies. We agreed and disagreed but you always gave me space for my opinions. Prof. R. Vijay, you are equally supervised my research and it was you who pushed me towards the submission. It was our discussions which reached me to my conclusions. You have introduced me to the discourse of 'mode of production debate' and village studies. We have had conversations on all the possible ways of alternative modes of development. In the same way Dr. G. Vijay was the one who introduced me to the field works as part of the 'labour economics' course and surveys on migrant brick kiln labour of Orissa, which helped me a lot in my research field work. And Dr. Vamsi Vakulabranam, my political economy teacher and co-supervisor of my research until he left for teaching in UMass in Us, guided and encouraged me into research. I am taking this opportunity to thank you four, who are the core of political economists, for training me in academics and guiding me throughout this Ph.D. process.

Veekshanam, Telugu monthly magazine and the editorial collective became my alternative academic space. The editor of the magazine N. Venugopal and the editorial collective A. Narsimha Reddy, B.S. Raju and others shaped my perspective on several issues. Reading and writing for the magazine and discussions with Ramu (Vekshanam) updated me with all kinds of new political and economic developments. And the 'RS Rao memorial lectures' organized by the Veekshanam and the family of RS Rao, exposed me into various kinds of discourse on alternative modes of development and deeper understanding of village studies. And my field work actually started with one of my presentation in the memorial lectures on village studies. Mudhunuri Bharathi and R. Vijay were so encouraging to be part

of this agrarian transformation discussion. I am grateful to Veekshanam and its editorial collective which I am also part, for exposing me to the idea of ‘alternatives.’

Beyond my committee many of my friends and fellow graduate students have played important role in shaping this project over time. Murali is the one who always there for me to share all my personnel and academic problems and give moral support whenever I am low. Dr. Chitrasen, one excellent friend and my ‘stata’ teacher who always solves my research doubts and updates me with all the data issues. And I actually started my research journey with Nelson’s initial suggestions and academic support. Every time I changed my research topic, first ‘tribal land alienation’ and later ‘agrarian transition’, he had given me the base for the further work. Kishore is the one who I should not forget or ignore. A bird gathers seed, carries and spreads them. Kishore would gather all the new debates in the academic discourse and drag everyone into the discussion. Sometimes you might feel irritated and sometimes frustrated but soon realize that there is something new and important. Dr. Suresh and Dr. Shashirekha, both are always a great support. Conversations with Dr. Reni and Niyati are invariably interesting.

My field work represents the most important part of my thesis. And my field work started with Dr. Juhi’s field work, though unofficially. Juhi, in one year of field work, we met so many people in the entire North-Telangana who knew so much ground reality. Ajayanna and Jayakka, Bharatakkka and many others treated us part of their families and shared so much knowledge. We struggled and learned so much in the field. Your uncompromising efforts gave us so many insights and ideas which shaped my research in the later period. It is our field work which created positive energy and passion towards the research. Thanking you in any form would be like thanking myself.

I am very thankful to the people of Bussapur village where I have done my field work. Especially, my grandparents from the same village, even in the old age, created comfortable atmosphere to me. Whenever I went to a new house in the village they would immediately recognize me and invite me saying, “Ohh... you are Jannu Sammakka’s grandson, right! She told us yesterday only that you came for some survey.” My grandmother, in one round she just informed entire village that her grandson pursuing higher studies in Hyderabad and came for some survey. So, I never had to explain people who I was and why I came here to the village.

Some friends and comrades deserve special mention. Malvika, you just sit in University of Exeter, England, and keep telling me everything you read. All of our phone conversations are like an ‘art and esthetics’ class to me which I had never got bored to listen.

I think whatever you know; I also know that much you shared with me. In my pre-submission seminar, I answered to our Dean School of Economics, Prof. Omkarnath that I used ‘Auto ethnography’ as a methodology. It is our conversations that gave me so many details in methodologies and theoretical framework. Shriya, my comrade, always ready to edit my chapters within short notice. She worried more than me and constantly pushed for submission. Firdaus is a friend, who I always depended for some quick editing and clarifications. Thank you comrade, you are always supportive and ready to help me without any hesitation. Thank you Prameela for being there in the final stage of my thesis submission.

North-East made me so comfortable and feels like a second home as I like the academic atmosphere and the people there; more work and less show off. Especially, I am indebted to Rajiv Gandhi University (RGU) of Arunachal Pradesh and Research Scholars’ Forum (RGURSF) of the University. RGU and RGURSF gave me opportunity to present work and they have published my two conference papers. Moreover, I am grateful to my friends Margum Ado, Apilang, Yamang, Debajit, Mima, Miyo Tayeng, Maryir, Rigam, Tapa and Maila Lama Sir for showing so much affection and love towards me. And fellow graduates from Tripura Rema, Swagatha and Nemmi and Suprity from Debrugarh constantly motivating to complete my work. Pintu from Vishwa Bharati, all the time he call me to check my progress in the research. Thank you so much brother for the concern and affection you showed. There are several friends in University of Hyderabad who were an exciting company to re-energize me back to work. Chiluka Srilatha, Mallesh Manthri, Spandana, Narender, Kaladhar, Siriman Naveen, Ramdas, Arun (Kala) and Mallikarjun were some of those kind.

I would also like to thank my friends and research scholars from different Universities of Telangana. Whenever I talk to Mypathi Arun and Vasama Anand, I feel like talking to the Adivasi archives. They have greatest idea of what happened to the Adivasis and what kind of situation they are going through now. And the continuous efforts they put towards the possible alternatives for the tribal development. Jagan Kanthi from OU and Kotesch from EFLU also very much interested in my research and always try to improve my arguments. Prema Jyothi from CESS would always read some new debates and get back to me for clarifications. But I got to know so many economic debates through her. It was always wonderful talking to these people for their updated feedbacks from the field.

I want to take this opportunity to express my love and respect towards my teachers. Because of their constant belief in me, I was motivated to aspire into higher studies by overcoming all the hurdles. My first teacher B.Chandra Mogili, he offered me an ice cream if I go to school. Only few days he kept his promise after that I was forced to attend the school.

Badradri sir in Social Welfare Junior College of Narsampet, was so caring as we had come out of our villages for the first time. And his economics class made all of us to fell in love with teaching. Sujatha madam, New Science Degree College, pushed me and some of our friends to get out of Warangal. Whenever we meet her she would suggest us, “work hard to get into the Osmania University, even if you get admission in some normal college also go to Hyderabad, leave Warangal.” She even paid my application fee, that’s how we dared to apply for OU and appear the exam. Dr. Patrick in Osmania University inspired and encouraged me to appear for NET exam and get into research. And I could not escape Dr. Vamsi’s influence in University of Hyderabad.

The office staff of School of Economics, Adinayana is 24 hours on duty. Venkateshvarlu garu in MA days, he would remember all the Telugu students of the class and remind them the necessary things to do for the semester registration. Laxmi, Venkatesh also very helpful. The IGML library staff, especially the cleaning staff remember everyone who regularly comes and keep their belonging safe even if they forget to take. And Mini mam at the book issues section and other staff are very friendly. And Kakatiya University, Osmania University and North-Eastern Hill University contains so many good thesis works and staff also very enthusiastic to help.

My deepest gratitude goes to my beloved family. My Mother, Sarojana, is to be praised if there is something good in me. I am what she is..! My father, Muthaih, used to keep my pas photo in his pocket, after I left the village for higher studies and tell people that I would become a collector (IAS Officer). Whenever I go home he would ask me “are you getting the green pen?” That is symbol of powerful person in the system. Hope, University would get me one along with doctorate, after my submission. My elder brother Raju (Mimicry) is always responsible and takes care of the family that gives me so much relief. And my sister, Anitha, is my friend since my childhood.

Finally, thank you so much to everyone, whoever feels that “Oh! Finally he submitte

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ABBREVIATIONS

ALT	Adivasi Liberation Tigers
AMS	Andhra Maha Sabha
CPI	Communist Party of India
DPDC	District Planning and Development Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GSDP	Gross State Domestic Product
HMWSSB	Hyderabad Metropolitan Water Supply and Sewerage Board
HYV	High Yeild Variety
IKP	Indira Kranthi Patham
ITDA	Integrated Tribal Development Agency
LTR	Land Transfer Regulation
MPTC	Mandal Parishad Territorial Constituency
MRO	Mandal Revenue Officer
NSSO	National Sample Survey Office
PRED	Panchayat Raj Engineering Department
PWG	Peoples War Group
RCS	Raitu Cooli Sangham
RSU	Radical Students' Union
R&B	Road and Buildings
SEZ	Special Economic Zones
SKC	Sri Krishna Committee
SLBC	Srisailam Left Bank Canal
SRC	States Reorganization Commission
TPF	Telangana Praja Front
TPS	Telangana Praja Samiti
TRS	Telangana Rasthra Samiti
TSGENCO	Generation Corporation of Telangana Limited
UNSC	United National Security Council
VRO	Village Revenue Officer

CHAPTER-1

AGRARIAN RELATIONS IN TELANGANA: AN INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Telangana is very well known for the long history of agrarian movements. Komaram Bheem's struggle for rights on *Jal*, *Jungle*, and *Jameen*, the great Telangana peasant armed rebellion in the 1940s, Godavari Valley armed rebellions under the leadership of the Chandra Pulla Reddy and CPI (ML- Peoples war) movement then transformed to the CPI (Maoist). A significant portion of the area in Telangana is dry (Ramakrishnarao, 1980). The widespread poverty and exploitation by the rich resulted in movements by agricultural laborers and poor peasants (Sharma, 2005). Village societies played a more significant role in agrarian movements, which aimed at eradicating inequalities and hierarchies (Rao & Nair, 2003).

Telangana was under the rule of *Nizam* with a lesser influence of British colonial rule. With a background of *Nizam* rule, Telangana was characterized by rural agricultural lands under the control of *Doras*, who predominantly belong to Reddy, Velama, and other dominant upper castes. Over the forty years, the economic and social relationships of India have gone through significant changes between urban and rural, service, industrial and agricultural sectors and within agriculture itself. The Indian economy shifted from state-controlled economic policies to neoliberal development policies. At the same time, there is a massive rise in agrarian movements in the Indian countryside (Lerche, Alpa, & Harriss-White, 2013). The dominance of landlords in agriculture hampered the development of capitalist class relations in Indian agriculture and suggests land distribution through New Democratic Revolution (Kar, 2013).

Agrarian struggles are two types, Omvedt (1980) opines, the anti-zamindari struggles of the peasants, mostly landed caste cultivators, and agriculture laborers, the Dalits, for wages, freedom from *vetti* and for land. The primary conflict in the agriculture was the struggle of the agriculture laborers, mostly from the Dalit communities. Traditional Indian society pumped out the surplus labor through the caste system, which not merely a superstructure but the economic base itself. She also says that in India it is caste which

determines the position of an individual in the production system and shapes the production systems structure itself..

In Indian agrarian relations it is jajmani system where craftsman not paid for the exchange instead he was treated as a village servant. Many artisan also the producers in agriculture even if they were not treated as peasants or tillers of the soil. Only the upper caste rayats who are very less in number are called as peasants. Dominant peasants from upper caste communities never recognized the lower caste cultivators as peasants or rayats. Hence, 'land to the tiller', in the Indian setting, did not mean abolition of landlordism.

For the agrarian conflict the differentiation between peasants (kisans) and labourers (mazdurs) was crucial. In the Telangana peasant armed struggle the peasants and laborers united to fight the landlords, later conflict arose even between these two allies. As the land rights are 'historically socially recognized' by the caste status, the laborers could not get much benefit from the anti-zamindari movement. The Telangana peasant armed struggle was so strong in the villages because of the peasants and mazdurs unity.

The peasants from the 'dominating cultivating caste', the Reddy's and the Dalit mazdurs united in militant struggle against the Reddy landlords. Imposing land ceiling was the explicit revolutionary step in the Telangana armed struggle. The Scheduled Caste Federation lead a hunger strike in Maratwada region in 1952-53 for the rights on lands which got by Dalits during the armed struggle. (Omvedt, 1980).

At the state level, competition among sub-regional elites for prime urban space in state capitals has grown quite intense in the post-liberalization period. Newly emerged regional elites created tensions and challenged the Indian federal structure. To face the tensions created by neo-liberal policies governments formed new states as a strategy to divert the resistance to reforms (Maringanti, 2010). Sub-regionalism is the result of economic imbalances of these sub-regions, which is the by-product of modernization. "An enhanced sense of regional identity and cultural awareness quickly mobilized the support of rising castes and alliances of castes seeking enhances the status and economic power (Forrester, 1970)." After Independence, the Indian economy underwent fundamental shifts. It shifted from state-controlled policies to neoliberal development policies. At the same time, there is a

massive rise in agrarian movements in the Indian countryside (Lerche, Alpa, & Harriss-White, 2013).

1.2 Research question:

At the time of Telangana peasant armed struggle under the leadership of Sanghams, people distributed landlords lands. With the Independence to India, the Nizam government of Hyderabad state which supported feudal lords in the villages (rural side) became unstable. On the other hand, with the attacks of communist guerrillas, the *Doras* in the villages fled to the cities. As Hyderabad state annexed to the Indian Union, the Dora in Telangana villages abandoned their lands and fled to safer places as they doubted Congress's support to feudal landlords. The notorious 'police action' which was supposed to occupy the Nizam state, did not stop there, they have entered into villages to suppress the armed struggle and made a way back to landlords into the villages. With this act, feudal lords of Telangana, who understood the pro-landlord policy of Congress, returned to villages with much bigger support than the *razakars* army. The *Doras* came back to villages with the army and suppressed *sanghams*, killed many communists, most of the *Sangham* activists and communists were kept in detention camps and jails and replaced the landlords/*Doras* position by returning their lands in the villages. Small landlords and *Doras*, who worked against Nizam to protect their lands from communists, became leaders of *sanghams*, betrayed the movement, and joined the Congress Party. Police action suppressed the communists, who distributed lands, occupied many villages under the *sanghams*, and re-established the feudal landlords to their old position of the Nizam period. Notwithstanding this army oppression, with the opposition to the armed struggle from the small landlords and ideological differences within the leadership of the Communist Party, communists laid down the arms and joined the mainstream politics. By withdrawing the armed peasant struggle, the Communist Party gave no option to the agriculture labor and peasants but surrendered to the landlords and *Doras*, who were then Congress leaders. Telangana peasant armed struggle got institutionalized because of the Communist party's withdrawal of armed struggle and the joining of parliamentary democracy. Furthermore, that made an easy way for the feudal agrarian relations to continue in the villages.

Andhra Pradesh was formed in 1956 to reduce the domination of *Brahmins* in the Madras state. With the formation of Andhra Pradesh, Rayalaseema Reddys could get away

with the Brahmin and *Kamma* domination and became power holders along with the Telangana Reddy's. Telangana *Reddys* and *Velamas* could not get enough time to become strong because of the economic and political merger. Later in the 1970s, Coastal *Kamma* and *Reddy's* occupied the space left by Telangana *Velamas* and the *Reddy's* who fled the villages due to Naxalite Movement. In the interior villages of Godavari Valley of Telangana, migrated *Raddy's* and *Velamas* from plain areas of Telangana occupied the space left by traditional landlords of those villages.

Naxalite movement targeted and attacked only the traditional landlords of the villages. However, they had not concentrated and underestimated the migrated peasants who became the villages' feudal force due to their social positions. In some places, these resettled wealthy farmers and middle farmers who had replaced the traditional landlords could get hold of the villages and became leaders of some Naxalite groups. This situation was similar to that of small landlords/Doras occupying *sanghams* in Telangana peasant armed struggle who later betrayed the movement when the time has come in their favor. Naxalite parties also made the same mistake as the undivided Communist Party. Naxalites treated these migrated landlords as allies to the movement and did not touch their power and domination in villages. In a short period, these migrant farmers could get hold of the domination of villages and establish traditional feudal land relations. Due to their social position as a dominant caste, it became easy for them. In the *Varna* system of Hindu religion, *Shudra*, *Athi Shudra* castes search for their dominant caste/class to be dependent, as the means of production was occupied by dominant castes.

In 1969 students raised separate Telangana demand against exploitation of the migrated landlords. Even the radical 1969 movement also co-opted by Congress by joining activists in the congress party by offering them political positions. The activists who were not happy with this joined the Naxalite movement and raised arms against the state. Even the Naxalite movement was suppressed brutally by killing many activists in Telangana. Furthermore, the Naxalites' primary group, the Maoist party, retreated to a much safer base of Bastar. After this retreat of the Naxalite movement into Chhattisgarh, the activists and sympathizers joined in the Telangana Rashtra Samiti (TRS), which was established with the main motive of separate state formation. Maoist Party's revolutionary activities and sympathy towards Naxalites strengthened the TRS Party in the villages. In 2009 again movement had taken place, and separate Telangana state was announced in 2012. In Telangana state, which

resulted from enormous people struggling, the TRS party came into power. Many activists had become part of the newly formed government. Activists who are compromised to benefit the *Reddy's* and *Velama* caste/class interests joined the government. The other activists who wanted radical changes in Telangana were suppressed and put behind bars. This way Telangana movement, which fought for radical changes in relations of production, was institutionalized again.

In Telangana, each time a radical movement has emerged, the bourgeoisie governments (political parties) co-opted or repressed with at most severity, which led to the institutionalization of those movements. Economic reforms after 1991 could not bring considerable changes in the agrarian relations of the rural Telangana. That is why globalization could not perturb the land relations and feudal character of the Telangana villages. The policies such as grand survey, rythu bandhu, and land survey of the new government in Telangana had meant to reoccupy/re-establish space loosen by the Velamas and the ready landlords in the villages. At this juncture, this thesis tries to raise a question whether a successful armed peasant agrarian revolution can bring radical transformation in Telangana agrarian relations in a drastic way?

1.3 Research Objectives:

I want to study the changes in the agrarian relations in Telangana with a special focus on Agrarian Struggles. I would focus on the changes in terms of land and labor relations due to agrarian movements in this area and government policies which undertaken land reforms in the post-independence period in this region. I also want to look at how state led and neo-liberal development policies changed the agrarian structure.

1.4 Hypothesis:

1. Agrarian struggles succeeded in removing the upper layer of the village feudal structure but failed at altering prevailing feudal methods of surplus extraction.
2. Although agrarian struggles forced landlords into non-agricultural sectors, these did not become primary avenues of capital accumulation. Feudal lords who fled the villages continued to depend on land in the villages for economic gains.
3. Peasant rebellions of 1948 and 1980s failed to unset the landlord dominance in Telangana.

4. Structural changes in demography and changing development policies could not influence agrarian relations much.

1.5 Methodology:

Much of the core evidence for this study comes from primary material collected through structured questionnaires, oral histories, and group discussions in the village of Bussapur in Warangal district. There is immense literature in Telugu regarding Telangana agriculture and agrarian relations. I have reviewed some of the Telugu books for my study. I have especially relied on Telugu books written by some of the leaders of the Telangana peasant struggle to narrate the chapter on the 'Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle'. Additionally, I have reviewed literature on the 'separate Telangana movement' in 1969 and later. From the 1980s to 2000s, Kakatiya University produced good village studies, especially in the Economics Department, which I extensively referred. To study the evolution of Telangana agrarian relations, I have reviewed theses, dissertations from Kakatiya University. I also reviewed literature on the broad themes of modes of production, agrarian transformation theory, and agrarian conflict theory.

This study covers almost 70 years, until Andhra Pradesh formation to Telangana separation, I also rely on a wide range of secondary data. I have collected data from the Agriculture Census, NSSO, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, and Government of Telangana's official website. The present study is however empirical. The study aims to explain the implications of practical realities in agrarian relations and their transformation over the long durée.

1.5.1 Village study as a methodology:

The lack of field work tradition in the social sciences has alienated researchers from grassroots reality (Srinivas, 1975). To study the complex picture of agrarian structure and agrarian relations we have to draw on various sources of information - both secondary and primary- for the state or region and for the selected villages (Nagaraj, 2008). Macro and micro studies can be made to support and strengthen each other with some thought and planning (Srinivas, 1975). To understand the traditional Indian society and document its social relationships, village is a natural entry point (Jodhka, Sociology/Anthropology, Nation

and the “Village Community”, 2000). The method of selecting one or more villages for studying agrarian structure and agrarian relations obviously depends on its basic objective. Comprehensive study of agrarian structure and agrarian relations is more complex exercise than collecting the quantitative data (Nagaraj, 2008). In some village studies village itself is an object of the study, in some other village studies village is a site of research on a particular problem (Harriss, 2008:2). As a development unit the panchayat village has a better claim as a socioeconomic unit for a survey (Nagaraj, 2008).

Intensive case study has the advantage of dramatizing the internal relationships between diverse individuals and groups, the frequent clash between norms and practice, and the creative manner in which leaders use situations to achieve their ends and strike out new paths (Srinivas, 1975). Based on ‘participant observation’, while staying in a single village for a longer period, researchers offered a field view of India. In a participant observation researcher selects “a single middle sized village, conduct an intensive field work by staying with the community for a longer period of time and document the social and cultural life of the village people (Jodhka, Sociology/Anthropology, Nation and the “Village Community”, 2000).”

Generalizing rural India based on a single village study is absurd but because of its diversity there are regional and national similarities in India, even a single village study can lead to productive hypothesis and future research (Srinivas, 1975). Village study is very useful to scientifically understand Indian society. “The historical continuity and stability of villages strengthened the case for the village studies (Jodhka, Sociology/Anthropology, Nation and the “Village Community”, 2000).” “Ideally, a monograph can be written about a single case study and this might scandalize those to whom methodology means essentially the application of statistical techniques (Srinivas, 1975:1391).” Village studies have the subalternist perspective through participant observation. Beteille (1996) opines that is possible to study many forms of social relations in a single village study. In detailed single village study relationships between principal and practice can be observed (Jodhka, Sociology/Anthropology, Nation and the “Village Community”, 2000).

1.6 Theoretical Framework:

This dissertation examines the Telangana agrarian relations through the lens of “agrarian conflict’ theory, which views agrarian conflict and its resolution as a key to agrarian

transformation (Shin, 1998).” This dissertation explores how agrarian conflict influenced agrarian relations and land reforms in Telangana. Agrarian conflict theory greatly enhances the current understanding of Telangana agrarian relations by analysing more than just the political economy of development. There was a *mode of production debate* in India to decide where the Indian agrarian transformation would lead. Moreover, the debated was located to observe whether it a capitalist or semi-feudal mode dominated agriculture in India. In Telangana, this debate was more vibrant as the Naxalite movement, which dubbed Indian agriculture as semi-feudal, was very strong. Even academic researchers have concentrated on this debate for almost thirty years. In Telangana, Kakatiya University produced rich research on agrarian relations and carried out several village studies. However, scholars like Barrington Moore labelled the debate directionless (Moore, 1967). The mode of production debate was ‘less fruitful’ than it might have been. The mode of production debate mostly concentrated on labeling the production system and ‘pitiing complex situations into polarities’ such as feudal or capitalist mode, autonomous or dependnent mode, and stagnant or dynamic. The competition to label the production systems did not help “in developing a concrete analysis of how agriculture production and exchange was organized, or accumulation and structural change proceed (Mohan Rao, 1985).” A heavy reliance on the mode of production debate left several issues unclear and unspecified.

The necessary condition for the agrarian transition is the inevitable mobility of surplus value from agriculture to industry, along with the changes in agrarian relations. However, in Telangana, we will not find any ‘capital movement from agriculture to industry.’ To enhance the current understanding of agrarian relations in Telangana, this dissertation examines the conflict-ridden transformation in Telangana from the peasant armed struggle, Andhra rich farmers migrations, the Naxalite movement to separate Telangana formation which involved internal conflict of social classes. This dissertation used ‘agrarian conflict theory’ and ‘institutionalization of social movements’ to examine ‘the historical origins and process of agrarian transformation’ in Telangana. In this dissertation we did not try to replace the mode of production debate but to focus on the internal social conflicts, peasant rebellions, for a more balanced view of agrarian transition in Telangana.

1.7 Organization of the Thesis:

- 1) The first chapter attempts to draft the theoretical framework of the study and locate it in the overall context of the 'Agrarian Conflict Theory.' Furthermore, hypotheses, objectives, and methodology are stated.
- 2) The second chapter reviews the 'Literature on Agrarian Conflict Theory,' 'Institutionalization of Social Movements', and explains the different kinds of debates on agrarian transformation.
- 3) In the third chapter, I cover how the Nizam period's agrarian relations led to agrarian conflict and attempts to analyze the formation of Andhra Pradesh. Moreover, the later migrations and domination of Andhra people on Telangana and the kind of agrarian conflict created and economic consequences of it in the state are covered.
- 4) The fourth chapter analyzes the secondary data on Telangana's economic growth, land use pattern, landholdings, irrigation, cropping pattern, and labor force distribution.
- 5) In the fifth chapter, the agrarian relations in the village, based on land distribution, migration status, and employment, are analyzed.
- 6) The sixth chapter, explained the historical evolution, conflict and the contradictions, in terms of agrarian relations in the village, Bussapur, in Telangana.
- 7) The final chapter provides the findings and conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER – 2

LITERATURE ON AGRARIAN CONFLICT THEORY

2.1 Introduction

Many theories and concepts were used to understand the agrarian transformation most important were state theory, modernization theory, and world system theory'. The world system, modernization, and state theory ignores several crucial issues of agrarian transformation and obstruct a more balanced view of it (Shin, 1998). The economists who were engaged in mode of production debates assumed agrarian change to be a 'smooth evolutionary process' which could be explained by world systems theory, state theory and modernization theory, "instead, it was an uneven and conflict-ridden process that involved actions and reactions of individuals, groups, or social classes." The society and its internal class structure mutually transforms the world order and also initiates social change in the state. "Societies' role in agrarian transformation must be better appreciated (Shin, 1998)." MohanRao, 1985, opines that to get a better understanding of economic outcomes of the society analysis of market process alone can not help, it needs more than that; the analysis of internal classes (Mohan Rao, 1985). World system theory, state theory and modernization theory explains a states unique location in the world and its development role in agrarian change. These theories inclined to ignore the more comprehensive features of agrarian transition that happened all over the world. These agrarian transformation theories gives important insights to understand unique features of agrarian transition but "should not prevent us from examining the more universal process of it (Shin, 1998)."

The landlords invest in non-agricultural sectors and search for alternatives to existing surplus extraction methods, when the possibility of surplus extraction in agriculture is not viable. Agrarian conflict theory proposes agrarian rebellion as an important way of transforming the existing class structure and to create alternative forms of capital accumulation. Structural changes like population growth, market introduction, and international trade could not transform the existing class structure.. Increase in population resulted in decrease of per capita land which strained the agriculture but it did not mitigate the landed class power. Further, it regressed class relations by producing surplus labour in rural and increased land competition among peasants (Shin, 1998).

To understand Telangana agrarian transition beyond its political economy this thesis examines agrarian movements where actions and reactions of social classes involved. Despite its importance, land reforms got very less research attention in general and particularly in Telanana. Whatever little research happened on land reforms treated them as isolated events from class conflict. However, there is an historical relationship between class conflict and the land reforms which should be emphasized.

In this chapter and the following sections, I will briefly give an overview of the theories on agrarian transformation that were noted earlier. This will be followed by a long section reviewing the literature on the debates around the mode of production. Followed by this is the main section that will illustrate the literature on the Agrarian conflict theory and also foreground the ways in which I will employ this framework for the purposes of this research. To further this framework and the need to be attentive to the agrarian conflict theory, I will also give an overview of the historical and contemporary natures of peasant struggles in agrarian transition. It will draw attention to the interrelated events that play out in the journey of Telangana agrarian transition.

2.2 Different Theories on Agrarian Transformation

Hilton (1987) observes that Brenner in his “interpretation of the development of the pre-industrial European agrarian crisis” attacking the ‘demographic determinism’ in the theories of agrarian transformation. Brenner opines that class struggle is the central point to understand different aspects of class exploitation in the medieval feudal economies. Principal producers, the peasants, in order to acquire cash sell some of their product in the market but most of their production was for self-subsistence. Upper reaches of the economy affects minimally by the fluctuations in demand for non-agricultural products by peasant. But variations in landed ruling class income is crucial for the economy since the main part of the incomes comes from rent.

For Marxist historians, Brenner says, “the power of the landlord was a crucial element in determining the level of rent, whatever may have been the inference of the land/labor ratio or the technological level of agrarian production (Brenner, 1977).” The relationship between landlord and tenant is rather political than economic, so non-economic compulsions exist in

the feudal society. Non-economic compulsion was not, however, uniformly successful. The exaction of rent, whether as labor service, in kind or in cash, would be seen by the peasant as an open appropriation of his product. Non-economic compulsion was resisted strongly and in many different ways, ranging from labor service inadequately performed to open rebellion. Maurice Dobb says the land/labor ratios are of crucial importance in a society where peasant production predominates (Hilton, 1987). Both Bois and Kulalay stress on structural contradiction within feudalism between large-scale feudal landownership and the small holding peasant unit of production.

Chirot, (1991) says that the study of social and economic change from the 1950s to the 1980s has exhibited striking discontinuity. The very term ‘modernization’, once so common, now sounds mildly archaic and politically suspect. The focus has instead shifted to a related but analytically distinct topic, international power relations. World system theory do not look into internal class conflicts that leads to social change, in the same way as the modernization theory ignored international politics and unequal economic exchanges between countries. The study of modernization began as a coherent, distinct field in America because the United States suddenly found itself the leader of the western world and the only defender of its economic and ideological interests against the Soviet Union. US therefore became the model of how to be properly modern. Capitalist modernization followed by US became the model evil and the reason for poverty in most of the world, “World system theory’ believes that it’s not backwardness or lack of modernity but the imperialism was the new evil. Nevertheless, both modernization theorists and world system theorists have studied the process of social change.

2.2.1 Modernization theory:

Modernization theory propagates that trade and exchange between western capitalist countries and other third world countries would break the feudal traditional constraints and move them towards the growth and modernization (Chirot, 1991). From the start, modernization theorists intuitively knew what a modern society was like (like United States), but they had no explanation of why Western societies had modernized and the rest of the world had not. Modernization theory in no way tried to explain why societies modernized

before others or why the rate of social change throughout the world has been uneven in the twentieth century, other than to say that those who changed fastest underwent social modernization the most.

2.2.2 World system theory:

And “world system theory” argues that Western imperialism has been responsible for slow growth (Chiot, 1991). Paul Barren (1957) wrote that the intrusion of western capitalism had violently destroyed the self-sufficiency of non-western economies, had looted and raped them, and had blocked the ripening of the capitalist economic development. Colonialism rather than perpetuating ‘traditional’ social patterns created new ones. Georges Balandier (1951) says colonial societies were being divided, disrupted and economically impoverished by their contacts with the west. Raul Prebisch (1949) oriented a whole generation of Latin American social scientists this theoretical approach by explaining that Latin American economies were too dependent on primary exports to the manufacturing countries of the capitalist world. In return they imported the manufactured goods. The industrialized economies were in a stronger position because their diversity and high technology, while the overspecialized Latin American economies relied too heavily on a few export products whose terms of trade deteriorated compared to the prices of the products they imported. Over reliance on primary exports slowed the rate of technological innovations, this was the heart of the dependency theory.

World system theory agreed with dependency theorists that long term contact with the leading capitalist power of the world was anything but conducive to economic and social progress. Wallerstein in his world system theory applied the idea of class conflict to the international relations and gave the concept of international conflict. According to this theory core countries of the developed world become an upper class, the periphery, the ‘third world’, becomes the exploited working class, and the semi-periphery of the capitalist world as a middle class. Wallerstein’s theory remained fairly conventional dependency theory, blaming all of the world’s ills on capitalism’s ruthless and grasping exploitation. World-system theory and dependency theory are logical and consistent explanations of uneven economic development in the contemporary world, and they provide satisfying historical models of the last 500 years of social and economic change.

“One of the most important faults of the world system theory is its inability to explain why economic development affects areas with roughly similar historical and cultural

traditions in very similar ways, regardless of their power or position in the world system (Chirot, 1981).” Uneven development among countries, among regions within countries, and among classes as a major problem, as it has been since the rise of capitalism.

Chirot (1981) says, today’s main theoretical pre-occupations seem to be with ‘rational man models’ and a ‘theory of state’. The former is in relation to a neo-classical economic model of human behavior, and the second emphasizes the key independent role of bureaucracy as a distinct class in and of itself.

2.2.3 The Demographic Model:

Brenner, (1985) opines that analysis of late medieval and early modern period’s income distribution should be able to depict not just the distributional change in the immediate product of the land but also the property distribution between the landlord and peasant, which decides the rent relationship. He argues that long-term stagnation and the backwardness of the economy are the products of surplus extraction relations of the established structures, just as the economic development as the product of the new class relations which are more favourable to new production organizations, innovating technologies, and increasing levels of productive investment. It was the autonomous process of ‘class conflict’ that created the new class relations. He criticizes the Postons proposition that “peasant’s freedom or unfreedom can be more or less directly assimilated to the supply/demand demographic model (Brenner, 1985).”

2.2.4 The Commercialization Model:

Poston (1985) tried to show that market forces of the medieval period intensified the serfdom, instead of dissolving it. He further opines that the landlords rights and ability to control the peasantry should be terminated, then only society can see the end of the serfdom.

2.2.5 Class Conflict and Economic Development:

It was believed that the capitalist class relations in the country side will destroy the traditional feudal economy and establish the relatively self sustaining economic development. The self-sustained economy in the town depended upon destruction of the serfdom and the emergence of peasant property in the countryside which is the result of an internal class conflict. The landlords confiscate not only the above subsistence income of peasants but also

the funds that are meant for renovation of lands to increase the fertility and productivity. The lands, on an average, extract fifty percent of the peasant product which will not plough back into production but unproductive purposes.

Poston & Hatcher (1985) observes that demographic factors are never presented by historians as an 'omnipresent and omnipotent' force behind every economic and social activity and organization. They also observe that Malthus was more interested in individual per capita income and well-being rather than aggregate economic development. And criticizes Brenner (1985) for exaggerating the relative importance of rents and its elasticity.

According to Croot & Parker (1985), the core of Brenner's argument is that, establishment of secure property rights by English peasants and complete freedom by French peasants became "an insurmountable barrier to economic progress". He says secure property rights enabled 'capitalist landlords' of the England to concentrate huge chunk of lands, and complete freedom with greater economic incentives and widespread commercial attitudes, peasantry did not have "the means to resist their complete dispossession". As the non-agricultural sector is stagnant, there is no incentive for the peasant give up their even totally inefficient holdings. At the other hand as there is no diversified market the other village community is less interested to hold the less fortunate lands.

Mere analysis of agrarian structure doesn't give enough reasons why the capitalist farming emerged in England, instead of a squeezing of the peasantry like in France. The capitalist farming not necessarily a product of large estates, Brenner says. As French monarchy brutally depressed the ownership of petty peasants, the countryside missed independent peasant class (Croot & Parker, 1985).

Hilton (1985) says, lordship should be analysed in a socio-economic structure to explain the feudal mode of production. Separate holdings in the family and higher stage peasant organization in the village community works within the boundaries of feudal structure. In a feudal society the main classes meet within boundaries of lordship to transfer the surplus and to convert it into an income of landowner. As time and place changes the forms of surplus labor transformation from peasants to lords also assumes different forms. In a feudal society principal expression of power is jurisdiction.

Specific dependence forms reflect, determine and make up the general history of feudal society. Landowners income in the feudal society depends on the 'on the productivity

and exploitability' of the peasants, hence, changes in peasant economy reverberates the entire society..

Cooper (1985) says sixteenth century 'human capital' invested all their energy in religious wars then in economic activity. He further says, large landownership with wage labour and tenant farmer is the means of economic growth and pre-condition for the capitalist production. Agriculture production is inefficient under peasant farming and abolition of it, will lead to more progressive capitalist tenanat farming. He says, because of this reason, peasant farming could not provide agrarian basis for economic development, but in a capitalist agriculture even a small unit caould compete with the large scale farms.

For Bois (1985), the foundation of feudalism is in the peasant holding with one plough, multiplication of this one holding is the expansion of production. He says in the sixteenth century the tendencies for weakening the feudal mode of production was strong, however, the accumulation was stalled and fundamental changes in the system did not take place. Marxists considers tax burden as a part of feudal levy. If land is giving returns like another form of capital then it is considered that agrarian capitalism exists. He firtur argues that large holdings of capitalist farms "would not necessarily have the magical powers of increasing productivity."

Sometimes feudalism is deepened by some state imposed laws. According to Klima (1985) in England the renewed ordinance of 1867 restricted movement of rural people, tied them to the soil, and without the lord permission they can not move anywhere. But these feudal restrictions lifted sometimes partially and purely temporarily, therefore, this temporary partial movement can not be regarded as weakening of feudalism. The transition of feudal rent in the form labour service to money rent and non-economic coercion of lord by contractual relationship of entrepreneur is provided incentive for the peasant.

Brenner, (1985b,1991) opines that social property system in the feudal society limits the progress of production development which results in economic stagnation. Ladurie (1985) had different opinion on the effect of agrarian conflict on the social change. He says influence of conflict on society will be purely superficial and society fallows its own destiny (Brenner, 1985). Bois (1985) opines that it is peasants farming which shaped the feudal economy as the landlords could extract what the peasant could produce. And he also says as long as new lands are available, lords assign these uncultivable lands to peasants and continue the feudal extractions without much conflict with them. But Brenner has differen opinion, he thinks , it

is difficult to improve the production efficiency in an economy where peasants, the different producers, are separated from their means of subsistence; the land. Understanding the emergence of Capitalist property relations will give better understanding of modern economic growth and development. So long as pre-capitalist relations prevailed, no pre-capitalist society could achieve modern economic growth. In the medieval period France and west Germany conflicts between peasants and lords massively transformed the property relations and succeeded in establishing full property rights on their lands.

Brenner, (1991) opines that in an economy where the direct producers have been separated from their means of subsistence, it will be rather difficult to develop productive efficiency. He also says that in order to understand the modern economic growth, or economic development, it is necessary to understand how capitalist property relations have come to exist. Conflicts of the medieval period worked a massive transformation in property relations in France and much of West Germany. Peasants succeeded, through long term resistance, in establishing essentially full property in their plots.

2.3 Mode of Production Debate

All Marxist historians accepted the concept of ‘mode of production’ as an important tool to conduct historical investigations and to understand the agrarian change. The mode of production is based first on the ‘forces of production’, and the second on the ‘relations of production’. The forces of production are the natural resources, technology and the labor power. The ‘relations of production’ explains the relationship between the capitalist, the owner of the means of production, and the labor, who earns their own subsistence and also the income of the capitalist. Development in the forces of production substantially affects the relationship between the capitalist and labor. Feudal mode of production is the relationship between peasants and landlords. The ‘mode of production’ is simply the infrastructure of a society, whose laws, religions, state forms and cultures are super structural features developed from the economic structure. A given social formation, though primarily shaped by a dominant mode of production, can contain elements of other modes and their super-structural forms. In a feudal society, some would argue that, the laws of serfdom entered so deeply into the process of surplus extraction that they should be regarded as part of the relations of production, rather than as part of the legal, political and ideological super-structure. It could be argued perhaps even more strongly that the law of slavery, in making

men and women simply instruments of production, was indisputably an element in the economic infrastructure.

Daniel (1969) defined capitalist farms base on hired labour, producing commodities for sale in the market for profit and a substantial share of these profits reinvested in agriculture to enlarge the scale and for the intensification of production. He says there were urban based “gentlemen farmers’ whose principal income derives from industry, commerce, professions or government service who have in recent years taken up scientific agriculture either on land which they already had or on land purchased or rented in for the purpose. In 1967 he drew attention to movement in the opposite direction, from the cities to the countryside which he called ‘gold rush’. The significance of gentlemen farmers lies not in their numbers, but in the dynamism, they have brought to the countryside, their willingness to try out anything new that seems promising, and their ability to mobilize the funds needed for these experiments.

Rudra, Majidand, & Talib (1969) opine that there is expansion of large-scale farming in Punjab which accompanied by rapid growth of mechanization and a high rate of capital formation, and with the state assistance these capitalist farmers formed a significant proportion of capital. Rudra (1970) not just tried to study large scale farming but capitalist farming, “if such a category could be scientifically defined and identified empirically”. While there is no rigorous definition of capitalist farmer Rudra expected some features to be observed in capitalist farmer. A capitalist farmer cultivates his land himself rather than gives it to rent, uses hired labour more than family labour, uses farm machinery, is market oriented and profit oriented.

Rao R.S. (1970) commented on the methodology Rudra (1969) adopted to find capitalist farmers in Punjab. R.S. Rao (1970) says that at any point of time in the transition, one can find emergence of capitalist elements mainly, but also to some extent the pre-capitalist relation. Hence, a farmer with a high cash wage payment is not a necessary condition, although it is an sufficient condition to consider him as a capitalist farmer. The word modern is a relative term when observing the changes from wooden plough to iron plough and to tractor, therefore existing value of modern capital equipment per acre is not an indicator of capitalist character, hence, what implies the capitalist character is the increasing accumulation of capital, whether old or new. When it comes to cash profit per acre it is

simply an indicator of performance efficiencies during the corresponding year, rather than him being a capitalist or otherwise.

Patnaik, (1971a) says that a new class who produce and invest for profits emerged in Indian agriculture, though small in number, but very significant. She observes that, since 1958, there had been steady inflation in agricultural prices made agriculture profitable and resulted in emergence of capitalist farmers in Indian agriculture. The rate of capitalist development may vary in different regions depending on many historical and current circumstances. It may be zero in some areas, but the process of capitalist farmers' emergence cannot be denied.

As Indian agriculture evolved from colonial rule there exists a large force of labour in agriculture. For capitalist existence in agriculture "free wage labour is necessary but not sufficient condition." Colonial rule degraded petty production and created a class which was divorced from the means of production (first phase of European bourgeoisie revolution). This is a necessary condition for capitalist emergence but not sufficient. Agriculture production for market is also a necessary condition but not sufficient condition for the existence of capitalist farmers. Main difference between dominant landholder and capitalist farmer is a dominant farmer appropriates the surplus value created by the wage-labour, but capitalist farmer accumulates and reinvests in agriculture to create more surplus value.

Karat (1973) says that development of professional money lenders need not be the outcome of the increasing pauperization of the peasantry and their alienation from the means of production. He also says there are no traditional commercial money lending castes such as chettiars and banias.

Schoer (1977) says that in agrarian relations the principal contradiction is between the feudal lords and the capitalist elements because the economic interests of the feudal lords influence against the development of the forces of production. Both modes of exploitation exists in Indian agriculture, capitalists exploitation of wage labour and feudal elements of appropriation of ground rent, trade and usury so, there are many instances of shifting of exploiters from feudal to capital modes of production and vice versa. In order to theorize there are feudal relations of production in agriculture one has to show that the 'feudal lords' are interested in preventing the development of forces of production, either directly by hampering improvements in the technique of production under pre-capitalist conditions, or

indirectly by not allowing production process to transform into capitalist mode. In that way big landowners hamper the development of the forces of production in agriculture.

Sau (1979) opines that private ownership and absolute rent hinders the development of capitalism. Monopoly of landed property is the reason for the high levels of pre-capitalist rent. It leads to consequent landlessness or near-landlessness of a high proportion of working population, and their struggle for a livelihood within agriculture in the absence of alternative job opportunities. The feudal rent must be the principal contradiction which prominent modes of exploitation in Indian agriculture. Big landlords prefer to invest their capital in unproductive spheres of investment like money lending, trade and real estate because unproductive investments yield very high rates of profit

Mukherjee (1981) observes the reality of agrarian relations and says one cannot ignore either caste or class contradictions or take two into account. Land gift (*Bhoodan*) movement in India which was started in 1950s to change the heart of landowners proved unsuccessful. In the last three decades productive forces developed spectacularly but the benefits are appropriated neither by the peasant community nor by the people in the society.

Bhalla (1983) says agrarian structure has undergone some important changes in India during late 19th and early 20th centuries due to deliberate attempts to increase commercial crop production and increase in canal irrigation in some parts of the country. But these investments in irrigation are limited to only some places and old feudal relations became a barrier to get the full benefits of technology properly. So, whatever change was happening was very limited in its nature and extent. The land relations were semi-feudal in its form. In Princely states the land relations were more archaic. He says that the peasant movement was able to unite all the sections of the peasantry because of the non-differentiation in the peasantry. As a result of land reforms and changes in production technology the agrarian production relations have undergone intense changes.

Colonial administration and local feudal interests suppressed all kinds of peasant movements. The main contradiction was between the peasants and colonial rule supported by the landlords and money lenders. The contradiction within the peasantry and between peasantry and landless laborers was not developed fully. So, the leadership of the peasant movement gave primary importance to anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle. The communist led Kisan Sabha organized only cultivators but not landless laborers who are mostly low castes in the caste hierarchy. The landlords managed to escape from the land

reforms and keep very large land holdings with the connivance of local bureaucracy. There were so many variations in implementing the land reforms, agriculture modernizing techniques and varying rural institutional structures. That's the reason India became a multi structural economy where capitalist, peasant and semi-feudal agrarian structures co-exist and contend with each other. So, generalization of mode of production of Indian agriculture can be misleading. New technology first took place in the areas where *Mahalwary* and *Ryotwory* land settlements are there and, in the places, where self-cultivators are dominated. In these areas capital accumulation happened at a very fast rate. The role of the market has increased with everyone dragged into the market system where they have to sell their products and purchase the inputs. In non-green revolution areas technology entered into the places where irrigation facilities were there. In these areas where technology entered there very clearly capitalist modes of production developed. Some of the Tenants are the small and marginal farmers who needed protection and in some parts tenancy is commercialized and dominated by rich farmers.

Mukherji & Sahoo (1992) say even though the *Zamindari* system was abolished, and peasants became independent, landlordism survived in the form of land rent and usury. As a result, in the present time also attachment and bondage are the characteristics of feudal agrarian system. Characteristics of capitalistic agrarian system, the cultivator is the farmer. He makes his own decisions regarding what to grow and these decisions are depend on the profit. The market is completely monetized. The farmer computes cost of cultivation and makes investments according to that and there is a risk element.

Rao & Nair (2003) say that the proportion of large holdings declined, and small and medium holdings increased. He also said a large number of erstwhile landless households became small land holders. Forward Castes (FCs) have been resorting to occupational and investment diversifications in the urban environment. The space vacated by FCs in agrarian structure was filled by BCs and sometimes with SCs also. In this sense rural economy is in favour of BCs. BCs and some SCs who bought lands from the FCs got surpluses either from the agriculture or non-agriculture both within and outside the country such as Gulf. Village society impacted by social movements and left movements helped in lessening the inequalities and hierarchies.

Som (2005) observes changes in forces of production and political shifts, transform agrarian society. Capitalist relations exist in agriculture production when labour are freed from all kinds of patronage and institutionalized dependency relationships.. Most of the SCs and STs in the rural areas becomes the main force of agriculture labour.

Sharma (2005) says that because of widespread poverty and exploitation by the rich, agricultural labourers and poor peasants run movements against state by challenging the existing structure of power to transform the agrarian relations. Existence of semi-feudal agrarian structure was not only exploitative and also hinders the development of technology in agriculture. Abolition of *zamindari* system brought some relaxation of the stronghold of the semi-feudal relations of production. Land reforms and agriculture development programmes created consciousness among the peasantry. Upper caste landlords dispossessed their lands and upper-middle castes, the main beneficiaries of the green revolution, got those lands have strengthened their position in the rural society in Bihar. Landlessness, land hunger and the consequent higher demand for land lease on the one side and increasing cost of cultivation on the other, leasing out of land is more profitable in comparison to self-cultivation. In some other relations of labour the landowner supplies all the inputs, and the supplier of labour, the tenant cultivator gets a share of output.

Land holdings are marginal, and the productivity of land is low on the one hand and educated youth of landlord families forced to return home due to lack of suitable employment in urban areas. They entered into agriculture and tend to eat into the wages of labour because marginal landholdings could not generate surplus. If the workers get organized and demand for their rights, they were killed to suppress their voices. Due to the abolition of Zamindari system middle castes who are mostly the tenants purchased lands, then the power relations of caste shifted in favour of the middle peasant castes. The main reasons behind the breakdown of the semi-feudal relations in the country, Sharma (2005) believes, are that militant movements, increasing migration, commercialization, casualization of labour, rising real wages. Peasant movements have risen agricultural wages in the areas of their influence and also kept the land reforms agenda alive. These movements also eliminated several forms of exploitation. Most important gain of these peasant movements is weakening of the semi-feudal system in the rural areas.

Jakimow, Williams, & Tallapragada (2013) tried to understand the characteristics of future farmers, their access to resources and their willingness to invest in agriculture. Livelihood strategy of small cultivators and labourers includes cultivation of own land plus wage labour. Mostly these groups belong to SCs or BCs possessing some inherited land, other lands acquired later through government distribution or purchase. Due to some structural changes and dispositions such as accessibility to education and job opportunities these sections became aware of the need to not work under exploitative conditions and pursue alternative livelihoods. Their structural positions remain same: the extraction of their surplus labour that enables the profitability of large farms but with education their incorporation into the labour market became favorable with increased wages and decreased working hours. Their consumption patterns also changed with the enhanced social status. Most of the people in the villages cultivate for their own consumption rather than cultivating commercial crops.

Breman (2013) argues that the landless and land-poor classes constitute the broad bottom of the agrarian economy. Inequality in land ownership is the reason for poverty. Share cropping effectively downgraded the peasant to agriculture labour. More often the “landlord-*hari* (peasant) relationship resembles that of serfdom“. The landless peasants became entrapped into a tenancy relationship which increased their indebtedness. Landless landholders who engaged in share cropping earlier slid down to farm labourers. But due to low wages and lack of sufficient employment opportunities they moved out of the rural area. Increased demographic pressure and changing land to man ratio led to the proletarianization of the peasantry. In Punjab (Pakistan), the bigger class of landowners think renting out land is more profitable than engaging peasants in sharecropping. The increasing capitalist nature of agriculture meant that sharecroppers in this area decreased, further it resulted in even greater vulnerability to debt bondage. Shortage of regular work is the reason to renegotiate a deal with landlord. When rural mass migrates to urban areas, they tend to linger at the bottom of the informal sector where urbanization without industrialization takes place.

Kar (2013;2) has said, “Still today, contradiction between feudalism and broad masses remains one of the fundamental contradictions and solving this contradiction with the programme of land reform can only help establish progressive social production relation”. The term semi-feudalism itself shows that there had been some infusion of capital which gave rise to some capitalist features closely intertwined with feudal base.

Jodhka (2014) is found that attached labourers are the most deprived category in the agrarian society of Haryana. Attached labour functioned more as a labour mortgage system for interest free credit rather than a subsistence guarantee arrangement. He says development of capitalism or modernization of agriculture should lead not only to increase in productivity and integration of agriculture into the broader national market but also bring about a fundamental change in the social relations of production. His main argument is that attached labourers are more deprived and indebted than the casual labourers. They have difficult working conditions therefore, they strongly dislike working as attached labourers. There was no bondage, and laborers entered contracts voluntarily but the elements of unfreedom were quite obvious. If there were serious compulsion only did labour work as attached labour, and this system worked more as a labour mortgage system for interest free credit rather than subsistence guarantee. Labourers have negative preference for attached labour therefore they mobilized possible sources to come out of the relationship.

Vijay (2018) says that existence of unemployment even when there are positive wages, multiplicity of interest rates and presence of share tenancy are a puzzle to the ne-classical economists. The mode of production debate earlier used treat that agrarian structure as the casual factor generating agrarian relations, but the emphasis started shifting to the functional aspects of these relations. New forms of relations are identified in recent empirical studies, “small farmers are leasing out land to the large landowners, an increase in land under lease specifically in the irrigated areas, an increase in mixed tenancy and a dominance of fixed form of tenancy”. In the rural economy the non-institutional sources are reviving.

2.4 Agrarian Conflict Theory

Marxist scholarship have maintained its agrarian class transition and origin in and development through agrarian struggle and their form of resolution, which was explained by Engels's (1996) “Peasant war in Germany”, Lenin's writings on agrarian class struggle question, Dobbs (1947 ‘transition debate’ and Norman's (1940) analysis of the “origins of capitalism in Japan”. The works of Barrington Moore (1966), Brenner (1977, 1985a, 1985b), Mohanrao (1985) and Gi-Wook Shin (1998, 1999) also represent the similar explanation of transition of agrarian struggle. Their main arguments help illuminate the historical roots of

agrarian change in Telangana in Nizam feudal regime and later Indian occupation where the agrarian struggles are predominant.

It was Engels (1996) who talked about a semi-feudal character of a state, while he was explaining the 1840's Prussian government. And he also opines that abolition of feudalism is a necessary condition for a modern state to emerge. Impetuous growth of industry leads to struggle between workers and bourgeoisie. To get the enough strength to fight the workers the bourgeoisie class had to dismantle the inner social foundations of the old state; the junkers. So, Engels says, "the abolition of feudalism means the introduction of bourgeoisie conditions (Engels, 1996:7)."

Peasant role as a revolutionary factor in the struggle against the large landowners and the feudal lords was never underestimated by Marx and Engels. Engels emphasizes on the necessity of a merciless struggle against the feudal masters, the landlords. Engels says, "Only a radical abolition of all traces of feudal domination could create the most favourable conditions for the success of a proletarian revolution (Raizanov, 1996: 70)."

Moore (2010) describes the landlords and peasantries various political and economic roles in the agrarian transformation from feudal to modern capitalistic societies. Moore questions the propagation that twentieth century totalitarian regimes were the results of industrialization, because Russia and China were intensely agrarian societies when the communists established in these countries. The important step for the France to institutionalize the democracy was the violent destruction of the ancient feudal regime. The economists believed until recent that the capitalism and the political democracy can lead the world into modern industrial society. He also says that revolutions and civil wars were the crucial part of the emergence of liberal democracy.

Brenner (1987) opines that in the late medieval and early modern Europe, demographic fluctuations, growth of trade and markets considered as the main economic forces behind the long-term economic change. So, in this period economist viewed agrarian transformation as automatically occurring process, driving through the laws of supply and demand. As per these economic models, changes in the institutionalized relationships of equal exchange considered as long-term economic development. For Brenner, "it is the structure of class relations, of class power, which will determine the manner and degree to

which particular demographic and commercial changes will affect long-term trends in the distribution of income and economic growth and not vice versa.”

Class structure has two aspects, first the ‘social forces of production’ and second ‘the surplus extraction relationships. The relationship between direct producers, to their tools and to the land is called ‘labour process’ or the social forces of production. Inherently conflictive relations of property between the direct producers and the class of non-producers called the ‘property relations’ or ‘the surplus extraction relationship’. In a society fundamental classes are defined by property relations or surplus extraction relations. The changes in demographic or commercial trends can not shape or alter the class structure (Brenner, 1987). Without specifying class relations, the long-term economic change especially the growth can not be analysed based on scarce factors. The transition from feudalism to capitalism and the long-term economic development are the outcomes of the class conflict.

The landlords increase their income by squeezing the peasants through increasing money rent or labour service but not by reinvesting and introducing new techniques in agriculture. The property relationships between lords and the peasants also a barrier to the productivity development. The feudal rents limits the accumulation by peasants, restriction n mobility of peasants and the land limits the free market for the labour and prevent land concentration.

The landlords often prevent large accumulating tenants not to get more lands which would give them free status and made it harder to collect rent from them. The peasant with his increased bargaining power tries to get freedom and landlords constantly tries not to provide them freedom. The production development of peasants and surplus etraction relations always have contradictions that lead to peasant accumulation crisis of peasant productivity. Even in the western world the destruction of feudalism did not resulted in any successful economic development towards capitalism. The pattern of changes in agriculture productivity varies with the different class structures, hence, the overall pattern of economic development disparate with the class structures. If successful, the peasant results, might have clipped the wings of rural capitalismbut they failed. It does not mean that peasant cultivation is incapable of progressing the productions, but it could not become the base for the economic development. Virticulture, dairying, horticulture and certain industrial crops are

productive in small scale farming, but it needs a greater efficiency of a given unit of labour input.

The peasants in France united and rebelled against landlords to get rid of the serfdom and to gain the property rights which they succeeded. Correlatively, the state emerged as a competitor to the landlords in extracting the surplus of peasant production. In this competition, state imposed limitations on landlords rents and increased taxes which enabled peasants to gain freedom and peasant property rights. Due to state intervention the French landlords could not consolidate larger holdings, as in England, by increasing surplus extraction from peasant production. The French state supported and assured hereditability and fixed the fines for customary tenures. The complete freedom and secure property rights for the peasant results in 'self-perpetuating' cycle of backwardness and poverty. Absence of state intervention and property rights in England facilitated the advancement of rural economic development.

Shin (1999) opines that for Marxist scholars the proletariat is the primary agent of social change. He criticizes Marxists nationalists that they do not consider the peasantry not the leading class for the social revolution but a secondary and the best supporting class. The bourgeoisie and Marxist nationalist both considers urban and modern are better off comparatively with the rural who are traditional. Agrarianism is not in direct opposition to colonialism but it sharply disagrees with the bourgeois and Marxist nationalists and rejects a modernist view of historical development. Agrarianist thought and programme is utopian, romanticists and non-modern in its nature but its response to the bourgeoisie and Marxist nationalists is very modern. Shin (1999) opines that "the perception of uneven development creates the potential for nationalism, it is born where the more and less advanced populations can be easily distinguished in cultural terms."

Commercialization of agriculture may bring prosperity to rural society in short-term but when world market collapses, except landlords the entire rural population which depends on agriculture gets into a severe crisis. Hence, agrarianists suggests to establish an agrarian nation with self-sufficient agrarian communities as a solution for the agrarian crisis in the rural side. Agrarianism emerges when society is transforming from agriculture based economy to industrial economy. Agrariansit believes that capitalists development increasing dependency on foreign forces and urbanism is destroying the rich tradition and culture of the rural society.

Shin (1998) explains the Moore's observation on first capitalist production relations. Moore observed that landlords responded to agrarian struggles through enclosing lands that initiated capitalist relations in agriculture production. Shin also says agrarian conflict makes feudal surplus extraction less viable or non-viable which alters the regressive class structure in agriculture. And agrarian conflict makes landed class look for alternative forms of wealth accumulation that leads to the capitalist development.

Commercialization in agriculture and export based foreign trade did not lead to capitalism in agriculture. Commercialization intensified labour use without any increase in productivity which ultimately pressurized tenants. Due to high rental rates, Shin mentions especially of Korea, landlords did not find any incentive to invest in new technology to improve productivity, instead they enter into usury which is more profitable than land income. He also says that the old social and economic order of powerful landed aristocracy did not get perturbed by capitalist mode of production relations.

Commercialization and market expansion in early colonial Korea did not bring any transformation in agriculture. Only enterprising farmers reinvested and improved agriculture production but the landlords contained the traditional surplus extraction which increases the pressure on tenants. The reformist who always tried to get better terms with the established landed class angered the revolution. Obtaining better tenancy terms and lowering rents can not dismantle existing landed class in agriculture rather assertiveness on lands will do.

Chirot (1981) says that the study of social and economic change has exhibited striking discontinuity from the 1950s to 1980s. The discussion has moved from the "Modernization" to international power relations. The theory of World systems did not take internal causes of social change just as surely as the theory of modernization ignored international power relations and unequal exchange between different economies. One is 'modernization' theory and the other one is "world system" theory. Just as modernization theory is closely linked to the emerging cold war, the Marshall plan, and the start of America's golden age of economic, political and social world supremacy, so was world system theory linked to the next stage of international relations. Both modernization theorists and world system analysts have studied the process of social change and concentrated on the reasons for which some types of societies experienced more rapid economic growth than others. The theory of world systems and dependency theory are logical and consistent explanations of uneven economic

development in the contemporary world. This doesn't mean that they are right, but that they are more difficult to attack than modernization theory, which explains little and provides only a loose system of definitions instead of a coherent theory. Despite their lack of theory, modernization theorists had a good point when they claimed that endogenous institutions and cultural factors determined rates of economic growth. "One of the most important faults of world-system theory is its inability to explain why economic development affects large areas with roughly similar historical and cultural traditions in very similar ways, regardless of their power or position in the world-system (Chirot, 1981)." Chirot also opines that a more useful direction for future research of economic development would be to engage in an unbiased study of economic and institutional histories and to tie them to the formation of interest groups which carry particular segments of national cultures and he also says that Barrington Moore (1966) showed the way toward this kind of work.

Norman (1940) traces the end of feudal class structure of Japan in nineteenth century by analyzing economy, politics and foreign policy. After facing continuous agrarian crisis in Japan peasants lead violent revolts became very frequent. These revolts weakened the traditional feudal structure of Bakufu and lead to a successful political movement. The breakdown of the feudalism gave birth to new social forces and set up a new regime.

Chronic agrarian distress bred the peasant revolt. The centralized authorities of Japan collapsed it could not suppress the agrarian revolt rather gave the spirit to peasant to challenge the Bakufu feudal regime. Japan transformed from feudalism to capitalist production system without going through *laissez-faire* stage and Victorian liberalism. Feudal lords became monopolist businessmen and manufacturers to increase their income. In the transformation period most of the lords tried to postpone their financial ruine by opting for alternative feudal forms of extraction such as cutting the stipends of Samurai in the name of borrowings. This led the peasantry to more stubbornly revolt which saped both the economic and political basis of feudalism.

In the transitional period of *Mieji* regime, the peasants could not emancipated from typical feudal restrictions also burdened with the new regimes pressure. The peasants and city poor revolts made possible the first pahse of the anti-feudal and democratic opposition to the traditional feudalism in Japan. The abolition of Japan's feudalism was not a miracle but the logical outcome of conflicts of internal social forces which are often invisible. The feudal

aristocracy in Japan was threatened by internal social conflict on the one hand and on the other government offered monetary incentives to get out of old surplus extraction methods. Thus, the feudalism in Japan was partly driven by conflict and partly lured to its own destruction.

Brenner (1977) says the bourgeoisie revolutionizes the instruments of production and the production relations as well, and with them the entire relations of society will be revolutionized. But the capitalists' penetration through foreign trade and financial capital in the third world not only failed to carry the economic development but also created barriers for such development. If production expansion through foreign trade and financial capital did not transform the earlier feudal relations to capitalistic relations of production there is no possibility of extensive capital accumulation. Brenner strongly believes that in late medieval and early modern Europe historical developments happened through class struggle rather than just developments in production forces. He says that only a successful struggle by peasants and tenants to protect their rights on holdings can dismantle the old feudal surplus extraction methods and its class structure.

Brenner says, in England capitalist economic development occurred through two-sided historical process, on the one hand, serfdom was dissolved and on the other peasant property was short circuited or undermined. Obviously, this two-sided historical process was result of class conflict rather than the progress of ruling class economic policy or the ruling class intention to transform the society. In Western Europe, the peasants had dismantled the serfdom despite landlords' strong opposition to it. The real origins of transition from feudalism to capitalism lies in the contrasting result of the class struggle. The class conflict freed peasant from feudal surplus extraction methods and emergence of capitalist production relations are inadvertent outcome of that conflict.

As Marx expected, the capitalist expansion through trade and investment could not obtain capitalistic economic development automatically. Even 'the industrial capitalists' could not challenge the earlier feudal establishment rather they joined neo-feudalists through family relations and state office. Brenner also opines that expecting bourgeoisie to play a crucial role in an 'anti-feudal and anti-imperial revolution' was a dangerous utopia.

Easther (1983) observes that between 1893 and 1917, Lenin developed a strategy for peasant revolution. In her view the peasants who were majority in the Russian population posed a fundamental challenge to Lenin who dedicated to the triumph of an urban proletarian minority. Marx and Engels considered terrorism the best that Russia could do in the absence of revolutionary proletariat.

Dobb (1947) says that in the traditional interpretation of the transformation, an analysis of the internal relationships of Feudalism as a mode of production and the part which these played in determining the systems disintegration or survival is clearly missing. And he continues “while the actual outcome has to be treated as a result of a complex interaction between the external impact of the market and these internal relations of the system, there is a sense in which it is the latter that can be said to have exercised the decisive influence.” Dobb also says that “what new production will take place if the old does not depend on commerce but on the character of the old mode of production itself (Dobb, 1947).”

Mohanrao (1985) opines that the growth in agriculture takes place only with the “emergence of conflict that can be turned against non-productive classes by suitable structural reforms in rural credit and marketing structures.”

Agrarian conflict theory considers agrarian conflict and its resolution as crucial factor for transition from feudalism to capitalist production relations. This theories make efforts to delineate the historical and social roots of agrarian transition. This theory elucidates how internal social conflict turns feudal surplus extraction less viable or non-viable. And it also illuminates how resolution of agrarian conflict alters the regressive feudal class structure with capitalist production relations by purchasing them for alternative sources of wealth accumulation. This thesis uses agrarian conflict theory and focuses on agrarian struggles to understand the Telangana agrarian transition. This thesis tries to examine whether peasant armed resistance in Telangana succeeded to alter the feudal class structure with capitalist production relations by providing the alternative avenues of capital accumulation.

2.5 Institutionalization of the social movements

The word ‘social movements’ introduced by German sociologist Lorenz Von Stein in his book ‘History of the French Social Movement from 1789 to the present’ (Tilly, 2004).

Hablarle conceptualized social movements as potentially dangerous forms of non-institutionalized collective political behavior that threaten the stability of the established social order (SinghaRoy, 2004). Every social movement has a life history and undergoes a transformation. It may be routinized or acquire a reformative character. A radical peasant movement is initiated and lead by radical ideology which aims for rapid social transformation with a non-institutionalised large-scale collective mobilization. On the other hand a reformative peasant movement with institutionalized mass mobilization initiated and guided by recognized bodies which seeks for gradual change within purview of established social arrangements. Roy (2004) opines that the peasant movements can not be differentiated as radical or reformative rather of one another or they may be transform one form to the other over a period of time (Roy, 2004).The communists who provided the leadership, organizational network and ideological basis for collective mobilization during the Telangana and Naxalite movements are now divided among themselves with separate political establishments. Through the long-drawn process of grassroots mobilization the peasantry in Telangana has now been conscientized to question the basis of legitimacy for their subordination and to take action to break the structures of subordination imposed upon them. Over the years the grassroots mobilization in Andhra Pradesh has experienced a shift from radical movement to the reformative. Peasant movements in India have undergone a complex process of transformation from the phase of radical to institutionalization (SinghaRoy, 2004). Pressure from international organization, democratization of political structures and movement activists cognitive shift in favour of state can be the main reasons for institutionalization of social movements (Roy, 2004)

Roy (2004) says social movements are always an inherent part of social transformation. These movements initiate new thoughts and actions for social transformation through organized protest and resistance against domination of the established class structures. Peasant society in India is very complex due to overlapping of the class, caste and ethnic identities within the peasant communities. Significantly in the text view of the caste system agriculture occupation has not historically got a place. As radical mobilizations are not sustained in the long-run, the process of institutionalization of mobilization has taken its own shape over a period of time. Notwithstanding a shift in the process of mobilizations towards institutionalization, the old issues of deprivation, poverty, inequality and subordination have remained rooted in peasant societies. The process of institutionalization of grassroots mobilization has had far reaching socio-political ramifications for the peasantry.

Social transformation caused by grassroots mobilization has altered many of the preexisting social relations among groups. Once the process of institutionalization started setting in, various structural norms and arrangements also started determining social intercourse. Institutionalization provided the peasantry with very limited space to challenge the structure of subordination.

Tilly (2004) describes “social movements as an invented institution, could disappear or mutate into some different form of politics.” There is a possibility of mutation and disappearance of social movements with decentralization of government, privatisation in government activities, domination of transnational powers on state, and wide spread democratisation. Professionalization in social movements leads to institutionalization, hence, declines innovation in social movements. Professionalization and institutionalization of social movement proceeds hand in hand. He also opines that, “committed populists often worry that social movement activists, already drawn from disproportionately prosperous, well educated, well connected segments of the population, will sell out the interests of truly disadvantaged people, establish comfortable relations with authorities, rely increasingly on support from the rich and powerful, and/or become social movement bureaucrats more interested in forwarding their own organizations and careers than the welfare of their supposed constituencies (Tilly, 2004).”

Suh (2011) defines that “social movements are a type of collective action that employ disruptive tactics, have a loosely coupled non bureaucratic organizational structure, maintain contentious relationships with polity members, and operate outside formal politics (Suh, 2011).” Co-option of movements by established state, or government is often equated with institutionalization of social movements. In order to sustain its own legitimacy and authority over people and with the fear of instability, the government always tries to co-opt and embrace social movements into it. Suh says social movements takes place in the street in violent and disruptive form rather than peacefully in an institutional set up because they aim for radical change in established social structure.

2.6 India: the price of a peaceful change

Moore (2010) says, failing to solve the agrarian problems constitutes a threat to democracy in India. He further says that in India the degree of misery and sufferings of rural poor and peasant is about the same as in China during nineteenth and twentieth centuries without generating a massive peasant movement. In India so far there has been neither

capitalist revolution from the above or below, nor a peasant revolution. Agrarian transition in India can not be explained by any theoretical framework which construct for other countries. Indian case several as a salutary check upon generalizations of agrarian transition. Peasant armed struggle in Telangana tried to kick over two of the main supporters of the established feudal social structure; the Nizam and the Indian government. Eventually, Congress was to welcome them back in a changed form (politicians) more suited to their requirements. The aristocratic order in the countryside survived but in a new shape.

Moore also observes that the caste system in India placed the landless labourers at the lower stage of social structure and tied them into the division of labor within the village, and its sanctions never depend on the existence of property. The political significance of such difference presents puzzling problems of assessment. Deterioration of upper classes had not taken place in India. Peasants are like sesame seeds; the more you press, the more comes out. Clearly the restoration might have been no more than a redistribution power within the feudal system. He further clarifies that “Big business needed fascism, patriotism, emperor worship, and the military, just as the army and the patriots needed big industry to carry out their political program (Moore, 2010).” Obstacles to modernization have been especially powerful in India. Indian modernization story is not a finished one. Only the future will reveal whether it is possible to modernize Indian society. The Islamic conquerors of India established an oriental despotism, more primitive than in China.

India still remains in pre-industrial age as it had neither industrial revolution nor peasant revolution. India has experienced no bourgeoisie conservative revolution from above and not a peasant revolution also. But India belongs to modern world as a political species. Political democracy without industrial revolution face appalling problems. The advent of the modern world does not lead to political or economic upheavals in India. Indian modernization process is not a finished one. Moore says only the future will reveal whether it is possible to modernize India and retain or extend democratic freedom. Islamic conquerors of India had established agrarian bureaucracy and a political system that is more primitive and unfavourable to the democratic political system and to the growth of business class. Due to peculiar structure of caste based peasant society and Mogul tax system, cultivation in India was lethargic and inefficient. The village community and caste system in India made Indian government purposeless with its pre-decided framework of social activity. Hence, peasants could not form a massive rebellion in opposition to the established feudal landed gentry of

the country. Innovation and opposition could be absorbed without change, by the formation of new castes and sub castes.

The rise of landlordism in independent India has deeper roots and long-run effect of colonial law and order of British and population increase. The industrial growth through agriculture surplus and native elite class emergence could not take place in India like in Japan due to colonial administration, the failure of the 1857 mutiny and caste based Indian peasant society. The British ruling class, the native landlords and money lenders absorbed all the surplus of agriculture and dissipated among themselves in India. Hence, Indian economy stagnant with continuous feudal surplus extraction methods throughout the British regime and into the independent India. The political democracy which was the result of national independent movement has not done anything to create an elite modern class in India's social structure. The village community of India which is continuously served and organized by caste turned into which it tended to disintegrate wherever and whenever a strong ruler was lacking. Even under independence and Nehru, much of the Mogul system remained intact.

Crops and ways of growing them were very much the same in Akbar's time as they still are today over wide sections of India. Due to Indian societies volatile natural forces, the peasant became passive, uninterested and prevented the transition to intensive peasant cultivation. Between Akbar's regime and early twentieth century India did not improve significantly in agricultural implements and techniques. The Indian ruling class treated peasants mainly as producers of revenue. The Zamindar was not only a landlord but a collector of taxes who stood between the government and the actual cultivator. The zamindari system was abolished to encourage peasant cultivation by providing access of the land to them and by preventing rack renting, the use of forced labor, and other abuses. Indian agriculture in word remains today what it was in Akbar's time and still was in Curzon's time: a gamble in the rains, where a bad crop means a disaster for millions of people.

2.7 Struggle and Change in Telangana:

Shivaramakrishna (1980) observes in his study that economic resources, political power, educational and cultural facilities are traditionally enjoyed by few castes. Most of the people in the second and almost all in the third group bore the brunt of the burden of supporting the hierarchical socio-economic pyramid. "The character of the property relations

in general and agrarian relations in particular, inter alia, has an important role to play in supporting or in dismantling the oppressive castes – ridden social order in the village”.

Two Reddy families in the village owned 165 and 80 acres each. One Reddy landlord surrendered his 54 acres of land under the land ceiling act. In this village surplus land, 234.20 acres, was distributed to 45 landless tenants to protect their rights. Cash payment and share cropping are the primary patterns of tenancy. Almost 50 percent of the was produce paid as rent. There is a demand to double these wages. Most of the peasants are poor and small peasants. There is no commercialization of agriculture. Production in relations are semi-feudal. But these relations are different from the Rayalaseema semi-feudal relations. Due to mechanization some of the artisans became agricultural laborers. As all political positions and land hold by Reddy community they dominated the village. Subsistence farming is the main farming and only few peasants produce for the market.

Venkataramana (1983) studied the Banking for rural development to analyze how commercial banks intervened in agrarian relations. Here, he looked at the implementation of the village adoption scheme in this area by the commercial bank. The time span of the study covers the period from 1976 to 1982. The study covered 24 adopted villages. He divided schemes into agricultural credit schemes, agriculture allied credit schemes and non-agriculture credit schemes. He further observed the implementation of the scheme and influence of those schemes on agrarian relations.

Marginal farmers did not get any crop loans. Small farmers availed the loans in large number but the total amount advanced to them is only 37.47 percent of the total advances under crop loans. In the case of other farmers (excluding marginal farmers and small farmers) the number of beneficiaries were small, but the total amount availed by them accounted for them 63.53 percent. Caste wise disbursal of crop loans too presents the same picture in as much as 60.73 percent of the total credit was availed by other castes i.e., other than SC, ST and BCs. Almost half of the beneficiaries under crop loans belonged to upper castes and only 45.45 percent were from backward castes other than SCs and STs. Loans availed by SCs was almost negligible.

Ashok (1984) worked on rural industrialization. He studied nine villages of three different blocks of Warangal district. From each block three villages have chosen. Handloom

weaving, shoe-making and finished leather products were the main industries in this area. Activities like pottery, carpentry, black smithy, wooden furniture making, and leather work are of course traditional industries everywhere in the area. Poultry and other agri-based industries are the result of migration. Thus, non-traditional activities like all agri-based units, brick making, poultry, tailoring, have been initiated in all the villages. Similarly, handloom weaving, a traditional activity has become market oriented in its production; majority of the units are owned by backward castes in all the three blocks. The process of change that is taking place in the rural industries is influenced by changes in mode of production. The traditional village industries are family based and to a very great extent produced for local market. The rural industries that are coming up now employ wage labor and they also produce for outside markets. This change in the mode of production will also have its impact on size structure of the units.

Venkatanarayana (1985) worked on the impact of socio-economic factors on employment, wages and living conditions of agricultural labor. He studied four villages in Warangal district. There was a leftist movement in the village but could not change the socio-economic settings of the village which were predominantly feudal. Village officers and main political leaders are from the upper castes, especially *Velamas* which is also a dominant community in the village. Agricultural laborers are mostly from the SC and ST's and Other Backward castes. There was a clear caste discrimination where *Velamas* could not be called by names other than as *Dora*, which means landlord. SC's work on the field of landlords for no immediate payment at the end they get low grade produce. If they serve under the Jajmani system, they have to work as an attached annual labor also. The Gutta system also prevailed where groups of casual labor worked together on the basis of piece wage rate. SC's and ST's who owns ploughs and bullocks have to work for the landlord during the brisk? season. Casual labor, contract labor and attached annual labor are the forms of agriculture labor that prevailed in the village.

He says that due to communist movement in 40's, affluent sections of Kamma community migrated to safer places. In 50s due to land price increases small farmers sold their lands and migrated and purchased fertile lands for cheaper prices. After the formation of Andhra Pradesh, the state government encouraged these migrants. Migrants who benefited out of it encouraged their friends and relatives to migrate.

Papireddy (1987) did an extensive study on agrarian unrest, peasant struggles and social change in Telangana. He studied three villages in Telangana with the primary intention to study the role of peasant associations like *Rytu Cooli Sangham* (RCS) in agrarian struggles. Till 1977 this exploitation of agricultural labor continued in economic and social forms. After 1971 due to movements by RCS and the slogan of *Garibi Hatao* consciousness had improved among masses. RCS intervened and helped poor farmers in land disputes with landlords in the village and succeeded in getting their rights on land. Where state intervened in the issues for landlords, RCS also settled the issues of sharing crops where (tenant was disadvantageous by paying more to the landlord.?) RCS fought for wage increases. The production relations in the village were semi-feudal. By 1980 landless organized under RCS and occupied 200 acres of government land owned by landlord distributed to landless.

To curb the movement even the government distributed 50 acres of land to the landless. These movements are supported by all sections of the landless. Due to these movements' wages increased, *vetti* and feudal practices also decreased. Some land is distributed by movements, some lands are distributed by government and some lands are sold by the landlords themselves. Soon, now the peasants increased. Village transformed into a small peasant economy. Now the main contradiction is between rich peasant and landless labor. One form of exploitation is grabbing tribal lands by merchants and other non-tribal by giving loans and goods. The merchants charge more prices to the goods as tribal are unaware of this cost and grab their lands in the name of repayments. The conflict between tribal and forest officials is about the rights on forest. Tribal has to pay bribes to use their own rights on forest. When land disputes occur between tribal and non-tribals, revenue officials favor the non-tribals by taking bribes. Excise officials take bribes from the tribal to cook their local liquor (mahua liquor) for their household consumption also. Kondapally Seetharamayya organized this village for their own rights. Tilled hundreds of acres of land declared by government as revenue forest, created awareness about their rights on forest. Tribal under the leadership of CPI (ML) organized against all kinds of exploitation by the merchants, forest officials, revenue officers and excise officers. Peasant struggles had brought dynamic changes in agrarian relations.

Gaddela (1990) worked on rural change in Telangana, he studied one village Ramachandrapuram in Warangal district. Agriculture is the main occupation source of income and employment. Three categories of labor, 1. Casual labor 2. Annual farm servants

3. Contract or Gutta labor. Earlier labor was under control of the upper castes of the villages *Velama's* and Brahmins. But later because of left parties' involvement especially RYL, this situation has changed. Radical movement existed in the villages which was organizing labor in this village and working for the "just demands" of the people. Most of the agriculture labor are SCs and lower strata of the BCs. Due to left movement and agrarian change, caste hierarchy and discrimination changed. Employment of annual farm servants declined.

Ramireddy (1992) observes that there is conflict between landowners and agriculture labor. These labors organized by left parties such as CPI (ML), PWG, CPI (M). "In both villages these organizations declared wage hike mostly (farmers follow the same?), whether they like it or not". In Telangana agriculture capitalists slowly emerged and tensions in agrarian relations continue. Annual farm servants or *jeetha* is a feudal element in Telangana region of AP. This *jeetha* system is a "changing form of slavery since ages". These *jeetha* workers had to perform both farm and domestic work. *Jeetha* or annual farm servants are mostly from weaker sections of the village.

Traditionally, annual farm workers used to do both farm and domestic work. Mostly annual farming was confined to farm activities with exceptions because of growing resistance from the annual farm workers. Changing agrarian structure is also a reason for that. Migration of landlords and big farmers to cities due to agrarian movements also reason for the decline of annual farm servants. Because of migration of youth and other people from village to cities this *jeetha* system is declining. Left movement "influenced the farm servants to organize themselves to fight against big farmers and landlords in recent years". Now neither landlords nor labor are interested in annual labor. "The coercive methods have been losing ground as democratic institutions are strengthened and particularly leftist organizations. Large farmers leased out their lands on cash rent basis to avoid the risk in agriculture and migrated to nearby towns. There are some popular ways of tenant exploitation; frequent enhancement of rent, eviction of poor tenants sometimes in the middle of the season due to village disputes. Left organizations have been encouraging tenants to bargain with the landowners for a good share in the crop.

Sastry (2005) worked on *Bhoodan* movement in Telangana and what changes it brought in agrarian relations. The situation in Telangana was so grave that landlords in large number left the villages leaving their properties behind and fled either to the cities or the

neighboring Andhra area. Some of their properties were occupied by the local Muslims with the support of *Rajakars* while some other properties were distributed by the communists among the rural poor. Even after the police action several landlords were afraid to return to their villages for fear of communists. It was particularly so in the case of families whose members were brutally murdered by the communists. *Bhoodanodyamam* was the product of the circumstances that existed in Telangana in that point of time.

It is significant to note that the land donated under *bhoodan* movement is more in extent than the land surrendered to various state governments under land reforms act, throughout the country. The main reason for giving more importance for the abolition of *Zamindari* system, tenancy laws and *bhoodan* movement is to the ‘Tebagha’ movement in Bengal (1946-47) and Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle (1946-51) led by communists. *Bhoodan* movement, though distributed some land here and there to some families of agricultural laborers, it has failed to bring a non-violent land revolution as sponsored by its progenitors. The *Sarvodaya* movement has strengthened instead of weakening the semi-feudal bondage which has been responsible for the extreme poverty and injustice resulting in class antagonism and rural violence.

2.8 Conclusion

There are many theories which explains the agrarian transition from feudalism to capitalist production relations. World systems theory, modernization theory and state theory are some of the main theories which tries to understand the transition and social change. Discourse based on these theories of agrarian change encouraged scholars into the debate on ‘mode of production’. This debate still continues in some form or the other. Here, this thesis on “Telangana agrarian change” tries to understand the process of agrarian change through the perspective of internal social conflict. This way of understanding of agrarian change was ignored by many scholars who worked on transition. To get the coherent understanding of the agrarian change by analyzing internal causes of social change ‘agrarian conflict theory’ was proposed.

Agrarian conflict theory strongly propose that only an internal social conflict which waged against feudal mode of surplus extraction can bring social change. It does not undermine or ignore the other external influences but believes that conflict and its resolution

are crucial factors for agrarian change. Structural changes such as increase in population, world trade, and foreign financial capital can not possibly overturn the existing feudal social structure. This thesis depended extensively on 'agrarian conflict theory' and 'institutionalization of social movement' to understand and analyze the peasant armed struggles and the changes they had brought in agrarian society of Telangana.

CHAPTER-3

PEASANT ARMED STRUGGLE TO SEPARATE TELANGANA MOVEMENT

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 Nizam's Administrative Reforms and Strengthening of Feudalism in Rural Areas:

Telangana is surrounded by tribes – Gonds and Pardhans in the north, Kayas and Konda reddy in the east, Chenchus in the south and a host of nomadic groups-lambadas, Erukals, Vadderas – who live in the plains (Thirumali I. , 1996). After breakdown of the Kakatiya kingdom in 1323 AD Muslim rulers, mostly Nizams, got hold of Telangana, till the British occupation (Pingle, 2014).

3.1.2 Revenue farmers becoming *Deshmukhs*:

Salar Jung-I administrative reforms of 1870s created and strengthened *Deshmukhs* in Telangana (Balagopal K. , 1983b). Under this reforms *Deshmukhs* were given 'vatans' of few villages, not satisfying with that they grabbed large chunks of lands during survey settlements. Revenue farmers became *Deshmukhs* with the Salar Jung-I reforms. Collecting land revenue in cash further increased land alienation (Balagopal K. , 1983b). Apart from survey settlements, lands were forcibly seized from the peasant who failed to pay the tax, refused to do *vetti*, default on loan. From 1870s to 1940s there was huge land alienation took place in Telangana due to landlord favoured reforms, 1930s World economic crisis fuelled this process. The landlords grabbed thousands of acres of lands from the actual tillers and kept nearly 70 percent of land uncultivated (Balagopal K. , 1983b). *Deshmukhs* also called as Doras in Telangana restricted the land market to reinforce their dominance. Land transfer rights were denied to the Makta, Banjara landholders based on the ownership rights and Doras took over the control. Landlords occupied fertile lands of other farmers which are suitably located near their fields (Balagopal K. , 1983b) .

The ijara system¹ of 1885 gave many lands to revenue farmers at a lower rate to bring waste and forest lands into cultivation. In practice ijara system lead to land concentration in the hands of landlords and moneylenders and made a way for the outsiders into rural forest areas. On the other hand the revenue officials hardly co-operated with the local tribes to bring forest land into cultivation (Bhukya, 2010). In Hyderabad state land tax was much higher to the British ruled provinces. Due to its revenue policies which squeezed peasants and strengthened landlords Hyderabad became the richest princely state in India (Pingle, 2014).

In Hyderabad state there were two land tenure systems, Ryotwari and non-Ryatwari². Jagirdars³ controlled almost 42 percent of the area under non-ryatwari system in Telangana. Hyderabad state maintained *sarf-e-khas* lands to meet the expenditure of the Nizams royal family. Land was highly concentrated, people faced all kinds of humiliations, most violent forms of economic and physical exploitation, economic and physical but income sources were bleak (Ramireddy, 1992). In Nalgonda, Mahabubnagar and Warangal, 550 landlords were holding 60-70 percent of cultivable land, owning more than 500 acres of land each. Almost 82 forms of illegal exactions existed in Hyderabad state (Sundarayya P. , 1973).

3.1.3 Feudal exploitation of the *Deshmukhs*:

Peasants and labourers of the Hyderabad state faced brutal exploitation in the name of vetti, 'feudal labour' by the Doras; Deshemukhs, Deshpandeys, Zamindars and Jagirdars (Purendraprasad & Satish, 2016). The unbridled feudal exploitation dominated the socio-economic life of people in Telangana. The peasants were nothing but bonded slaves in the jagirdari and sarf-a-khas areas of the Nizam. They did not even get the little rights which Diwani area peasants were getting. Many kinds of feudal oppressors, such as paigas, samsthanams, jagirdars, ijardars, banjardars, maktedars, inamdars or aghahams, and various kinds of illegal eactions were existed in the jagir areas (Sundarayya P. , 1973). The laborers increased by 473 percent in Nalgonda district and by 234 percent in Warangal district as against 48 and 59 percent increase in population respectively in these districts during this

¹ *ijara* system established police patels in the villages, with the precondition of bringing one third of the villge land into cultivation, and made them pattadar of the entire village (see Bhukya, 2010).

² In Hyderabad state, government collected tax from about 60 percent of agriculture lands (Diwani areas), jagirdari system has prevailed in 30 percent of the villages and the remaining ten percent were the sarf-a-khas lands See Sundarayya, 1973

³ Some of them had civil and criminal powers by holding their own courts and running jails of their own. See Ramireddy, 1992; sundarayya, 1973

period. Caste based vetti or feudal labour was the major form illegal exaction to serve the 'private ends' of the landlords (Sundarayya P. , 1973). In Hyderabad state almost 40 percent of the population was agricultural labor. Debt and tenancy problems were very high in the state (Moore, 2010).

3.1.4 Inam System:

Most of the service castes were granted inam lands during nineteenth century to serve the village but they end up serving the landlords because they were the representatives of the state. Most of the agricultural laborers were from the lower caste like Malas and Madigas. The original cultivating community of Telangana comprising of Muthrasi, teluga and Munnur castes, had lost their lands to Reddy migrant peasants and to Kammas (Thirumali I. , 1996).

3.1.5 Vetti (Feudal labour):

In almost all of the villages and hamlets Doras existed. Any sign of independence and wellbeing was not tolerated by landlords. There were even instances of punishing the people who built proper houses and wore shirts (Thirumali I. , 1996). The *vetti* system was affecting all the servicing castes and manual labour in Telangana in varying degrees. Peasants could till their lands only after tilling landlords and officials lands. Landlords' fields should be irrigated before anyone else's fields. After completing landlords agriculture work for free, then only people could work in any other farm for survival. When the landlord's daughter got married, they would send the slave girls along with her. The landlords sexually exploit these slave girls. Even the government officials enjoy forced labour and exactions whenever they visit the village. The vetti made people's life a miserable (Sundarayya P. , 1973). If Dora comes out of his house (gadi) everyone had to bow their heads and move out of the way. Women had to run into their houses. If he is going out on tours the vetti servants had to carry his luggage, and run in front and back of his cart. (Thirumali I. , 1996).

The vetti Madiga had to do all the unclean work in the village and should be ready for any work given by Doras. The rationale, however, was for the inam land given to him which he usually did not cultivate either due to lack of time, cattle, and agricultural implements or because the plot was hardly enough to maintain his family. As vetti, Madigas had to carry the luggage of the Dora's, his relatives and the village officials whenever they were travelling, and sometimes run before their cart to clear the way. All Madigas did this

work according to their turn. Bhagela (jeethagadu) was the another form of the labour extraction. In the Bhagela system, the laborers had to work for the Dora's for an indefinite period at a subsistence wage to repay the loan given by the Dora's. All the landlords would employ these Bhagelas as there is no working hours for these labour, they had to be ready whenever they had work and all kinds of work. Vetti was institutionalized on the basis of caste. (Sundarayya, 1973). Workers, who were depended on handicrafts such as handlooms, printing textiles and carpet making, paid miserably. (Sundarayya P. , 1973).

3.1.6 Initial resistance:

Second World War was a boon to the landlords to make money and tighten their authority over the people. With the beginning of the War and consequent war time problems, the conflicts in the villages sharpened further between the Doras and the people (Thirumali I. , 1996). Initial struggles started as a primitive peasant rebellion, dacoity, against the landlords exploitation. The laborers were the first to challenge the Doras domination. Agriculture laborer's caste, poverty and dependence on the Doras were the actual foundation of the Telangana agrarian system. Their protest against the discriminating social and cultural practices demolished the Doras power in the villages (Thirumali I. , 1996).

3.1.7 Islam as a protest:

Protesting and boycotting of work by agricultural labor did not help much to free them from landlords exploitation. Because of their caste status these agriculture labor and artisans were expected to do vetti for the village. Therefore, getting out of this caste system by converting themselves to Islam became a solution for the vetti labour. The *Itteh-adul-Muslimin* volunteers backed their religion. They were also tempted by offers such as grants of land and government employment. The vetti lower castes embraced Islam as a form of protest and to take revenge against the upper castes for the indignities suffered by them. However, some of them later got reconverted to 'Hinduism'. The conversions were significant, because it was in these villages that the Sangam movements later took shape. The new converts entered a Brahmin's house in Devaruppula claiming the right of Sudras. They also stopped vetti by saying that they were no longer untouchables.

They 'took bath in Hindu wells' and declared agriculture labor strikes in these villages. Conversions evidently increased class tensions and intensified struggles in the

villages. Conversions were thus a major movement on the part of laborers to resist landlord oppression. It turned to be a class struggle between vetti labourers and landlords. These protests could not be sustained for long because the vetti workers did not possess any means of subsistence. They neither had land of their own nor any work other than agricultural work to subsist on independently. On the other hand, all landowners, doras and peasant –unitedly boycotted the laborers who, in turn, could not withstand the opposition for long and hence this protest movement was bound to weaken. The caste distinction of vetti untouchables and vetti sudras were hurdles in their way of coming together against their common oppressors. Telangana peasantry was diverse in their revolutionary nature due to their caste and social perspective.

The demand for political change in Hyderabad state got momentum as landlords, congress, Arya Samaj were distressed by the conversion of lower vetti caste to Islam (Benson J. E., 1983).

3.2 Telangana Peasant Armed Rebellion

3.2.1 Andhra Mahasabha:

Educated rural rich and urban middle class formed communist organizations. They joined Andhra Mahasabha which was lead by landlords and turned it into a people's organization. The earliest communist and radical groups came into existence in Madhira-Khammam area of Warangal district. The better off peasants of Wyra and Paleru projects of Khammam, who had relatives in the coastal Andhra districts, came under influence of communist movement. There were two streams of communist intelligentsia; the rural based land-owning class and urban based educated families. The Andhra Maha Sabha (AMS) was earlier only a Doras' sabha because its leaders associated themselves with the Doras'. They used to be the guests of the landlords whenever they visited the villages. During their visits the Vetti people had ro do Sangam Vetti for these people. Therefore, the Sabha was only the organization of the Doras' to the people. But when communists started taking over the sabha it was transformed into a peoples' sabha in 1941. Thereafter, the Sabha started staying with the people discussing tenancy problems and Vetti service, normally loading their argument against landlords.

The communist AMS workers had taken up the issue of tenancy and Vetti. In the Suryapeta area there were large number of small landlords with patta lands cultivated by tenants who were not entitled to any tenant rights. AMS also took up the Vetti issue and asked people not to perform Vetti. And, there was a rice mill worker strike for higher wages in Suryapeta. By 1941-43 communists build strong base in villages, disturbing landlords and Nizam equally. The Vetti and usury were within the framework of the government *firman*s as the Nizam government had officially abolished Vetti. The moderates in AMS did not like the communists who are working among the people to implement the AMS resolutions. The split in AMS caused harm to growing peasant struggle in the Suryapeta taluq. Some of the peasant leaders were imprisoned and the movement was suppressed (Thirumali I. , 1996).

The landlords, the AMS leadership and the government together crushed the Suryapeta peasant movement by repression, violence and launching of criminal cases in 1943. They used same methods to suppress the movement in Jangaon. The nationalists in the AMS blamed the communists for attracting the masses to setting up the agricultural laborers and Kowldars (tenants) against the Watandars, Deshmukhs and big landlords. According to the communists agrarian programme feudalism headed by the Nizam – representing the landlords, village officials and jagirdars – was a hurdle to the progress of the peasants and labourers. The communists initially took up issues only against landlords. They did not want to antagonize the government. Therefore, they declared to carry out the policy of the government with regard to procurement and distribution of food grains and promoted unity among the various communities. The communists drew an anti-feudal agrarian programme giving more importance to peasants than labourers. Communists could formulate a concrete economic programme in 1945: ban Vetti extraction, ban collection of fines, taxes and cesses, return the lands illegally occupied by the landlords, confirm the patta rights of the tenants and of makts, jagir lands etc (Thirumali I. , 1996).

The agitations of the labour, peasants and tenants united them strongly against oppression and exploitation. In whole Telangana the tenants claimed ownership rights particularly in the makts, banjaras and ijara areas. Therefore, the communists immediately demanded patta rights. And they also demanded the lands which were illegally occupied by the landlords. The lands that unjustly changed hands due to debt of a few measures of grains, particularly during depression, were also included in this category. When the issue of debt came a problem arose. Thurumali (1996) explains it, “The debt issue was complicated

because some of the peasants were also creditors. Therefore, the communists cautiously demanded lands which were ‘illegally’ seized or occupied by landlords (Thirumali I. , 1996).”

The Telangana peasant armed struggle was waged against vetti, forced evictions of the cultivators from their lands, and illegal exactions (Sundarayya P. , 1973). In 1928 under the leadership of Madapati Hanumantharao and others Andhra Maha Sabha (AMS) was formed. The communists got control of the AMS against the moderates and right wing leadership and raised demands against the vetti, rack renting, and tenant eviction by the landlords. There was a split in AMS in their eleventh session in Bhongir, and AMS was dominated by left wing then onwards. After Russia entered into World War-II, communist party changed its political programme, stopped demand for land distribution, abolition of landlordism, overthrowing of the Nizam state and limited its movement for abolition of vetti and illegal evictions (Sundarayya P. , 1973). The communists dominated the Andhra Maha Sabha session in 1942 and captured it organizationally in 1944 and then spread the sabha branches in the villages as sangams. The Telangana movement started in Nalgonda district and immediately spread to Warangal district (including present Kamam district) and Karimnagar, and later to the Krishna and Godavari River bases (Sundarayya P. , 1973).

The immigrant *asamulu* (better-off peasants) of Madhira – Kamam area, particularly those of Wyra and Paleru irrigation projects and who had relatives in coastal Andhra districts, came under the influence of the communist movement. According to communists’ agrarian program, ‘feudalism’ headed by the Nizam representing the interests of the landlords, village officials and the Jagirdars was a hurdle to the progress of the peasants and laborers. The communists initially took up issues only against the landlord. They did not want to antagonize the government. The communists had drawn a broad ‘anti-feudal’ agrarian programme to bring all anti-feudal classes into the movement. That is, ban vetti extraction, ban collection of fines, taxes and cesses, return the lands illegally occupied by the landlords. Confirm the patta rights of the cultivators and of *makta*, jagirs lands etc. The communists, then in an offensive mood, raised some more demands to consolidate their anti-landlord mass base, return all illegally seized lands by landlords, return all illegal extractions either in the form of money or grain collected by landlords (Sundarayya P. , 1973).

In the opinion of the government bureaucracy the movement was no more against 'the tyranny of Deshmukhs and watandars but for the complete overthrow of the government: The movement was not for the 'redress of grievances' but for the establishment of the 'Russian system of distribution'. The government did not want to displease the doras during such a crisis. Rather it wanted to use them in crushing the movement. The people in the villages had to face not just the Nizam's police or military but also the razakars, who were trained by Kasim razvi who wanted the continuation of 'Muslim rule' against growing 'Hindu' opposition (Sundarayya P. , 1973).

The actual people's movement started only in 1947 though the leadership was very active since 1940. But it grew very strong under the communists in a short period (Forrester, 1970). The communists never opposed food grain levy collection but demanded a systematic government collection. But when the peasants opposed the levy collection and violent clashes took place between peasants and government officials communists also had to oppose the levy collection. The countryside AMS cadets compelled to confront the landlords that led to formation of armed sangams. Then they raised some more demands to build a strong anti-landlord movement: return all illegally seized lands by landlords, return all illegal exaction either in the form money or the grain collected by landlords and provide free justice to all through village committees (Sundarayya P. , 1973).

New cases of illegal seizure of lands and exaction were brought before village sangams. Sometimes they had to deal with rich peasant who joined movement earlier in an anti-Razakar movement. The issue of retaking the lands from the landlords, sometimes involving influential rich peasants, raised many hope in the peasants who had lost their lands. The party-imposed land ceiling to distribute the land so that a large number of aspirants might be satisfied. Thus, the land seizure demand of the peasants shaped the land redistribution programme of the party. However, the rich peasantry, who had joined the movement during the anti-Razakar struggle, established their hold over village sangams and stalled the party's programme not only of land distribution, but also those centered on wage and debt issues. Gradually they controlled the village committees, particularly in Khammam, Madhira, Huzurnagar, Bhongir and even in Mahabubabad taluk. The leadership of these committees also found their supporters and ideologues in the area and district party units (Thirumali I. , 1996).

3.2.2 Establishment of Sangam Rajyam:

The castes subjected to vetti like Chakali, Mangali, Kummari, Vadrangi, took active part in the movement, along with the cultivators of Makta and banjara lands, and pushed the movement with their own demands against the landlords, transforming the party programme into peoples' programme. By mid – 1946, the Sangams became a political force and successfully challenged the authority of the doras by setting up parallel (Sangam) rajyam. Many deshmukhs, who had been fighting the Andhra Maha Sabha and Sangams under the leadership of Visnur Ramachandrareddy ultimately surrendered to the Sangams (Sundarayya P. , 1973).

Between 26th February and 16th March 1947 almost over thirty villages were liberated from the landlords' domination in Madhira taluq. The people of these villages set up people's courts and government and organized armed volunteer squads. Twenty-six villages of a Palvancho taluq declared independence in addition to twenty-four villages that already declared an independent panchayat state. Twenty-four villages in Warangal district were reported to have formed their independent state. The grama rajya committees asserted its political authority by trying the peoples' or sangams' enemies publicly. The committees warned them, imposed fines and confiscated properties depending upon the nature of their crime. The government reported that village governments of the above nature were established in about 2,500 villages out of 22,000 in the state.

The Sangams survived and ruled hoisting red flags in place of the Asafia flag until October 1948 despite facing frequent military raids. The vetti laborers and the poor cultivators were dominant in the Sangams set up in 1945 and 1946. With the increase of ruthless razakar raids on the villages, the people from rich and landlord families also participated in the Sangams, leading to a change in the leadership also. When it appeared that the sangam rajyam had at last come, the rural rich jumped into the fray to grapple the opportunity of gaining leading status and becoming village leaders, posing as champions of the peoples' cause. Due to their superior position from the point of view of caste, wealth and knowledge, they naturally occupied the leadership positions in the village committees and squads.

The Sangams passed into the hands of wealthy sahuikars, village oppressors' and 'landlords' whose behavior in the sangams was reported as bureaucratic. Further, the

dominant group of the peasantry used to boss over the people and cadre. The entire party structure, comrades, organizers and sometimes squads were also fed by sending each to a middle or rich peasant's house or collecting food from every house in basket making the party and squads dependent on the rich. The main function of the village committees was to distribute the land to the peasants/agricultural laborers. According to party document prepared in June 1950 in Warangal, and Nalgonda and in some adjoining areas of *Atraf-i-Balde* and Karimanagar it was claimed to have distributed about two lakh areas of illegally occupied land and lands over and above the level permitted by the party. For other eight lakhs the tenants had stopped paying rent for the land taken.

The party laid a principal that all anti-Nizam activists irrespective of the class background were to be protected. Therefore, the lands of anti-Nizam landowners were not distributed. The government, after it investigated the cases of the land seizures in 1949 was not able to detect any specific policy behind land distribution. It argued that primarily the land of anti-communists was distributed. In the government view the class criteria is not important to the *Sangams* but only political consideration of pro or anti Sangams.

The seizure means that the peasants/tenants who had social, moral and customary right over the land seized it during sangam movement. In certain cases, the leadership of the Sangams wanted to distribute the land of anti-sangam elements of the villages, where the people did not come forward to seize such land without any claim. At the same time the land of sangam activists was not distributed despite rights over such lands claimed by others who lost unjustly due to debt or owning the land above ceiling. The lands on which no body had a claim were given to the landless. The government lands, poramboku, bancharai and common resource lands were offered to them. However, even such distribution was resented by the asamis and Kapus as they wanted enough waste lands around their fields for grazing their cattle.

To satisfy the claims of the landless after satisfying the peasants, the land ceiling had to be imposed on the big landowners. the communists implemented the following agrarian programme: 1) Return the peasants land to them, 2) Distribution of states fallow land to agricultural laborers, 3) distribution of zamindaris fallow land to actual tillers, 4) accept inalienable rights of the tillers on the land and illegalization of eviction, 5) abolition of all extra levies, cesses and taxes, 6) liquidation of all debts, and 7) guaranteeing of minimum

assured wage. The rich peasants and small landlords who joined Sangams to protect their lands, got full control on village committees and ignored the anti landlord programme. Such peasant leadership of the committees was reluctant to increase the agricultural laborers wage.

The village committees and the communists in the committees argued that 'the agricultural farm servants would be employed by middle peasants and would not antagonize them by raising impossible demands for agriculture laborers. In Telangana, the rich peasantry emerged as moneylenders during the post-depression period, therefore the village committees and the local party units did not take a definite stand on the issue. The village committees that came up became a part of the collective struggle of all the people but predominantly it worked for the peasants. However, it was the transformation of primary protest awareness and militant actions of the chillarollu into political agenda of the committees that made the Telangana movement possible (Thirumali I. , 2003). Under the guidance of Sangams and village committees the people seized about million acres of land. The gram rajya committees, which were constituted to govern the villages, survived for one to three years in different villages. Another important feature of the Telangana movement was that women had equal importance along with men. Women like Kaveti kanakamm, Chakali Iamma and many others were active throughout the struggle. The Telangana women had a track record of fighting the oppressors (Thirumali I. , 1996).

During the struggle peasants set up gram raj in about 3000 villages, covering roughly 3 million population, mostly in Nalgonda, Warangal and Khammam districts. Village sangams chased away landlords, distributed their lands, land evictions and vetti was abolished. For almost two years village committees got hold of the villages. (Sundarayya P. , 1973).

3.2.3 Tribes and Adivasis in the Nizam period:

Nomadic communities such as lambadas had to become settled peasant due to continuous survey settlements. Ranjith Guha sees the relationship between colonialism and local power as one of collaboration between a modern state and the existing feudal and semi-feudal elites. The colonial regulation of the market economy combined with the introduction of railways and the growth of roads ruined the Lambadas(is the caravan trade ?)in Hyderabad state.

In Hyderabad state, introduction of railways developed the regulated market economy. The main aim of introducing railway was to extract cotton produce and the forest resources of the state, rather than public welfare and safety. The process of settling the nomadic and Adivasi communities continued right into the 20th century which made them marginalized. Prior to the import of colonial ideology and its establishment in Hyderabad, there was little state regulation of agricultural methods and practices. Forest policies of the Hyderabad state undermined the livestock wealth. The contractors used to exploit the forest irresponsibly and unrestrictedly, and the Jagirdar and Samsthandar could not say no to their exploitation as they used to borrow money from them. A huge forest area was cleared for the cultivation of the cotton, particularly in the Maratha region and the Warangal district of Telangana (Bhukya, 2010).

3.2.4 Invasion of the Hyderabad state by the Indian Army:

Indian agrarian society was very hierarchical, by the time of independence, with too many intermediaries, rack renting, exploitative share cropping, and with lack of mobility (Singha Roy & Debal, 2005). Feudal lords Hyderabad state turned into the revolutionary hub of peasant armed struggles. Congress government came in support of landlords whose land were seized by armed struggle. For three years, peasants and labour of the Telangana fought the Indian army to defend the lands they gained in the movement. (Sundarayya P. , 1973). In the police action of Nehru government, almost 4000 peasants and labourers were killed. People were tortured and terrorized by army, and were dragged to military camps and jails. Many villages where movement was strong were looted and destroyed. Women of the Telangana had to go through all kinds of harassments and molestations. To suppress the peasants' lead armed struggle and restore the landlord rule, Indian government deployed as many as 50,000 military forces (Sundarayya P. , 1973).

In September 1948 Indian army invaded the Hyderabad state by violating the agreement between Indian government and Nizam. However, Nizam was the head of the state and issued farmans till 1950. Nizam did not sign an 'Instrument of Accession' and rather complained the invasion in United Nations Security Council (UNSC).

The Indian army brutally repressed the peasant insurgency of 1948-50, thus the congress party got the space in Telangana. (Pingle, 2014). The new elite in Telangana after Nizam's rule did not get much time to become the power holders of the region, due to merger

with Andhra. Telangana elite class did not have democratic practices, and their involvement in the independence movement is minimal which resulted in weak, inexperienced political class with lack of all-India political network (Pingle, 2014). To pacify the fighting peasants and for anti-communist propaganda Congress leaders started 'Bhoodhan' utopia through Vinoba Bhave. In the last two years of the struggle the Communist party was divided into two camps, one supporting armed the struggle and the other condemning it as terrorism (Sundarayya P. , 1973). In armed struggle Telangana peasantry got support from muslim peasantry, artisans and rural poor. Attacks on muslims after police action were prevented in places where the peasant movement was strong (Sundarayya P. , 1973).

The peasants got hope in movement when the influential rich peasants lands also seized and distributed. However, the rich peasantry, who had joined the movement during the anti-razakar struggle, established their hold over the village Sangams and stalled the party's programme not only of land distribution, but also of wage and debt issues. Gradually, the rich peasants controlled the village committee, particularly in Kammam, madhira, Huzurnagar, Bohngir and even in Mahabubbad taluq (Sundarayya P. , 1973). CIA pressed the Ford Foundation into services to counter the 'communist threat,' by setting up cultural groups, enlisting the support of prominent anti-left intellectuals, to co-opt agrarian struggles through community development projects. In India Ford Foundation closely worked with the Nehruvian regime to quell peasant uprising in Telangana and other places.

3.3 Changes after Andhra Pradesh formation

After Indian government successfully integrated the Hyderabad state, Muslims became a minority while members of the cultivating community especially Reddy and Kamma, moved in to fill the power vacuum at the state level. Immigrants from coastal areas of Andhra started occupying government positions in Telangana, after formation of Andhra Pradesh in 1956 which led to the Telangana Agitation of 1969. Indira Gandhi implemented her 20- point programme to intensify development actions such as land ceiling laws, providing house sites to the poor, liquidating rural indebtedness, abolishing bonded labour and establishing minimum agricultural wage. In 1977 the government declared that there was one million acres surplus land. Of these 1,75,000 acres had been taken over by the government and 80,000 acres distributed to the landless. Four corporations were created to

finance development programmes- one each for Scheduled Caste, Backward Caste, Women and Scheduled Tribes (Benson E. J., 1978).

Backward communities and scheduled caste are the majority population in Telangana where as Reddys and Velamas dominate the region; economically and politically. Andhra and Telangana merged without considering people's sentiment of the region and recommendations of SRC. There is some historical and political context for the merger. After separating from Tamil Nadu, Andhra government did not have resources to function the government and for the development policies, whereas Telangana has surplus revenue. Telangana had advanced industries than Andhra with almost 26 major industries. However, agriculture was backward because of landlords feudal exploitation and also due to the lack of irrigation facilities. In Andhra the situation opposite, agriculture in delta districts has surplus but the industry wise backward. Rayalseema region was backward in both the sectors, agriculture and industry. (Pingle, 2014).

The formation of greater Andhra Pradesh tilted the scales in favor of Reddis, who were far stronger than Kammas. Historically, the merger of Andhra with Telangana was clearly a merger of unequal political entities. Andhra state was a part 'A' state and Hyderabad state was part 'B' state under the constitution of India. This meant that in the 'integration of services', all the employees of Hyderabad government were re-employed in the government of Andhra Pradesh at the lowest levels of seniority, losing income as well as promotion prospects as a result (Pingle, 2014). The settlers from Andhra have been successful in manipulating the state government machinery to secure assets and jobs that they were not entitled to.

Telangana identity was merged in to Andhra, even linguistic identity could not protect the interest of the region (Pingle, 2014). Merger had strengthened the Reddy dominance against Brahmins, and also formed strong anti-CPI front (Pingle, 2014). After annexation by the Indian union there was an immigration of government officials which resulted in aggressive Mulki agitation. Educated Telangana people feared loss of opportunities due to fiscal imbalances between region (Pingle, 2014). Migrations from Andhra to Telangana, especially Hyderabad, increased after Hyderabad became the capital of the state (Raghuram K. , 2014a). At the time of merger, 'the Gentlemen's Agreement' gave

all the possible assurances and guarantees to protect the interest of the Telangana region (Pingle, 2014).

After formation of the Andhra Pradesh larger proportions of more important positions in Telangana were filled by outsider “non-mulkis”. The government claimed that the backwardness of education in Telangana is reason for that and when steps were taken to expand education, the government recruited many non-mulkis as teachers. The farmers who migrated from the Delta to Telangana bought lands cheaply, developed it, and prospered (Forrester, 1970). Green revolution in 1960’s in the Krishna – Godavari delta area created a new surplus in the coastal region which moved to backward Telangana and created new tensions. Corporation of agriculture hurts the interests of small – and marginal farmers, reducing them from peasants into laborers.

The relative cheapness of land and lower wage rates attracted immigrant farmers to Telangana. Most of these immigrants were Kammas who could not easily be accommodated in Reddy dominated caste hierarchy, which led to social tensions in Telangana. And the situation was certainly complicated by the fact that the Telangana landlords oppressed for centuries by the Nizams, and harassed around the time of the police action by Razakars and Communist guerrillas, had felt that at last they had come into their Reddy-dominated Congress government – only to discover that their lands were being bought and unexpected profits being reaped from them by more enterprising outsiders.

The resentment of the landed gentry against non-mulki competition on their own home ground made them sympathetic to the separatist movement. Non-mulkis from the Delta also entered into trade and money-lending and became very influential in the twin cities as well as in rural areas. This posed a challenge not only to the Telangana businessmen but also to the Marwaris and Gujarati communities which were dominating commerce and business in Hyderabad state. It is notable that several prominent separatist leaders were non-Telugus and there were reports that the separatist movement was funded by the Marwaris (Forrester, 1970). The Sri Krishna Committee (SKC) report, based on census 2001, indicates that nearly 204,602 (5.04%) persons out of 3.8 million living in Hyderabad were born in Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema. The SKC says, based on no data at all, there may be 8 lakh Hyderabad residents who go away for Sankranti to Seemandhra thereby implying that this may be the population size of the migrants from Seemandhra (Pingle, 2014).

Muslims also supported the separate Telangana struggle because their greater numbers and higher position in the old Hyderabad districts ensured them greater security, and less competition. Industrialization has happened in Telangana and has been concentrated only in twin cities. It scarcely touched any of the rural areas of Telangana. Telangana has certainly advanced economically since integration; the question is whether the area has advanced fast enough to bring it into a competitive position with the rest of Andhra and whether the development gap between Telangana and the rest of the state is narrowing or growing wider. Telangana was in surplus, surplus of revenue over expenditure, resulting partly from the higher land revenue and partly from the high yield from excise collected in an area which has not enforced prohibition (Forrester, 1970). With independence and the merger, in migration non-tribes increased to tribal areas of Godavary river valley for cheaper lands and labour.

The Kammas and Reddys of the coastal Andhra were attracted to black cotton soil which is perfect for the commercial crops. In the middle of October 1953, Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, criticized the idea of Vishalandhra as carrying a tint of 'expansionist' imperialism. States re-organization Commission (SRC) also advocated for separate Hyderabad state. SRC opined that if Vishalandhra is formed, capitalists in Telangana might be ruined by the competition from the Rayalaseema landlords (Reddy V. R., 2014a).

Kammas and Reddis are the two dominant agricultural castes. Kammas are concentrated in Delta districts sometimes called as Kamma rashtra and Reddis are concentrated in Rayalseema and Telangana. The Telangana villages may be more backward than the villages in the Delta. Andhra has a long history of unity, but in the middle of the century it was broken up. Telangana was under the feudal conditions of Nizam rule where jagirdaari system of landholding obstructed the development of agriculture. Nizam government constructed Nizamsagar which made Nizamabad as wealthy district of Telangana, but it was immigrant farmers who were benefited from it. Telangana backwardness has essentially political roots (Forrester, 1970).

3.3.1 Influx into tribal area:

Just after the formation of Andhra Pradesh, the land transfer regulation of 1959 was issued to protect the tribal rights of Telangana. However, after the 1969 Telangana agitation only the operative statute of the 1959 regulation was issued. The settlers of Andhra

systematically violated the tribal laws and disposed them from their lands for cheaper prices. And the governments dominated by settlers allowed and ignored this violations of the constitution and tribal laws (Pingle, 2014).

The people from Andhra region either came for carrying on business, employment in government or private offices or institutions, or other professions. Compared with natives or locals, these people were found to be better educated and professionally well equipped, trained and experienced. Naturally the locals found competition with them, day in day out, tough and uncomfortable. Their resentment against the ‘outsiders’ extended to and prevailed among the people belonging to the different professions of communities. When the state high court was set up in Hyderabad, a number of Andhra lawyers came to the city of Hyderabad and set up practice. Before the merger Hyderabad local pleaders who used to argue cases in Urdu were now required to do so in English, this put the Telangana lawyers at a disadvantage and they found the competition from the lawyers quite serious and therefore a hindrance to their professional progress (Raghuram K. , 2014a).

Several enterprising businessmen from the coastal districts came to Hyderabad and invested in cinema houses, hostels and lodging houses, industries, construction work, cultivation of grape gardens etc. The local businessmen, naturally, started to feel the impact of this competition from the Andhra businessmen on their business, and consequently, whenever there was a hue and cry against the non-locals in the Telangana region of former Hyderabad state, the local businessmen came forward not only to support it, but even to finance it (Raghuram K. , 2014a).

The establishment of south-central railway with Hyderabad as its headquarters, the growth of industries in and around Hyderabad, and construction activity on an unprecedented scale, huge number of government offices and private institutions or companies, teacher posts in schools and colleges in the twin cities as well as in Telangana districts etc., threw open a huge number of skilled, unskilled and white-collar jobs. But here also when people from the Circars came to compete with the local workforce, the latter often found it unbearable and consequently began to feel jealous of the Andhra peoples presence, thinking that, because of it, they had been robbed of their golden opportunities of employment. As a result, they became staunch supporters of the separate agitation (Raghuram K. , 2014a). The social service department allotted thousands of acres on patta to the Koyas and Naikpods during 1946-50. In the tribal villages of scheduled areas though the Kaya owners names were still

entered in the patwari and thahasil records, non-tribals were firmly in occupation of the lands. The Koyas had little chance to regain them and many of them worked as laborers for Gunturu settlers who usurped their lands. In Telangana wherever irrigation was developed, especially in scheduled areas, it invited more land grabbers from outside (Subba Reddy, 1988).

3.3.2 Exodus/Migration of farmers from Circar Districts:

Enterprising and intelligent farmers from Andhra districts like Krishna and Guntur sold away their wetlands at comparatively high rates and began purchasing wetlands in Telangana districts like Nizamabad, Karimnagar, Kammam, Warangal, Mahabubnagar and Nalgonda at far cheaper rates. Their adoption of intensive and progressive methods of cultivation and introduction of cultivation of commercial crops like sugarcane, tobacco, chilli, groundnut, besides paddy, brought about a kind of green revolution in the area, thereby making these Andhra farmers highly prosperous. Though some of the cultivators, mainly of middle and smaller scale, tried to follow these progressive farmers and their methods of cultivation, the landlords strata, who never took a personnel and active interest in cultivation, though owning hundreds of acres of lands and consequently completely dependent on cultivation by tenants, farm laborers or bhagelas (bonded laborers), became highly jealous of the Andhra farmers settling in Telangana and becoming very rich and prosperous in a short time. This exodus or migration of farmers from the Circar districts to Telangana districts continued even after the formation of the integrated state. They were treated as non-mulkis or outsiders and whenever separatism raised its head or voice, the local landlords, otherwise known as doras' aimed their guns or swords at the outsiders and roused ill-will or animosity.

The migration of coastal Andhra people to Telangana began in the late 1920s to the assured irrigated area of Nizam sagar project in Nizamabad. Until the 1980s these migrants permanently settled in Telangana through two distinct routes, agriculture investments and government jobs. These migrants communities insinuated themselves into structures of government power and yet maintained cultural boundaries with the local people as 'settler camps' or 'Guntur palle'. By the early 1960s, much of the grape cultivation around Hyderabad was in the hands of such migrant farmer investors. Similarly, particular segment of government jobs, teaching jobs especially at the college level, both departmentally and hierarchically came to be occupied by Andhra migrants. There has been a shift in the Andhra

migration to Telangana and especially to Hyderabad city, since the early 1980s – both in scale and diversity of destinations and has taken new spatial forms.

The state government of Andhra Pradesh gave real estate incentives to the film industry dominated by coastal Andhra investments to move from Chennai to Hyderabad since the early 1960s, which was only possible after NTR became the chief minister in 1982. Reforms in the central industrial policy in 1980 opened the economy for consumer goods that led to new industrial agglomerations around Hyderabad attracting investments and workers from coastal Andhra (Marnganti, 2010). Middle class government employees and businessmen from coastal Andhra had been purchasing homes in Hyderabad since the 1960s, it was only in the late 1970s and 1980s that new housing lots opened up in and around Hyderabad because of the release of land by the Hyderabad Urban Development Authority and the Andhra Pradesh state housing board for large scale purchases by people from coastal Andhra. Hyderabad's economy was triggered in the mid – 1990s by an entirely exogenic event in the global IT industries – IT industries from US, Europe and Australia began sourcing cheap labour from India. The caste networks originating in coastal Andhra used their footing in Hyderabad to capitalize on this demand for labor. IT training institutions mushroomed in localities of Hyderabad like Ameerpet, and Dilshukhnagar, 80 percent of them were run by Kammas. At that time 70 percent of the IT professionals were from coastal Andhra. The periphery of Hyderabad saw a spurt in poultry farms, even as a trickle of a contract farming activity came into Rangareddy district in the 1990s via entrepreneurial farmers from Guntur investing in cotton cultivation, mainly employing girl child labor. It is undeniable that much of this uneven, unpredictable, contingent and exclusionist development has been presided over by caste and kinship networks that originated initially in coastal Andhra and recently in Rayalaseema (Marnganti, 2010).

3.3.3 Separate Telangana Movement 1969.

Violation of the 'Gentlemen Agreement' key decisions lead to a separate Telangana agitation in 1968-69 (Pingle, 2014). The perception of middle and elite class that they are being neglected in united Andhra Pradesh resulted in separate Telangana movement in the late 1960's. Apart from political aspirations, the economic dimension of the feeling – 'we are being neglected' – is much associated with agrarian economy. Telangana agriculture remained backward, though there are some positive changes.

Engineers from the irrigation department were the ones who led the agitation and exposed the unfairness meted out the Telangana irrigation sector. This 'unequal merger' caused unequal treatment to Telangana for the next 55 years (till state formation) (Pingle, 2014). Telangana agitation in 1969 started with a demand for extension of time limit for Telangana safeguards and later developed into an agitation for the formation of a separate Telangana state. One important factor that made the people and leaders of Telangana think of separation was their strong feeling that the terms of the 'Gentlemen agreement' which had made them accept the formation of Andhra Pradesh had been violated. Telangana people, especially youth, agitated and protested to draw the attention of government on violations (Raghuram K. , 2014a; Pingle, 2014).

There was an unrest in Telangana between 1968 and 1969, largely due to the perception that the guarantees given by Gentlemen's agreement had become ineffective. By 1968, Telangana middle class developed economically, politically and demanded their share in government jobs.

The 1969 agitations lead to the general election in 1972 and Telangana Praja Samiti (TPS) which stood for statehood defeated the congress. After winning the election TPS betrayed the Telangana agitation and merged in congress party for political benefits. Congress appointed a Telangana man, PV Narsimha Rao, as chief minister to appease the Telangana people. His government reduced land ceiling on irrigation lands to 12 acres which affected and angered the Kammas of coastal Andhra (Pingle, 2014).

In the 1969 separate Telangana movement almost 200-300 students were killed and many have joined the Naxalite movement (Pingle, 2014). The victory of the TDP in 1983 as well as in 1985 with massive majorities within the Telangana region broke the Telangana-Rayalaseema Reddy alliance and assured 10 odd years of TDP rule in the state. Since then, the politics of Andhra Pradesh has primarily been dominated by two parties. The rise and subsequent long rule of the TDP dominated by the Kammas of coastal Andhra, successfully suppressed the demand for separate Telangana state. The Telangana people strongly perceived that they were discriminated in all the spheres of development by the Seemandhra ruling class. in all the spheres of development (Pingle, 2014). The separate Telangana movement of 1969-70 and the consequent Jai Andhra movement of 1972-73 are the two major convulsions which shook the state during the 1956-1995.

Though the implementations and continuance of mulki safeguards and discontents over the non-implementation of the provisions of Gentlemen Agreement of 1955, were the primary reasons for the outbreak of the separate Telangana movement, the entry of political and regional animosities, besides court judgment going against the continuance of mulki safeguards, led to the snowballing of the movement to unmanageable proportions. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi intervened by announcing the eight-point plan in April 1969, and the change of leadership, could bring the matters to a close (Reddy V. R., 2014a).

The coastal Andhra Brahmins are considered as pundits in politics they can make anything possible. They are well-versed in the politics of Telangana. This apprehension lead these classes and the politicians of Telangana to demand a separate Telangana. Mulki movement in Hyderabad state began in 1930s (Reddy V. R., 2014). After the police action in 1948, several officers from neighboring provinces like Madras and Bombay were brought to Hyderabad to streamline the administration. Initial discontent and apprehension started in 1968-69 over the implementation of the Mulki safeguards as provided in the Gentlemen's Agreement.. On 28th March 1969, the division bench of the Supreme Court declared public employment (requirement as to residence) Act, 1957 ultra-virus of the constitution. This judgment sparked the fire, leading to hunger strikes, bandhs, dharnas, all clamoring not for the protection of Mulki safeguards but for the formation of the separate Telangana state.

Wanchoo committee submitted its report towards the end of May 1969, stating that the guarantees of employment to the people of Telangana could not be retained by an amendment of the constitution, and advised that recruitment could be decentralized to the regional and district level, so that the local people could find jobs. The calculation of Telangana surpluses turned out to be a complicated, as unfortunately the revenue receipts and expenditure of the two regions had not been maintained separately, even though it was required as per the terms of the Gentlemen Agreement of 1956. Unspent surplus of Telangana for the period 1956-68 worked out to Rs.2, 834.31 lakhs according to Bhargava Committee report. The implementation of the six-point formula or plan of 1971 could bring the separatist movement to a halt. As the Circar districts were rich agriculturally and advanced educationally, compared to the Telangana districts, it was apprehended and suspected that the latter would be subjected to exploitation and domination at the hand of the farmer (Reddy V. R., Contemporary history of AP and Telangana AD 1956-1990s, 2014).

The grievances of the service personnel of the Telangana over recruitment and promotions after the merger also gave reasons for separate Telangana state. Due to 1969 agitation the mulki rules were extended for five more years as protection for appointment in the Union Territories of Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura and the Telangana region (Raghuram K. , 2014a). Both the communist parties have consistently opposed the bifurcation of the state and treated the problem as sub-regional imbalance, interpreting the movement as a reactionary movement of landlords and businessmen (Forrester, 1970).

3.3.4 Jai Andhra movement:

The Jai Andhra movement arose out of discontent over mulki rules and a feeling of discrimination against Andhra's settled in Hyderabad city and Telangana districts, especially after Supreme Court judgment in favour of mulki rules in 1972 (Reddy V. R., 2014a; Pingle, 2014). A political settlement was moved out and a six- point formula was agreed upon on 28 September 1973 (Pingle, 2014). After separate Telangana agitation in 1969 PV Narsimharao governments drastic land reforms after 1969 Telangana agitation angered the Kammas of coastal Andhra. The entire polity was in favour of bifurcation after 1969 separate Telangana movement and consequent Jai Andhra movement, however, Indira Gandhi did not go for it. (Pingle, 2014).

As the congress failed to meet the interests of the both regions it had to lose the power to the Kamma dominant TDP in 1983. Even in Telangana TDP got good support from the people. (Pingle, 2014). Between 1969 and 1973, Dalits did not play a significant role in Telangana and Jai Andhra movements which were led by middle class in Telangana. During 1993-94 and 2004-05 agricultural labor in Telangana has increased from 38 percent to 47 percent (Pingle, 2014).

The separate Andhra agitation in 1972 was the direct reaction to the separate Telangana movement of 1969. The land reforms act of September 5th, 1972 and the urban land ceiling ordinance of July 5th, 1972 made the rich Kammas and Rajus feel that these were going to hit them hard. The movement for a separate Andhra started after the Supreme Court judgement of October 3rd, 1972 regarding mulki rules. If mulki rules were implemented, the Andhra people would lose the employment opportunities in Telangana. In a socialistic set up of government, banks, business and industries would be nationalized. The Andhras would be

disqualified for jobs in those fields in Telangana if the mulki rules were applied. Shankar Dayal Sharma, the Congress president and Chandrajit Yadav, the congress secretary, called the agitation a fight between landlords and capitalists.

The Telangana and Andhra agitations were brought to a halt by the implementation of the six- point formula with effect from September 1, 1973. When the separate Telangana agitation was rocking the state on one hand, and Naxalites activities in Srikakulam and Vishakapatnam districts were equally causing concern to the government on the other. The election results after emergency surprised many. The electorate, north of the Vindhyas, routed the Congress by not requiring even a single candidate of the Congress party, in contrast, the electorate in southern states, including the Andhra Pradesh, gave a thumping victory to the Congress.

3.3.5 Industries in Telangana:

Division of India into British and princely India weakened Hyderabad's connection with the other countries. (Sanjay, 2007). In Telangana there were 500 factories and 28,000 workers by 1941. During the World War-II, private companies in Hyderabad state owned by Babukhan, Chenoy, Salarajung, Tayabji, Laik Ali, Pannala pitti, and Lahoti were selling their products in block market and making huge profits. (Sundarayya, 1973). There was a growth of textiles and other industries during the last Nizam period with the expatriate capital, especially Marwari.. Until 1970s public industry was doing good in Hyderabad, along with Marwari enterprises some new business from Kakata, Bombay also entered. (Sanjay, 2007).

Industries started by first generation businessmen in the late 1970s lead to growth in small enterprises. . This was not result of agrarian surplus of Telangana but green revolution of coastal Andhra. Politicians and contractors also invested their rentier income extracted from the state. Because of agrarian surplus of coastal Andhra, Hyderabad emerged as a industrial center in the 1980s. (Sanjay, 2007).

3.3.6 TDP Emergence in the state:

The five-year period between 1978 and 1983, witnessed change of four Chief Ministers. The TDP placed before the people an alternative pro-poor agenda with schemes like Rs. 2 per kg rice, the midday meal scheme and 30 percent reservation for women in

education and jobs. TDPs emergence resulted in a major change not only in politics, but also in social equations. The other backward classes (OBCs) which were vexed with the congress policy of limiting all welfare activities to the scheduled castes and tribes, supported the newly formed TDP with the hope that at least this party would do justice to them. The dissolution of the Patel and Patwari system was highly landed and approved in the Telangana region, there was strong opposition in the Andhra region (Rao I. V., 2016).

One of the major changes brought about the 1980s was the abolition of the post of village officers, called patwari/karanam. The origin of the system is traceable to the evolution of zamindari and Jagirdari land tenures in Andhra and Hyderabad states respectively. The village officers were known as Karanams and Munsifs in the Andhra area and Malipatel, Police patel and Patwari in the Telangana are of the state. Munsifs and police patel maintained law and order and karanams and patwaris maintained land records and collected land revenue. By being loyal to their zamindars and Jagirdars, these village officers used to enjoy all the privileges and powers. The continuance of the position of the village officers was based not on merit, but on heredity and hence, they emerged as the major power centers. Even though the *zamindari/jagirdari* system was abolished soon after independence, the age-old system of village officers continued. The village officers were considered as change-resistant and consequently, all the development programs initiated for the welfare of the poor and the downtrodden were either not implemented or partially implemented. These village officers as misguided the government officials, exploited the poor with the connivance of the landlords with the result that the fruits of the developmental activities were grabbed by the middlemen who were closely associated with the village officers.

NT Ramarao, government issued ordinance on 6th November 1984 abolishing the system of part-time village officers. A bill seeking to village officer's system was moved in the state assembly on 18th March 1985 and was passed unanimously (Venkataiah, 2016). Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRI), during the two decades of their existence, degenerated into a power mechanism rather than a development mechanism. Hence, just to revive them and redefine their role in the rural development PRI was reorginzed into four tier system form the village to district level. There are only two ways to get ahead in life – increased productivity of agriculture lands or by converting agriculture land into real estate near well connected places. The four tier system of PRI created poltical space for the backward castes who were mostly small and medium farmers and broke the earlier caste alliance of congress party (Reddy-Brahmin-Dalit). (Marnganti, 2010). The new administrative system, after state

merger in 1956, marginalized the older and experienced officers. Introduction of PRI in TDP government abolished traditional revenue system and lost large scale local knowledge. And functions of revenue department and Municipality were reorganized in 1997-98 when Hyderabad assumed 'global city model' (Marnganti, 2010).

Balagopal (1984) sees NTR as the coastal Kamma representation against the feudal Reddys and Brahmins. In his period the political discourse shifted from the land reforms to populist policies. The manifesto of his Telugu Desam Party did not promise any land but the abstract things like "honor to women and civilization to tribals" (Balagopal K. , 1984).

3.4 Neo-liberal policies in the state: Agrarian Crisis

After the introduction of globalization policies in Telangana, especially after 1997 TDP came into power, government forcefully taken lands from farmers and gave those lands to the Special Economic Zones (SEZs) and private industries. Builders and constructors who wanted to build rich class colonies, apartments were allotted many lands for nominal prices, like one rupee for acre. At the other hand, when people demanded for basic facilities like house sites and ration cards and protested in Mudigonds in 2007, police opened fire on them and killed 7 people. Land regulation acts are circumscribed highly in a way that occupying waste lands is very difficult (Balagopal K. , 2007).

3.4.1 Land distribution by the state as a political rhetoric:

In December 2004 government appointed Koneru Rangarao Committee to look into land distribution issues and this committee submitted its report in 2006. The ceiling surplus land which was distributed to people was amounts only 2 percent of the total cultivable areas, 2.5 crore acres. . The landlords surrendered the least cultivable lands to the government, that is why most of these lands are uncultivable and abandoned by the beneficiaries later re-occupied by the landlords. . In some rural areas where people are more scared of landlords, even if the lands are good the lords had taken their lands back. In some cases the land distribution was only on the paper, nobody really possess the lands.. As the land ceiling regulations could fulfill the needs of landless, the government forced to distribute public lands (Balagopal K. , 2007).

Government claims that since 1960s it had distributed almost forty-two lakh acres of land which is accounts more than half of the land distributed in the country. The former chief

minister YS Rajasheker Reddy himself revealed that his family owned almost one thousand acres of land assigned to the landless. And the another former chief minister during his eight years rule he gave all the public land to the rich real estates and multi-national companies. So, the land distribution and land reforms in India were nototiously ineffective (Balagopal K. , 2007).

3.4.2 Destruction of public Sector in Telangana:

Prior to independence, while road transport was in the private sector in coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema, it was in the public sector in Telangana under the aegis of the Nizams. In the Nizam's state road and rail transport services was under the govt. The credit of introducing the first nationalized road transportation in India goes to the former Hyderabad state. From 1930, the former Nizam state operated railways in the state (Krishnarao, 2016).

Unlike in Andhra, in Telangana the government enterprise was prominent. The government owned the railway which was transferred to the center. The state govt. also owned the road transport department and electricity supply and invested directly in the Hyderabad Gold mines co. ltd, the Singareni collieries, the Nizam sagar factory, Bodhan alcohol factory, Alwyn Paper mills, Siripur, and fertilizer factories. The government offered financial help to industries like the Hyderabad Gold mines, Sirisilk, Singareni collieries and Sirpur paper mills. In 1929 it set up an Industrial trust fund with the object of helping industrial development (Kadekar, 2016).

3.4.3 Dominant castes and service castes:

The Velamas, land owning and cultivating caste, in Telangana are as wealthy as the Reddys and Kammas and concentrated in Karimnagar and in few other districts. The population of Velamas is very less and they are mostly into economic activites but in politics their influence was very less unlike other upper castes inTelangana. However, in ten years of span, by 2014 they could get into state power. Brahmins were educated before anyone else and moved out of rural aeras of Telangana. Madigas in the region often called as vetti or beggar are the lowest in the socio-economic status (Purendraprasad & Satish, 2016).

The various village surveys conducted during the post-independence years indicate that a significant section of landholders were from among the Kamma, Kapu, Velama and

Reddy castes and emerged as the dominant peasantry. Various village studies have brought out another significant fact that most of the village population belonging to the backward castes and the scheduled castes do not own much land. The possession of landed property and accumulation of surplus by the rural rich further intensified the process of differentiation within the peasantry. Thus, a major section of the backward and lower castes constituted the rural poor in Andhra. On the other hand, the strategies of rural development during the early decades of the post-independence period provided ample opportunities for the rural rich to augment resource mobilization and accumulation. They could take advantage of the rural co-operative credit societies to finance their enterprises. Since credit was linked to landed property, the rural rich not only cornered a larger share but also exercised control over financial institutions, whereas the majority of middle and poor peasantry of the lower castes were virtually divided the benefits of the rural credit societies (Satyanarayana, 2016).

3.4.4 Agrarian Crisis and Farmers Suicides:

Telangana agriculture mostly depended on ground and rain water for its irrigation purposes and lift irrigation schemes needed electrical energy which is expensive. At the same time agriculture in Andhra is highly developed with two delta regions with extensive irrigation facilities. Due to its surplus in agriculture there is an accumulation of private capital which moved into diverse sectors. The green revolution benefited the rich and middle peasants, poor and marginal farmers who are in greater numbers in districts like Anantapur, Mahabubnagar, Medak, Adilabad and Khammam suffered due to frequent crop failures, leading to deep debts and suicides (Ramaakrishna, 2014).

The small, marginal and tenant farmers of Telangana had to bear a greater part of the strain of the crisis; it is evident that even farmers in the irrigated tracts have not been spared. Government withdrew the institutional support for activities that are essential to agriculture (Sridhar, 2006). Until 2002-2003, Andhra Pradesh was spending the lowest of the all the states in the plan expenditure (Narsimha Rao & Suri, 2006). The decline of institutional credit and adequate insurance has meant that the peasant has had to depend on moneylenders for their credit needs. There are also indications that the market for credit, land and inputs are getting more integrated, implying a greater squeeze on the peasantry. It is evident that peasants across the state have shifted away from traditional food crops to non-

food cash crops. Non-food crops imply a greater extent of dependence on cash incomes for cultivation (Sridhar, 2006).

Karimangar and Adilabad have a significant extent of waste land. South Telangana is the most backward zone in the state with as many as eight low yield crops which together account for 49 percent of the gross cropped area in the zone. South Telangana receives moderate rainfall and has a moderate irrigation ratio. Well is the main irrigation source in South Telangana. The poor yield of maize in South Telangana zone is due to predominantly rain fed nature of the crop. The deceleration in output growth must be attributed to slow growth of public investment in agriculture (Subrahmanyam & Satya Sekher, 2003).

The Telangana peasants who were praised for their militant movements and enterprising skills had committed suicides due to heavy loss in cotton production. High cultivating cost and low returns were the main reasons for the farmers suicides. (Narsimha Rao & Suri, 2006). The suicides of the cotton farmers reveals the difficulty of poor peasantry in the agriculture (Singha Roy & Debal, 2005). After government withdrew from investing in irrigation and credit market, landed class and the middle agents occupied the space left by state. It was governments that dragged into commercial crops such as cotton despite its unsuitable soil conditions and left them in lurch. The policies of the government increased peasants difficulty in the farming instead of helping them. Initially state denied the crisis in agriculture, even after recognizing the crisis they said compensations will increase the suicides (Sridhar, 2006).

The state government announced ex-gratia to the farmers who committed suicides but they do not allocate any funds in the budget. This depends on the fund availability with the concerned district collector. And the process of identifying deaths became more bureaucratic where farmer families have to prove that the death is due to 'farm-related' causes. And the most important move was the moratorium for six months on private money lenders and two years on institutional credit (Sridhar, 2006). The liberalization increased land prices and migrations into the region aggravated the crisis. (Pingle, 2014). Modernization of agriculture through green revolution benefited only the upper caste rich farmers and neglected the poor peasants. This increased the inequalities in the region, resulted in agrarian unrest and people's movements in the country side (Ravinder, 2016).

3.4.5 Debt trap:

The poverty situation is different in north Telangana districts from that in south Telangana. People in north Telangana have shown greater interest in educating their children than those in south Telangana. 'Debt repayment' is one of the reasons for falling into poverty, as about 80 percent of small and marginal farmers, and laborer in the countryside do not have access to institutional credit. Debt from private sources at exorbitant interest, oral tenancy and payment of fixed market rent, failure of rainfall and poor irrigation are the reasons for scheduled tribes falling into poverty in substantial numbers. The poor have not been able to benefit from the development of irrigation in some northern Telangana districts such as Nizamabad and Karimnagar, but large farmers accumulated surplus and invested in Hyderabad or towns in the districts. Due to lack of irrigation, agriculture was destroyed, and daily wage income was also not available, so non-poor who were already on the brink have fallen into poverty (Venkata Narayana & Varinder, 2004).

Technology advancement, which has displaced laborers from agriculture is also a reason for poverty. We cannot generalize that the development of irrigation alone would benefit the majority of the farmer's and landless laborers in Telangana. So, there is a need to design specific policies for each district to achieve poverty reduction and for poverty avoidance (Prabhakar, 2004). In the welfare state context, the agrarian economy is transformed from principal source of state revenue to the destination of state investment contrast to this canal irrigation network in coastal Andhra got momentum in mid – 19th century. This played a significant role in transforming this once – famine ridden region into a prosperous one (Venkata Narayana & Varinder, 2004). Non-institutional moneylenders dominated farm credit up to the 1970s. The governments share in credit was only 3 percent to 6 percent. Poor recoveries, bad debts and mounting over dues have been some of the serious problems plaguing the co-operative credit institutions. Availability of institutional finance also started slowly declining due to the banking sector reforms and the deregulation of interest rates from the mid-1990s (Reddy V. R., 2014a).

3.4.6 Private financing for irrigation:

By the 1980's tank irrigation in Telangana replaced by well irrigation. In 1999-2000 13.36 lakhs wells were there in Telangana. By 2000 there were about 30,800 tanks in Telangana. Well irrigation is mostly financed by private people, while state had to invest

public funding in canal and tank irrigation. Canal and tank irrigation reduce the cost of cultivation, even small and marginal farmers can survive in farming. (Reddy V. R., 2003). Telangana achieved irrigation for eight lakh hectares but the source of the investment in building this irrigation is private capital not public; especially for digging wells. Cost of production in Telangana increases due to irrigation cost, disadvantaging marginal and small farmers (Pingle, 2014).

Growth of commercial crops in Telangana making the farmers more vulnerable to market fluctuations. Depending on non-institutional credit increases the cost of production and trap them into continuous debt.. Even though same wage rates exist in the Telangana and Andhra regions, the declining man - days employed in Telangana is the reason for immiserisation of agricultural labor in Telangana (Venkata Narayana & Varinder, 2004). From 1956-2009 Telangana lost 3.12 lakh hectares, that is 58 percent, of tank irrigation and at the same time well irrigation has gone up from 1.30 lakh hectares to 13 lakh hectares, major contributor of Telangana irrigation (Pingle, 2014).

Pre-liberalization period there was a considerable growth in tank irrigation in Telangana, but after liberalization started in 1990 there was a decline of 50 percent in tank irrigation. “In 2005-09, 56 percent of the total well irrigation in the state (AP) was used by Telangana farmers which ultimately increased their cost of production. As far as tank irrigation is concerned, the Nizams’ government seems to have done a better job than the popular and democratic government that followed (Pingle, 2014).”

Post- 1956 major irrigation projects of Nagarjuna Sagar, Telugu Ganga and Srisailem Left Bank Canal (SLBC) over the Krishna River and Sri ramsagar over the Godavari river, cover as much as 76 percent of the total government canal irrigated area. By the 1980s, in the Telangana and Rayalseema regions, well irrigation became dominant source almost replacing tank irrigation. In the coastal region, however, canal irrigation continued to dominate as a major source. But the disturbing factor was that the gap between potential for irrigation and the actual area irrigated is widening. (Ramaakrishna, 2014). The amount spent on irrigation in different plans of Andhra Pradesh between 1956 and 2002 had increased from Rs. 5, 23,376.71 lakhs, but its percentage in the total plan expenditure had declined from 34.75 percentage in the II plan to 18.83 percentage in the IX plan (Atchireddy, 2016).

3.4.7 Migration of labour:

Lack of employment opportunities in the countryside, repayments of debts, less wages in rural areas, drought and large families are the reasons for the migration (Murali, Shobha, & J, 1981). Out-migration was indicative of the expansion of relatively more productive industrialization and decrease in dependence on less productive agriculture. And it is believed that migration would create skilled labor with higher wages which would get them upward social mobility. But the development model which evolved over the past few decades goes against this theory and these migrants were more stuck well below the poverty line. Labor migrating from Telangana coming from agriculturally relatively backward areas are either prone to frequent droughts or floods which shows tendencies of feudalism in agrarian relations. Social movements and social conflicts that contribute to weakening of structures of dominance also can be seen as part of the process of increasing social security. The market mechanism instead of addressing the social insecurity is complicating it (Vijay G. , 2005).

Majority of the migrants would like to go back to their native areas if they were assured of employment or were provided with some land with an assured supply of water. Because they feel that employment was not available in the construction industry. In the rainy season they worked in the vegetable farms or returned to their native places to work as agricultural labors, for a lower wage. From place to place their wages differ and as they are unorganized, they have no bargaining capacity (Murali, Shobha, & J, 1981) . The trade unions have neglected migrants, casual, contract and female workers (Vijay G. , 2003a). With the inability of the organized sector to absorb the surplus labour into its fold, most of the working population remains in the underpaid informal sectors. (Niranjan & Narayan, 2003).

3.4.7 Agriculture Labour:

The real incomes of SC, ST and minorities, who are mostly agricultural labourers, has increased in Andhra, whereas in Telangana it has declined considerably. The proportion of agricultural laborers to the states total population has been the largest in the country. The general trend of agricultural wages in the second half of the 20th century seems to be an increasing one (Ramaakrishna, 2014). Telangana region in 1994-95 remained more advanced in large scale industrial development. While unskilled or semi-skilled workers or laborers started emigrating in 1960s from North coastal Andhra and North and Central Telangana districts in search of employment, technology personnel started migrating to western countries in 1980s and 1990s in large numbers (Ramaakrishna, 2014).

3.4.8 Handloom Weaving Crisis:

The more widespread perception is that handloom weaving is an activity in deep crisis, caught in vicious circle of low productivity and wages unable to retain a competitive edge in the face of competition from power looms, rising costs of inputs and production, shrinking markets and lack of adequate state support. In handloom production, raw material cost is the major component in the cost of production, accounting for 81 percent, 57 percent and 53 percent of the total cost in the case of independent weavers, cooperatives and master weavers respectively. At the same time performance of cooperatives with good wages they account for only about 8 percent of the cost for independent weaver. The average monthly income of weavers is generally lower when they work for cooperatives as compared to master weavers and of the independent weavers (Mahendra Dev, Galab, Prudhvikar Reddy, & Soumya, 2008).

3.5 Telangana agitation -2009: State formation

Successive governments whether ruled by congress or TDP have been extremely intolerant of democratic assertions in Telangana and used brutal police repression on people (Marnganti, 2010). Scholars like Forrester say these movements like Separate Telangana state are ‘growing pains of modernization’. In this view regions with different trajectories of modernization met each other under a unified administration and had to compromise with each other. The under employment in agriculture, price hike of essential commodities, low crop yields, and the effect of international financial crisis all together contributed to the anger of Telangana in December 2009 (Marnganti, 2010).

After Telangana formation was announced on 9th December 2009 the group which was really worried and tried to stop the process of Telangana formation was Andhra real estate who got lands from government for a nominal prices.. The Lanco Hills case where the wakf’s manikonda jagir land was handed over to Congress Member of Parliament (MP) L. Rajagopal’s Lanco Company is a clear example. The real estate lobby feared that once Telangana becomes a reality, an investigation initiated by government favoring the Muslim population could lead to their losing these questionable assets. It has been reported that the beneficiaries of those ‘acquisitions’ have used their money power to influence political opinion and prevent a government that could begin an investigation.

Hyderabad depends on Telangana for its basic needs such as power and water and it's the center of economic, social and political structure of the region. During 2004-09, in Hyderabad and Rangareddy the average land revenue was 374 crores and 845 crores respectively. Though some politicians were stick to their political commitments of state formation, they were concerned about their investments in and around Hyderabad. (Pingle, 2014).

The Reddys of Rayalaseema and Telangana got control over the congress party with the alliance of other dominant castes and also tried to accommodate SC's. Though congress was successful in holding the power, it has failed to protect the interest of the other economically and socially dominant caste such as Kammas and also ignored the development needs in Telangana (Pingle, 2014). The emergence of other dominant castes such as Kapu, Velamas and the separate Telangana issue disturbed the established 'caste balance' which into being in 1956 and 1983. (Pingle, 2014).

With increased unemployment in Telangana the attention was again turned to the protections given to the Telangana people but not implemented. Between the period 1977 and 2004, the Telangana movement was continued largely due to co-option of the politicians into the system. By 2004, the congress, exhausted by its battle to regain power in the state, adopted the slogan of statehood for Telangana and, along with a breakaway faction of the TDP – the TRS, and managed to win the election (Pingle, 2014).

The dominant castes in Telangana stood for the separate state by expecting greater economic and political opportunities. The dominant castes hold the leadership of the movement while the SC's and OBC's were the mass of the protests. With the Telangana movement, the coastal Andhra Kammas are afraid of their investments in land in Hyderabad, Rangareddy and other Telangana districts, and are apprehensive that irrigation in the Krishna delta would be badly hit if Telangana and Rayalaseema got their rightful share of the river water (Pingle, 2014).

The children of the working class and peasants who aspired for the meaningful employment but dissatisfied raised a movement for separate state. But with liberalization leading to a dearth of government jobs, people hoped that the future of the next generation will be far better in the new state (Pingle, 2014). Over the last fifteen years, many dominant

social groups have emerged but could not move upward in the political power. It is those newly emerged social groups that are very vocal for separate state demand (Marnganti, 2010).

In India the institutionalization of the social movements from a radical phase was common thing. Even in separate Telangana movement one can see this shift of movement from radical in 1969 to institutionalised movement in 2009 (Singha Roy & Debal, 2005). The peasants depended on developmental schemes for their livelihood as their economic position was not improved and there were no alternative sources of employment. All this background was helped for the sustainable mobilization for the separate Telangana movement. (Singha Roy & Debal, 2005). However, peasants are divided on the basis of their political association, though they are all insecure of their economic positions.. Andhra Pradesh peasant movements have institutionalized and became reformative in recent years but still there is significant radical mobilization in one form or the other. The peasants have destroyed the pre-existing dominant structures by raising a radical movement but the institutionalization of these movements established another form of domination. (Singha Roy & Debal, 2005).

Identity is a social construction, the transformation of social movements reconstruct this identity in multiple ways; cast, gender, ethnicity and region. In the process of transformation and sustaining the mobilization the radical movements produced various identity movements. With the sustained mobilizations peasants had come to know of the various bases of the oppression and subordination such as caste, class, gender, ethnicity and region. The left political parties created awareness among the peasantry through sustained mobilization. The peasantry from oppressed and marginalized sections looked for alternative articulation against the domination (Singha Roy & Debal, 2005). The cause behind the lack of social resistance is because the victims are people belonging to the very groups that are vulnerable: small, marginal farmers and landless labour mainly belonging to SC's and minorities (Vijay G. , 2003b). The peasants of India failed to play the revolutionary role due to their caste, ethnic and religious conditions (Singha Roy & Debal, 2005). Even after staying together for more than fifty decades, merger could not create harmonious relationship among people and failed to bring the equitable development in different regions. (Pingle, 2014).

3.6 Naxalite movement since 1980-2005

Naxalite leaders dubbed the withdrawing of Telangana Armed Struggle in October 1951 as betrayal of the movement (Sundarayya P. , 1973). Mallareddy Palle people said “we need the government for giving us loans, food and water. We also need the People’s War Group (PWG) for our own protection and make the government employees’ work for us (Singha Roy & Debal, 2005).” The Srikakulam tribal unrest and the separate Telangana agitation during 1968-7 were the consequences of earlier development strategies (Ravinder, 2016). Although the land distribution statistics are good in Andhra Pradesh, the substantial proportion of that land occupied or re-occupied by the landlords. The left parties brought out the agenda of land distribution, but with the brutal suppression of Naxalite movement in the state the demands for land distribution was sidelined and focused on the welfare schemes of the state..

In 2004 peace-talks between Naxalites and government, land distribution to the landless poor was the main agenda.. The land distribution was the main programme of the Naxalite movement, they encouraged poor to occupy public and private lands. Most of the private lands occupied by the poor remained fallow, one side people were scared of police cases and the other side landlords were scared of Naxalite movement, so the both could not cultivate them. (Ravinder, 2016) . In Telangana, thousands of acres of lands were occupied by the landless with the help of Naxalite groups. At the time of peace talks Naxalites insisted for a land commission to look into the issues of occupied lands and the failure of land reforms.

3.6.1 Feudalism in Telangana after merger:

Balagopal (1983) explains about a village in Warangal district named Pisara. Pisara is dominated by three Reddy brothers who possess 300 to 400 acres of land. Yet these Reddy brothers are not called Doras, people distinguished as landlords who do not take part of cultivation and exercise feudal social domination, and those who have cultivators past and even today are not above setting hand to plough. Only the former category of landlord is called a ‘dora’, the latter is an ‘asami’ or ‘patel’, irrespective of how much land he might have had. “The three Reddy brothers of Pisara were actually affluent cultivating peasants at one time but apparently managed to grab the land of a Deshmukh of old times, whose tenant

they were, and who lost his land in Jagirdari abolition. These Reddy's grow cash crops (chillies), cultivate HYV paddy under wells operated by electric motors, and use plenty of fertilizers. They grow HYV seeds for the National Seeds Corporation and are said to make a flourishing business of it. One of them even has a small-scale cement pipes manufacturing concern on the Warangal – Hyderabad road. Each of them used to get their lands cultivated by about 20-30 farm servants (paleru), paid miserably low wages, and were tied to the landlord by an interest free advance at the beginning of the year. The farm-servants time was at the patels disposal, and the amount of work they do has no relation to what they are paid, but instead was determined exclusively by the patels needs. Balagopal (1983) opines that if we divide their living time into labor time and free time, then their free time is no more under their control than their labor time.

The peasant uprising of the forties took care of the vetti in the district, but the patels authority is undisturbed. He gave examples of that authority “once a poor peasant by name Mallaiah purchased two acres of land against the will of the landlords and was harassed until he sold it back. Another a rich peasant by name Chandra reddy, who has about 40 acres of land varying quality, was not obedient to the landlords, and therefore, the patels got 14 acres of his land declared ‘surplus’ under the ceiling act.

The unquestioned right of arbitration has always been among the most powerful weapons in the hands of feudal in Telangana. Against this kind of exploitation ‘Radical Party’ (CPI-ML-Peoples’ War) entered into village to organise farm servants for higher wages. Earlier farm-servants wages in Pisara village used to be Rs 200 in cash in a year (plus a similar amount as an interest free advance) and about 25 kg of Jowar per month in kind. Women agricultural laborers used to get only 2 to 3 rupees wage per day. After the formation of the Sangham, all the wages have moved up by about 50 percent. The Sangams did question the authority of the landlords and authority is as central to feudal landlords as profit is to capitalist relations. Earlier each of the landlords had 20-30 farm servants to work for him, after Sangams entered village there was not a single person willing to work as paleru. All the lands of the patels were given for share cropping. So, these landlords finally killed the village Sangam organiser Venkata Ramana on January 14, 1983 (Balagopal K. , 1983).

Redistribution at the upper levels had happened and ther were co-opted into the system and now talking of reditrubtion of land or wealth is seditious. The end of the land

reform discourse and the rise of the welfare schemes such as remunerative prices and subsidized inputs took place simultaneously. The agrarian rich are heterogeneous few of them are rich peasants, and most of them are absentee landlords, who had businesses, government employees and other professionals. However, the lands are actually cultivated by sharecroppers, tenants who were always exploited through caste and traditional social domination. Most of the surplus created by these sharecroppers and tenants do not come into village but move into towns. The choice of developing agriculture in the villages is in the hands of landlords who stay in the towns and exercise their power and traditional feudal authority over rural social life. Indian feudalism has a distinctive character that they are the protectors of exploitation and at the same time the principal means of surplus extraction. “That is the exact role the ‘modernizing state’ is playing in India” (Balagopal K., 1983).

3.6.2 Peasant Struggles: Rythu Cooli Sangham (RCS)

The peasants are small producers who produce predominantly for the family subsistence rather than for market profit. Due to specific socio-economic conditions of the peasants they play an important role in social change and transformation. Roy (2005) opines that “peasants are a socially and economically marginalized, culturally subjugated and politically disempowered social group that is attached to land to eke out a subsistence living (Singha Roy & Debal, 2005).”

The peasant struggle of Karimnagar is an important chapter of the Indian Agrarian revolution (Balagopal K., 1982). The struggle started in Jagityala and Sircilla talukas and quickly engulfed Peddapally. Subsequently it spread to Metpally, Manthani and Huzurabad. Peddapally is trisected by two busy roads full of lorries carrying coal, cement and fertilizers. On the other road are logs and juicy oranges from Maharashtra. Very remarkable is that you cannot see any lorries carrying paddy or chillies like Vijayawada- Guntur- Eluru region of green revolution Andhra. Balagopal says Peddapally is a symptomatic region that transmits products of capitalist India but has itself remained largely feudal. There are four landlords in the entire taluk which are interested in paddy and millets not the high-yielding, fertilizer used once, but traditional ones. The surplus appropriated by the landlords is either used for consumption or for mercantile investment but not transformed into productive capital. Peddapally landlords do not even invest in rice mills like rich kulaks of green revolution

Andhra. Most of this agrarian surplus goes into PWD contracts such as Pochampadu canal, wine shops and real estate in Karimangar and Hyderabad (Balagopal K. , 1982).

As tenancy has not developed to a considerable extent in Telangana it's not tenant-peasant who are exploited but feudal farm servants. They are not paid daily, they had to do indeterminate number of non-productive chores in addition to productive work and their wages are not calculated on the basis of the amount of work they do. Basically "what they sell is not their labour time but their entire time". Vetti or vetti chakiri is the main form of feudal exploitation in Telangana (Balagopal K. , 1982). "Vetti is not bonded labour; its sanction lies not in usurious debt, as in the case of debt bondage, but in custom and brute force (Balagopal K. , 1983b)." This vetti bondage is different from European feudal practice (Balagopal K. , 1983b).

It's not only the peasants who do vetti in the fields of landlords, the washermen, the shepherd, the barbar and the toddy-tapper everybody had to provide unpaid services on customarily specified occasions. And, these feudal lords used to abuse women belonging to toiling classes (Balagopal K. , 1982). There was a practice of shepherds giving free sheep and goats to the Dora's. Another important form of vetti in irrigated areas of upper Manair project was vettimandalu; forced and unpaid fertilization where all sheeps and goats of the shepherd had to sleep in the Dora land in the night and fertilize it. There was a 'modern landlord' Madhava Rao of Pothur who received the district award for 'enterprising farmer' for growing high-yield varieties of rice by using his feudal practice of vettimandalu for more than six months in a year (Balagopal & Kodandaram, 1982).

Karimanagar was not involved as much as Warangal, Nalgonda and Khammam in the Telangana peasant uprising of 1946-51. Against this feudal exploitation of vetti in 1978, the Rytu- Coolie Sangham started organizing in some districts not only for economic concerns but also problems of caste, sex, corruption and alcohol. "In quite a few villages Sanghams are the only local administrative authority respected by the poor, and some places also by rich." The people forcibly occupied waste lands around the village which are illegally grabbed by landlords and distributed them among landless. During the struggle people demanded 'fees and fines' back which were collected by landlords to settle the disputes between them. When the state government started giving abkari contracts, the Sangham demanded funds from the contractors and used that money to build schools, laying roads, paying teachers and getting

tank bunded etc. These acts demonstrated to the people that Sanghams are constructively different from the ruling class parties (Balagopal K. , 1982).

Each time the Sangham occupied lands, demanded for wages and held meetings in a village, landlords complained to police. Police came to protect landlords and setup camps in the village. These police camps tried to economically destroy the groups/people who supported these Sanghams. They destroyed crops by driving animals into fields, by stopping water supply to fields, smashing water motors and throwing them into wells. They would raid peasant houses throw clothes, utensils and bags of paddy into the well. Most significant achievement of the struggles is that vetti was completely stopped in the Peddapally area. Wages also almost doubled (Balagopal K. , 1982).

Sircilla was a dry shrub-forest and villages were dominated by classic feudalism from the Asafjahi time when the movement entered. Here feudal landlords were called Dora's. These Dora's were little different from Deshmukhs or Jagirdars of the Nizam's period. Nimmapalli village of the same region Bontala Bhaskar Rao *Dora* owned 1600 acres of land including common village land, forest land, shrub land, tank beds and stream beds with neither legal nor benami ownership. He was holding these lands not for profit but to prevent access to the poor people of the village which is an exercise of feudal authority. Bhaskar Rao's father or grandfather distributed 22 acres of his land to harijans to maintain good terms with the working people of the village due to the armed peasant uprising in the region. When Mulavaagu project started in this area to give water for 2500 acres of land these 22 acres of land also became a beneficiary of the project. Then, Bhaskar Rao wanted this land back from the *harijans*. They approached the CPI (ML) - Chandra Pulla reddy group and Rytu Cooli Sangham (peasant and agricultural labour union). Rytu Cooli Sangham (RCS) gave a call for occupying the land plant (sesmum?). Dora with his hired goondas made the harijans retreat from the land. In this conflict police entered and booked the Sircilla Conspiracy Case on three village people. Later cases were withdrawn for lack of evidence but these 22 acres of land were reverted to the Dora (Balagopal & Kodandaram, 1982).

There was a harijan movement even before emergency against untouchability and for higher wages for farm servants. Against vetti the harijan sangam first started its movement in Gudem of Karimnagar district (Balagopal & Kodandaram, 1982).

3.6.3. Against Feudal Exploitation: Radical Students' Union (RSU)

In Telangana tendu leaf plucking is a major income source in the summer. There wasn't any agriculture work in the summer as the harvesting was over, so people depended on tendu leaf plucking in many areas of the Telangana. Tendu leaf was also a revenue source to the state. The nationalization of tendu leaf business believed to increase revenue of the state and ensured minimum price for the tendu leaf. But the fact is that this extra revenue to the states and minimum wages are depended on the generosity of the contractors who had the power to manipulate. These contractors, even though they manipulated the minimum wage, most of the time followed it as there is no supervision from authorities.. On the other side the contractors indulged in illegal collection there by escaping royalty and sales tax payment for profit making. Apart from not implementing the minimum wage and illegal collection these contractors followed other extra- economical exaction.

Kalledar collects a large sum of bundles without paying the wages. On every rupee earning bundles collectors have to give two or three bundles free of wages. "In every season tendu labour had to work two or three days as vetti days for free". And also, as an offering to village deities' contractors demanded free bundles. The kalledar discovered at least a dozen excuses to appropriate the bundles. Apart from these, kalledars raised many objections such as 'the leaf is not tender', 'it is too tender', 'it has holes' and 'the bundle doesn't have 100 leaves' in order to get these bundles.

During emergency activists of RSU (Radical Students' Union) went underground. At that time "they conducted village surveys, analysed the class composition in villages, organized people to achieve partial and economic demands" (V.G., 1984). Regarding tendu leaf exploitation RSU and peasant activists campaigned and organized 40 villages and went on strike demanding higher wages. Across the tendu leaf regions, basically forest based regions, went on strike demanding higher price for bundle and scrapping the system of free bundles. Kalledar also supported this struggle and they also demanded for higher salaries. This struggle spread to other areas of the forest, even other states. For tendu leaf plucking people migrate to other areas where they get higher wages. They stay in residential depots (labor kallam) and collect tendu leaf and sell the leaf at the same place. Now instead of migrating, people demanded higher wages in their own villages. Sometimes contractors promised high wages and after the strike was stopped they refuse to implement it. Then

people in an anger burn all the tendu leaf fields (*kallam*) of the contractors causing him financial damage.

Some areas collectors were paid time-rate which was far below the minimum wages. Committees formed in the entire area to fight for minimum wage and scrapping of the free bundle custom. In Adilabad districts alone people formed struggle committees and organized 700 villages in 50 units to get wages increased from 12-15 paise to 15 -17 paise for a bundle. In some villages struggle succeeded in getting petromax lamps, bed sheets and utensils and increase in wages of 12-20 paise per bundle. Kalledar and watchers also participated in the struggle and could secure 150 percent and 100 percent increase in salaries respectively. In later part state repression through CRPF and APSP increased. “Yet the struggle has notched success over eight years wages have gone up on an average to 22 paise from a paltry 3 paise. Many kinds of unpaid labour have been discontinued” (V.G., 1984).

CIA pressed the Ford Foundation into services to counter the “communist threat”, by setting up cultural facts, enlisting the support of prominent anti-left intellectuals, to co-opt agrarian struggles through community development projects. In India, Ford Foundation closely worked with the Nehruvian regime to quell peasant uprising in Telangana and other places (Nilanjana, 2006). Leftist parties led this rural unrest in the late 1960’s particularly peoples’ war (PWG) and its youth wing (PYL). Because of this left led land movements “most of the landlords sold their lands to the potential farmers and migrated to the urban areas” (Ramireddy, 1992).

The spectacular victory of the TDP in the Telangana region securing huge majority in 1983, had something to do with Naxalism (Pingle, 2014). In 1989 December Chennareddy lifted the ban on the PWG, in the following years of 1989-91 Naxalites grew by leaps and bounds. In May 1992 the ban on the activities of the PWG and its front organization was re-imposed by N. Janardhan Reddy. When NTR returned to power, he lifted the ban on PWG (Pingle, 2014).

SKC report believes that new government which forms after the state formation deals softly with the Maoists as they supported the movement for long. Further, the report says Gaddar formed a new organization, Telangana Praja Front (TPF), with the direction of Maoist party to sustain the sepearte state agitation for longer period. This front backed and motivated

by Maoists tried to become an alternative platform for the mainstream political movement and make a space for the Maoist party in the Telangana (Pingle, 2014). The landlords feudalism and dominant castes discrimination over the marginalized caused the Naxalism. Even in the separate state movement, dominant castes are the leaders and the BC's and SC's who aspired to political leadership were the foot soldiers (Pingle, 2014). The Naxalite movement influenced, directly or indirectly, all walks of life in Andhra Pradesh (Reddy V. R., 2014a).

In Andhra Pradesh it is the Naxalites who made the anti-liquor agitation a part of their land movement. In the 1990s when 'Peoples' War Group' was banned, prohibition was no longer the issue (Pandey, 2014). The Naxalite movement has been acknowledged for driving feudal lords out of the villages, ensuring freedom of peasants from the blatant feudal exploitation that existed earlier, and increasing wages for landless labor. The movement also succeeded in redistributing some lands (Ajay & Vijay, 2004).

3.7 Conclusion:

The Telangana peasant armed struggle united almost all the communities in the village against the landlords (Bhukya, 2010). Movement spread to more than 3,000 villages about 4,000 people laid down their lives, 10 thousand were detained and at least 50,000 were kept in concentration camps. In terms of mass participation and intensity the Telangana peasant armed struggle was beyond comparison of any movement in Indian history. The struggle has an ambition to demolish the feudal power of Doras. It was not a struggle just for land or for food as was afterwards projected. The struggle was not just for land, it was against the exploitative culture and social practices (Thirumali I. , 1996).

After the independence the power struggle in India between 'privileged and under privileged' intensified (Benson J. E., 1983). It was difficult to imagine that peasants of Telangana tried to kick off the Nizam and the Indian state, which supported the landlords, at the same time. The congress eventually welcomed the landlords back in a changed form, the politicians, more suited to their requirements (Moore, 2010).

After communists started working in villages of Telangana in 1943-44 villages refused to obey landlords' orders, to supply forced labor, to pay rent and tax due to communist influence. At least 2000 villages were liberated in late 1947 and in early 1948.

Village soviets did spring up and take control of an extensive area. For a short time, communists' broke landlord and police control, distributed lands, cancelled debts and liquidated enemies in the classic manner. As a spokesman for business, Patel was the leader to whom the landlords and orthodox Hindus looked for protection against agrarian reform and secularism (Moore, 2010).

In the united Andhra Pradesh, there was a power shortage to agriculture, industry and domestic segments. In Andhra Pradesh agriculture was completely neglected, there were no fund allocations for public irrigation and institutional credit which increased debt burden of the people, especially in Telangana..

Nehru's Indian army killed many peasant of Telangana, imprisoned and tortured many other and lead the landlords back to the villages. These landlords later joined congress party and became law makers, fabricated the land reform legislations in favour of them and got rid of some barren lands as part ceiling acts and some in bhudhan movement and managed to hold the big chunk of lands with them. After these landlords abandoned all the barren lands they stopped talking of land reforms.. After some years land reform became insignificant in the ruling class ideology (Balagopal K. , 1984).

Comparing with the other states, Telangana suffered high poverty, unemployment and lack of public investment in agriculture. One reason for the Telangana backwardness was feudal economic and political structure and the other is the failure of the successive development strategies. Though the radical agrarian movements destabilized the pre-existing structure of domination but instituted another structure of domination on them (Singha Roy & Debal, 2005).

CHAPTER – 4

CHANGES IN TELANGANA ECONOMY: SECONDARY DATA ANALYSIS

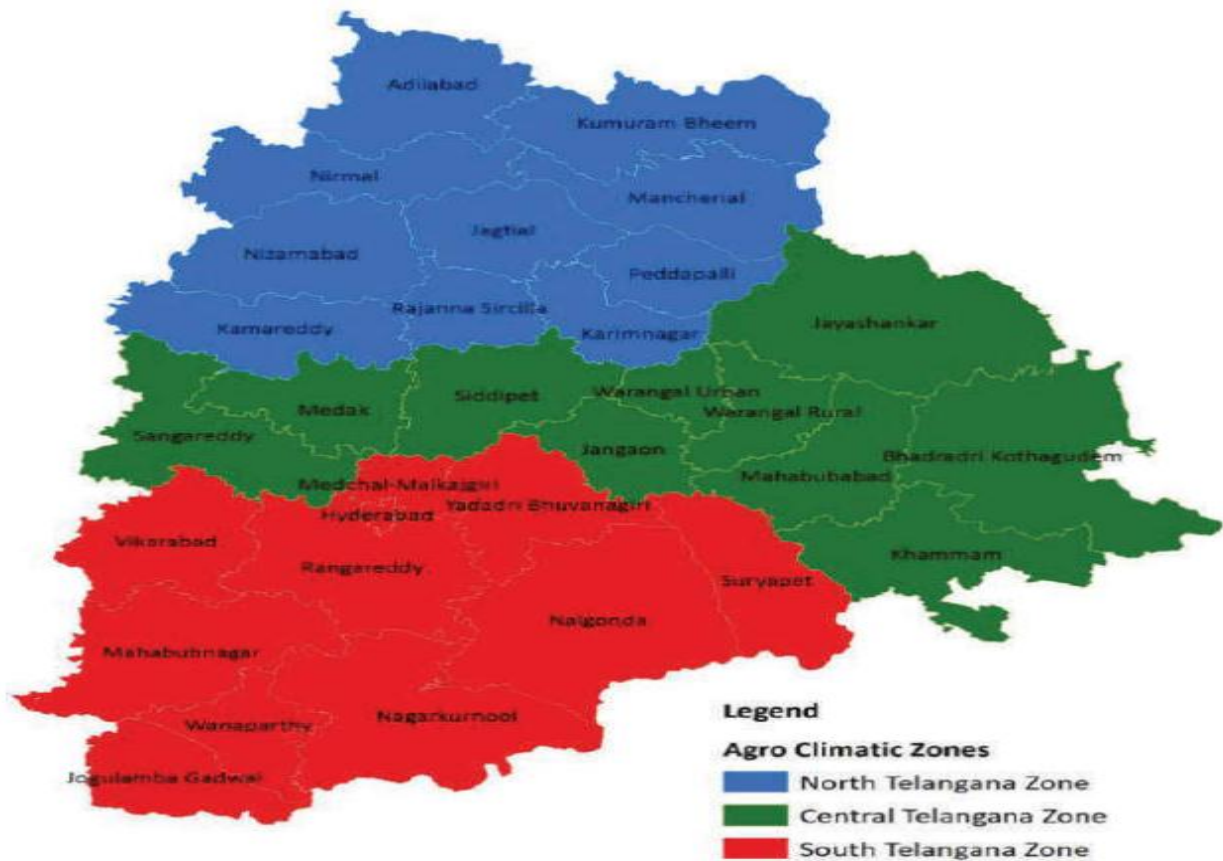
4.1 Introduction:

Agriculture sector plays a significant role in Telangana economy. About 56 percent of the working population depends on agriculture and 40 percent of the farmers income is coming from agriculture and its allied sectors. Paddy, Maize, Jowar, Red gram, Green gram, Bengal gram, Soybean, mango, Chilies, Cotton, and Sugarcane are the main crops in Telangana. Telangana region is predominantly hot and dry because this region is located in a semi-arid area. Due to industrialization, urbanization, housing, infrastructure and others, agricultural land converted to non-agricultural uses; ultimately there is a decline in net sown area.

Rural population in Telangana consists about 60 percent of the total population. Most of the rural populations lives on agriculture, its allied sectors, and on other traditional occupations. (Telangana, 2018). However, Telangana agriculture frequently dragged into distress due to regular droughts in the area (Telangana, 2018).

Telangana state has fertile soils, Godavari and Krishna river basins and its cropping pattern is diversified. Agriculture is part of the culture and traditions of Telangana people. Sustainable economic growth and well-being of Telangana depends on the growth of agriculture, as the 56 percent of the working population is depending on it. Based on geographical characteristics like rainfall, soil, climate etc., Telangana has divided into three regions North Telangana, Central Telangana and South Telangana (Telangana, 2018).

Figure 4.1
Agroclimatic zones in Telangana



Source: Socio-Economic Outlook-2018, Government of Telangana, Planning Department.

4.2 Growth

The main target of any government should be the inclusive growth of SC's, ST's, BC's, minorities, and women. (Telangana, 2018). Telangana state growing at 3-5 percent rate with some sectors like manufacturing experiencing negative growth (Telangana, Socio-Economic Outlook - 2018, 2018).

Table 4.1

GSDP of agriculture and allied sectors and its share in total GSDP of the state during the last five years, at constant 2004-05 prices.

(Rs. In Crore)

Items	Year				
	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15
GSDP of Agriculture and Allied Sectors	25,858	25,765	28,726	31,136	27,926
% to Total GSDP	14.8	13.6	14.6	15.1	12.8

Source: Agricultural Statistics at a Glance Telangana 2014-15, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Telangana.

During 2014-15, the agriculture and allied sectors contributed approximately 12.8 percent of Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP), at constant 2004-05 prices. The GSDP of agriculture and allied sectors is decreasing, in 2010-11 it is 14.8 percent, and in 2014-15 it's 12.8 percent. There is a decline of 2 percent, but in the actual amount, it is increasing 25, 858 in 2010-11 and 27, 926 in 2014-15, except in the year 2011-12 which is 25,765 a slight decrease. The share in amount and percentage both increased in 2013-14 which is 31,136 crores and 15.1 percent respectively.

Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP), at current prices, for the year 2017-18 has increased to Rs. 7.33 lakh crores, as against Rs. 6.42 lakh crore in the year 2016-17, exhibiting 14.1 percent growth rate. The GSDP had grown 10.4 percent, at a constant prices of 2011-12, from 4.98 lakh crores in 2016-17 to 5.49 lakh crore in 2017-18.

Table 4.2

Growth, over the previous years, in the total GSDP and that agriculture and allied sectors in the GSDP at constant 2004-05 prices.

(In percent)

YEAR	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15
GSDP	10.6	13.4	1.1	18.0	8.7	4.1	4.8	5.3
Agriculture & Allied Sector	16.3	6.0	-12.5	19.4	-0.4	11.5	8.4	-10.3

Source: Agricultural Statistics at a Glance Telangana 2014-15, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Telangana.

GSDP growth rate for all the years from 2007-08 to 2014-15 is positive over the previous years. But the growth of agriculture and allied sector showing negative growth also in comparison with the prior year growth. During the years 2009-10, 2011-12 and 2014-15 are registered negative growths of -12.5 percent, - 0.4 percent and -10.3 percent respectively. The growth of GSDP is high in the year 2010-11, that is 18.0 percent and the growth of agriculture and allied sectors also significant in the same year 19.4 percent. When there was a lowest (1.1 percent) GSDP growth recorded, in the year 2009-10, the growth of agriculture and allied sectors the negative growth is highest – 12.5 percent. This 2014-15 estimated negative growth -10.3 percent is due to adverse seasonal conditions during the year. The GSDP at constant prices for 2014-15 (estimated) is 2, 17,432 crores at a growth rate of 5.3 percent. In agriculture and allied sectors, there is 10.3 percent negative growth rate, attributed to adverse seasonal conditions during the year.

Table 4.3

Comparative statement of GSDP and GDP

Year	Current Prices					Constant Prices				
	Telangana		All India		Share of TS	Telangana		All India		Share of TS
	GSDP	GR	GDP	GR		GSDP	GR	GDP	GR	
2011-12	3.59	-	87.36	-	4.11	3.59	-	87.36	-	4.11
2012-13	4.02	11.7	99.44	13.8	4.04	3.70	3.0	92.13	5.5	4.02
2013-14	4.52	12.4	112.34	13.0	4.02	3.90	5.4	98.01	6.4	3.98
2014-15	5.06	12.0	124.68	11.0	4.06	4.16	6.8	105.28	7.4	3.95
2015-16	5.78	14.2	137.72	10.5	4.20	4.65	11.6	113.69	8.0	4.09
2016-17	6.6	14.2	153.62	11.5	4.29	5.12	10.2	122.98	8.2	4.16
2017-18	7.54	14.3	170.95	11.3	4.40	5.65	10.4	131.80	7.2	4.29
2018-19	8.67	15.0	190.54	11.5	4.55	6.25	10.6	141.00	7.0	4.43

Source: a) Gross State Domestic Product of Telangana State, Advance Estimates 2018-19, Directorate of Economic and Statistics, Government of Telangana

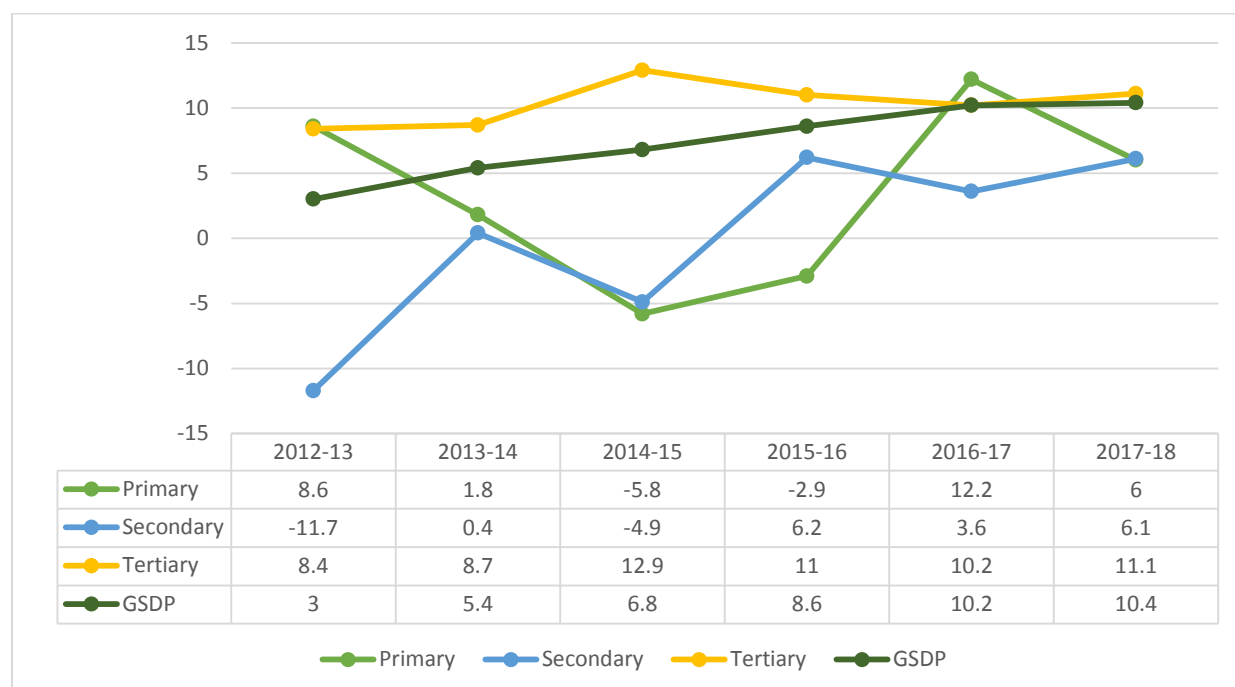
b) Socio-Economic Outlook-2018, Government of Telangana, Planning Department.

GSDP of Telangana is constantly growing in current prices, in 2011-12 the GSDP of the state is 3.59 lakhs and it reached to 8.67 lakhs in 2018-19 with constant increase. Even at all India level the GDP is constantly growing, in 2011-12 it was 87.36 lakhs and it reached to 190.54 lakhs in 2018-19. But if you look at the growth rates Telangana growth rates at constant prices are constantly growing, 11.7 in 2011-12 to 15.0 in 2018-19. And when it comes to all India growth rates there is decline in growth, in 2012-13 the growth rate was 13.8 and it decreased to 11.5 in 2018-19. At the current prices the share of GSDP to all India GDP is almost same for the eight years from 2011-12 to 2018-19, that is 4 percent

Even at constant prices Telangana GSDP is growing from 3.59 lakhs in 2011-12 to 6.25 lakhs in 2018-19. GDP of all India is also growing constantly. At 2011-12 constant prices the growth rates of both Telangana and all India are growing. But Telangana growing at faster rate than the all India. In 2012-13 Telangana growth rate was 3.0 percent and in 2018-19 it is 10.6 percent. All India growth rate is 5.5 in 2012-13, much higher than

Telangana growth at that time and increased to 7.0 percent, which is much lesser than the Telangana growth, 10.6 percent. Even at constant prices the share of GSDP of state is almost same as current prices, 4 percent.

Figure 4.2
Sector wise growth trajectory at 2011-12 constant price



Source: Socio-Economic Outlook-2018, Government of Telangana, Planning Department.

Primary sector in Telangana going through disturbing fluctuations from 2012-13 to 2017-18. Primary sector was growing at 8.6 percent (at 2011-12 constant prices) in 2012-13. It goes down to the negative in consequent years and reached -2.9 percent negative growth in 2015-16. And in the next year, 2016-17, it grows to 12.2 percent growth rate and again came down to 6 percent in 2017-18. Secondary sector is experiencing continuous growth, it grew from negative to positive. In 2012-13 the growth rate of secondary is -11.7 percent till 2014-15 the growth was not that great. But since 2015-16 the growth rate is considerably increasing. In 2015-16 secondary sector at constant prices 2011-12 its growing at 6.2 percent and in 2017-18 it reached to 6.1 percent. Tertiary sector in Telangana never seen a negative growth or even slow growth. There are fluctuations too in this sector but the growth rate quite good. In 2012-13 tertiary sector is growing at 8.4 percent, in 2014-15 it reached to its highest level of 12.9 percent, and in 2017-18 its growing at 11.1 percent which is decent.

Table 4.4

Sectoral Growth Rates of Gross State Domestic Product at Constant (2011-12) Prices

Sl. No	Sector	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16 (TRE)	2016-17 (SRE)	2017-18 (FRE)	2018-19 (AE)
1	Agriculture, Livestock, Forestry and Fishing	8.8	4.0	-9.7	-7.5	10.2	9.0	6.6
1.1	Crops	9.8	4.8	-20.6	-18.1	16.8	4.2	2.1
1.2	Livestock	8.0	2.3	8.1	6.3	6.6	13.3	11.0
1.3	Forestry and Logging	-0.6	-2.5	-7.7	-1.9	-3.0	-0.9	-0.2
1.4	Fishing and Aquaculture	10.4	14.4	8.5	-11.0	-17.6	36.5	15.6
2	Mining and Quarrying	7.8	-9.2	16.4	11.8	13.0	7.0	8.2
	Primary	8.6	1.8	-5.8	-4.0	10.8	8.5	7.0
3	Manufacturing	-15.4	-0.8	-7.5	32.1	12.5	9.6	10.1
4	Electricity, Gas, Water supply and other utility services	-21.1	40.6	-23.8	8.8	-22.0	21.6	7.3
5	Construction	1.6	-7.7	9.2	2.8	2.7	2.6	3.8
	Secondary	-11.7	0.4	-4.9	21.4	7.4	8.5	8.5
6	Trade, Repairs, Hotels and Restaurants	7.4	8.2	19.9	12.1	14.3	14.9	14.9
6.1	Trade and Repair Services	8.1	14.9	22.3	12.4	15.6	15.7	15.8
6.2	Hotels and Restaurants	4.4	-22.0	3.9	9.9	3.2	7.8	6.2
7	Transport, Storage, Communication and Services related to Broadcasting	10.2	4.0	7.1	9.1	8.3	9.0	8.7
7.1	Railways	4.1	7.4	-3.1	-2.2	3.7	0.6	2.2
7.2	Road Transport	9.4	5.6	4.8	8.1	7.9	9.2	9.3
7.3	Water Transport	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
7.4	Air Transport	73.6	-24.3	79.3	79.7	1.5	6.8	2.2
7.5	Services incidental to Transport	21.9	-12.5	9.4	1.7	7.8	9.8	6.4
7.6	Storage	-20.8	4.9	-0.3	-1.2	9.8	5.2	3.5
7.7	Communication and Services related to Broadcasting	3.7	14.8	11.9	13.7	11.7	10.0	10.5
8	Financial Services	9.7	10.0	11.9	7.7	9.8	6.2	7.9

9	Real estate, Ownership of Dwelling and Professional services	12.8	11.6	12.3	11.4	7.9	10.7	11.2
10	Public Administration	1.9	5.2	14.4	22.8	5.4	5.7	6.1
11	Other Services	1.0	8.2	9.7	10.4	13.8	10.1	9.8
	Tertiary	8.4	8.7	12.9	11.3	10.2	10.5	10.9
	Total GSVA at basic prices	2.9	5.3	5.2	10.6	9.7	9.8	9.8
	Taxes on Products	4.3	2.8	16.9	20.2	14.3	16.3	17.7
	Subsidies on Products	5.8	-4.5	-17.5	11.0	11.5	12.6	14.3
	Gross State Domestic Product	3.0	5.4	6.8	11.6	10.2	10.4	10.6

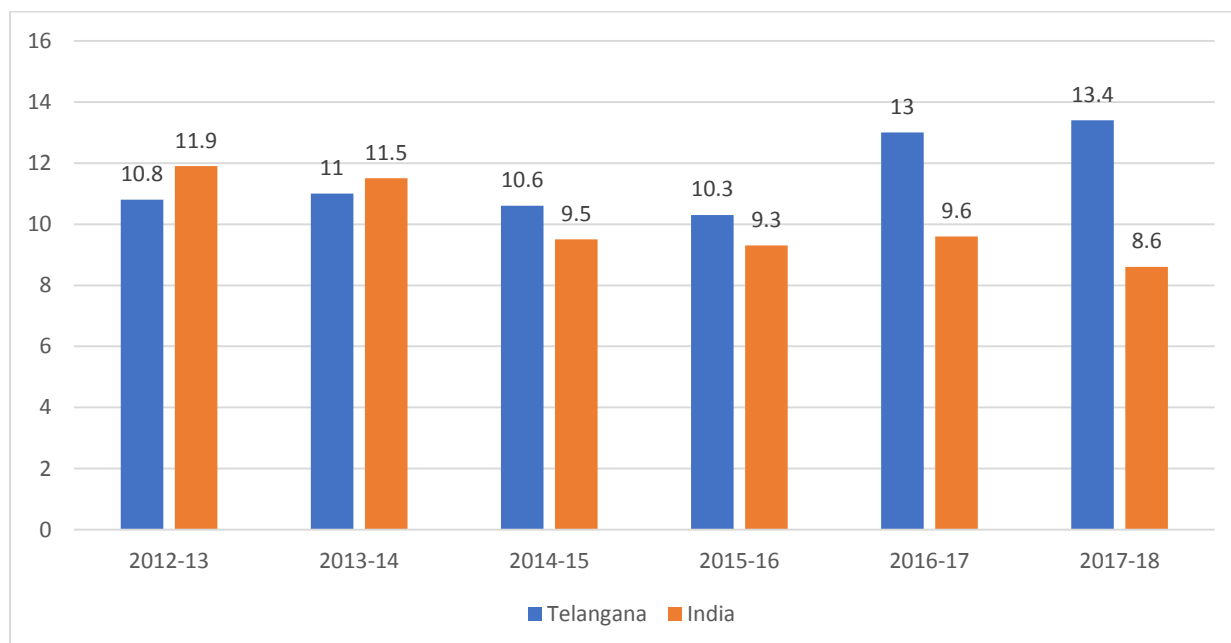
Source: a) Socio-Economic Outlook-2018, Government of Telangana, Planning Department.

b) Gross State Domestic Product of Telangana State Advanced Estimates, 2018-19, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Telangana.

This table shows detailed sectoral growth rates from 2012-13 to 2018-19 at constant prices of 2011-12. Within the primary sector it is mining and quarrying which is growing positive all the years. Except for 2013-14 which is facing negative growth (-9.2). And even livestock is growing in positive directions, tis sector never experienced negative growth rates. In 2017-18 it's growing at 13.3 percent which is highest for this sector.

In secondary sector, construction sector is growing at a positive rate for all the years from 2012-13 to 2018-19. Manufacturing sees the negative growth for three consequent years, form 2012-13, and started growing at a good number. Within the tertiary sector all sectors are growing in a good phase. Only storage and railways which are under government sector has seen negative growth rate for more than one year. Apart from these two sectors all the other tertiary sectors are growing in a positive mood.

Figure 4.3
Growth trends of per capita income at current prices



Source: Socio-Economic Outlook-2018, Government of Telangana, Planning Department.

This above graph explains the per capita growth rates, at current prices, of Telangana and all India. All India per capita growth rates are higher than the Telangana per capita growth rates in 2012-13 and 2013-14. But since the state formation 2014-15 this trend has changed in favor of Telangana. In 2017-18 Telangana per capita growth is higher for the selected years that is 13.4 percent and all India per capita growth rate for the same year is 8.6 percent.

4.3 Land Use Pattern:

In terms of geographical area Telangana is the 12th largest state in the country with 60 percent arable land. When the total area sown more than once is counted only once is net sown area, if you counted as many times as there are sowings in a year that is gross sown area (Telangana, 2018). Industrialization, urbanization, housing, and infrastructure increasing pressure on agriculture land and forcing it to non-agricultural uses. Because of these factors the cultivable area and net sown area are coming down (Telangana, 2017).

Table 4.5
The pattern of land use under various categories.

Area in Lakh hectares				
Category	2008-09		2016-17	
	Area	%	Area	%
Forest	27.43	23.89	26.98	24.07
Barren and Uncultivable Land	6.26	5.45	6.07	5.42
Land Put to Non-Agriculture Uses	8.19	7.13	8.52	7.60
Culturable Waste	1.71	1.49	1.82	1.62
Permanent Pastures and Other Grazing lands	3.09	2.69	2.99	2.67
Land under Misc. Tree crops, Groves not included in Net Area Sown	1.16	1.01	1.12	1.00
Other Fallow Lands	7.88	6.86	6.69	5.97
Current Fallow Lands	16.79	14.62	10.15	9.06
Net Area Sown* (Including Fish Culture)	42.33	36.86	47.74	42.59
Total Geographical Area	114.84	100	112.08	100

Source: a. Agricultural Statistics at a Glance Telangana, 2015-16, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Telangana.

b. Source: Socio-Economic Outlook-2018, Government of Telangana, Planning Department.

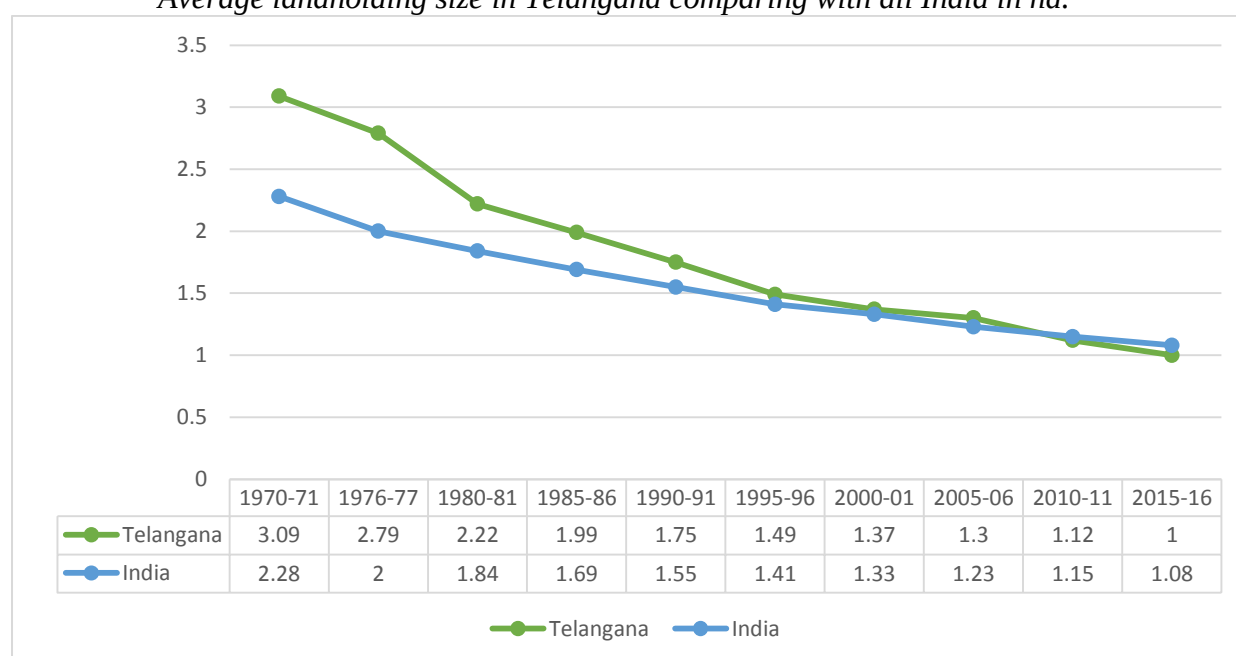
Note: Difference in geographical area due to transfer of certain villages of Khammam district to Andhra Pradesh.

From 2008-09 to 2016-17 the forest lands of Telangana have increased from 23.89 percent to 24.07 percent of the total geographical area. Barren and uncultivable lands are almost equal in percentage, in 2008—09 it is 5.45 and in 2016-17 it is 5.42 percent. Land put to non-agricultural uses has increased a bit from 8.19 lakh hecters (7.13 percent) to 8.52 lakh hecters (7.60 percent). Cultivable waste lands also increased from 1.49 percent in 2008-09 to 1.62 percent in 2016-17. Permanent pastures and other grazing lands are almost equal in percentage, in 2008-09 it is 2.69 percentage and in 2016-17 it is 2.67 percentage. Other fallow land current fallow lands have decreased. In 2008-09 it is 6.86 percent and 14.62 percent respectively, and this percentage is decreased to 5.97 and 9.06 percent respectively.

The ratio of current fallow lands had decreased almost 5 percent. From 2008-09 to 2016-17 the net area sown has increased from 36.86 percent to 42.59 percent. Due to transfer of some villages to Andhra Pradesh the total geographical area has decreased from 114.84 lakh hectares to 112.08 lakh hectares in 2016-17.

4.4 Land Holdings:

Figure 4.4
Average landholding size in Telangana comparing with all India in ha.



Source: a) Socio-Economic Outlook-2018, Government of Telangana, Planning Department.

This graph shows the average landholding size for Telangana and all India from 1970-71 to 2010-11. In 1970-71 Telangana average operating holding is much higher than the all India average, Telangana average landholding was 3.09 ha and the all India average was 2.28 ha. Telangana average operating holding is declined much faster than the all India level and in 1995-96 it started going together with all India average. And by the 2010-11 agriculture census the average operating landholding size of Telangana is started coming down comparatively with all India average, that is 1.12 comparing with 1.15 in 2010-11 and 1.00 to 1.08 in 2015-16.

Table 4.6
Number and area of operational holdings of Telangana for 2010-11 and 2015-16

Number in, 000
Area in, 000ha

Size Group	2010-11		2015-16		% Variation	
	Number	Area	Number	Area	Number	Area
Marginal	3840	1706	3441	1567	11.60	8.88
Small	1409	1977	1327	1869	6.15	5.74
Semi-Medium	564	1467	603	1585	-6.53	-7.45
Medium	126	688	167	927	-24.73	-25.79
Large	9	135	16	249	-40.00	-45.91

Source: All India report on number and area of operational holdings, Agriculture census 2015-16, Provisional Results (Phase-I), Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare, Government of India.

In the total operational holdings in the state, small and marginal operational holdings constitute 80 percent. The number of operational holdings for marginal holders have decreased from 3.84 lakhs in 2010-11 to 3.44 lakhs in 2015-16. Number of small holders also decreasing from 1.41 lakhs in 2010-11 to 1.33 lakhs in 2015-16. And even the area for marginal and small holders in Telangana is decreasing 1.71 and 1.98 lakh ha. respectively in 2010-11 to 1.57 and 1.87 lakh ha. respectively in 2015-16. There is an increase for semi-medium, medium and large operating holdings, as well as operated area of these holdings. Semi-medium, medium and large have increased from 0.56, 0.13 and 0.009 (9 thousand) lakhs in 2010-11 to 0.60, 0.17 and 0.07 (16 thousand) in 2015-16 respectively. When it comes to area of these operating holdings it is increased from 1.47, 0.69 and 0.14 lakh ha. in 2010-11 to 1.59, 0.93 and 0.25 lakh ha. in 2015-16 respectively.

Table 4.7
Percentage distribution of number and area of operating households in Telangana for 2010-11 and 2015-16

Size Group	2010-11				2015-16			
	Telangana		India		Telangana		India	
	Number	Area	Number	Area	Number	Area	Number	Area
Marginal	61.96	25.28	67.10	22.50	64.56	28.57	68.52	24.16
Small	23.90	30.17	17.91	22.08	23.69	33.10	17.69	23.19
Semi-Medium	10.86	25.58	10.04	23.63	9.48	24.57	9.45	23.65
Medium	3.00	14.96	4.25	21.20	2.11	11.52	3.76	19.96
Large	0.28	4.01	0.70	10.59	0.16	2.25	0.57	9.04
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: All India report on number and area of operational holdings, Agriculture census 2015-16, Provisional Results (Phase-I), Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare, Government of India.

In 2010-11, 61.96 percent of the holdings are marginal in 2015-16 it increased to 64.56 percent. Small operating holdings have decreased very little from 2010-11 to 2015-16, it is 23.90 to 23.69. All other size group operating holdings are decreasing over the years. In 2010-11 semi-medium, medium and large operating holdings are 10.86, 3.00 and 0.28 percent and in 2015-16 it decreased to 9.48, 2.11 and 0.16 percent respectively.

Area of marginal and small operational holdings are increasing, in 2010-11 it is 25.28 and 30.17 percent and in 2015-16 it increased to 28.57 and 33.10 respectively. And area under other size groups is decreasing from 2010-11 to 2015-16. In 2010-11 semi-medium, medium and large holdings are operating 25.58, 14.96 and 4.01 percent of the total operated area and it decreased to 24.57, 11.52 and 2.25 respectively in 2015-16.

4.5 Irrigation:

Irrigation helps to grow agricultural crops, fertile the dry lands, and maintenance of lands (Telangana, 2017). Telangana affects with frequent droughts because it is located in a rain shadow area. The major irrigation project commands more than ten thousand hectares, whereas a medium irrigation project commands less than ten thousand hectares but more than two thousand hectares of land. Godavari, Krishna are the two major rivers of the country

providing irrigation in the state. Canals, tanks, wells (tube well and dug-wells) are the major irrigation sources in the state. (Telangana, Statistical Year Book 2017, 2017).

The gross area irrigated during 2014-15 by all sources is 25.29 lakh hectares, accounted for 47.58 percent of the gross cropped area as against 50.52 percent during 2013-14. Tube wells are playing a greater role in Telangana irrigation. In 2013-14 15.72 lakh hectares and during 2014-15, 14.19 lakh hectares irrigated under the tube well irrigation. It is almost 49.84 percent and 56.11 percent of the total irrigated area during 2013-14 and 2014-15 respectively. After the category of tube wells, it is the category of other wells which is irrigating most of the area 6.97 lakh hectares in 2014-15 and 7.62 lakh hectares in 2013-14, which accounts for 27.56 percent and 24.16 percent respectively. Canals, which is public funded irrigation source irrigating only 2.43 lakh hectares and 4.69 lakh hectares in 2014-15 and 2013-14 respectively, this accounts for 9.61 percent and 14.87 percent of the total irrigated area respectively during 2014-15 and 2013-14. Increase in irrigated area under Canal irrigation will reduce lots of economic burden on farmers. Under tanks, which was the main source of irrigation in Telangana, irrigated area is little. In 2014-15 under tanks 1.13 lakh hectares irrigated and in 2013-14 that is 2.81 lakh hectares. Increasing irrigated area under Canals and Tanks will well of the farmers.

Table 4.8

Source wise gross area irrigated for the years 2008-09 to 2015-16

In lakh hectares

Source	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16
Tanks	2.86	0.67	3.05	2.08	1.79	2.81	1.13	1.21
Canals	3.74	1.69	5.04	4.32	1.21	4.69	2.43	0.61
Wells	19.81	18.42	21.11	21.57	22.07	23.34	21.16	18.06
Other Sources	0.80	0.53	0.79	0.68	0.50	0.70	0.57	0.40
Total	27.21	21.31	29.99	28.64	25.57	31.54	25.29	20.28

Source: Gross State Domestic Product of Telangana State Advanced Estimates, 2018-19, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Telangana.

Tank irrigation is fluctuating very much in terms of its irrigated area. Between 2008-09 and 2015-16, 3.05 lakh hectares are the highest area irrigated through tanks in 2010-11 and the lowest is in 2009-10 that is 0.67 lakh hectares. In 2015-16 through tanks 1.21 lakh ha. are irrigated. Canal irrigation is as fluctuating as tanks, which depends on monsoon. The highest area irrigated through tanks is 5.04 lakh ha. in 2010-11 and the lowest is in 2015-16 that is 0.61 lakh ha. Area irrigated under well irrigation is increasing from 2008-09 to 2013-14, then it is slowly declining. Through wells the highest area irrigated is 23.34 lakh ha. in 2013-14 and the lowest is 18.06 lakh ha. And the irrigation through 'other source' is ranging between 0.40 lakh ha. in 2015-16 and 0.80 in 2008-09.

In 2014-15 and 2015-16 the irrigated area from all sources is declining, despite the govt claims of increase in irrigation. Well irrigation was the main reason in Telangana for farmers debt and suicides. Even after five years of Telangana formation farmers still depending on well irrigation. Overall the total irrigated area is very less in 2015-16 (20.28 percent) comparing with other cropping years since 2008-09. The gross area irrigated is 25.29 lakh hectares by all sources during the year 2014-15 which accounted for 47.58 percent of the total cropped area as against 50.32 percent during 2013-14. During 2014-15 the total area irrigated has decreased almost 19.82 percent, from 31.54 lakh hectares to 25.29 lakh hectares. In the same year net area irrigated has also decreased from 22.80 lakh hectares in 2013-14 to 17.26 lakh hectares in 2014-15. The decrease is 24.30 percent. Out of 25.29 lakh hectares gross irrigated area, 54.92 percent accounted for rice alone, and 9.61 percent for Maize, 8.35 percent for Cotton, 5.68 percent for Groundnut and the remaining irrigated area covered by other crops. 82.26 percent of the total food cropped area and 17.74 percent of non-food cropped area irrigated.

Table 4.9

*Source wise gross area irrigated for the years 2008-09 to 2015-16**In percentage*

Source	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16
Tanks	10.51	3.14	10.17	7.26	7.00	8.91	4.47	5.97
Canals	13.74	7.93	16.81	15.08	4.73	14.87	9.61	3.01
Wells	72.80	86.44	70.39	75.31	86.31	74.00	83.67	89.05
Other Sources	2.94	2.49	2.63	2.37	1.96	2.22	2.25	1.97
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Gross State Domestic Product of Telangana State Advanced Estimates, 2018-19, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Telangana.

Almost 70 – 90 percent of the irrigated source is coming from wells only. Even after Telangana formation this percentage has not come down but increased. Next it is canals which is irrigating more area after wells. The lowest percent of canal irrigation was in 3.01 and highest percent is in 2010-11 that is 16.81 percent. In 2008-09 tanks are irrigating 10.51 percent of the irrigated area. And the lowest by tank irrigation is in 3.14 percent in 2009-10. Almost 2 percent of the total irrigated area is coming from other sources than tanks, canals and wells.

Table 4.10

Source wise net irrigated area from 2008-09 to 2014-15.

(Area in '000 Hectares)

Sl. No	Source	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1	Canals	274	138	316	325	90	289	174
2	Tanks	238	57	238	183	158	228	97
3	Wells	1310	1259	1395	1423	1486	1711	1413
4	Other Sources	60	39	55	54	40	52	42
5	Total Net Area Irrigated	1882	1493	2004	1985	1774	2280	1726
6	%Net Area Irrigated to Net Area Sown	44.5	37.7	44.6	43.4	38.1	46.3	39.4
7	Area Irrigated More than Once	839	638	995	879	783	875	803
8	Gross Area Irrigated	2721	2131	2999	2864	2557	3154	2529
9	% of Gross Area Irrigated to Gross Area Sown	505	43.5	51.1	50.5	44.9	50.5	47.6

Source: Agricultural Statistics at a Glance Telangana 2014-15, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Telangana.

The above table shows the net irrigated area from 2008-09 to 2014-15, source wise. There are four sources of irrigation for Telangana, as for the table 1, Canals 2, Tanks 3, Wells 4, Others. And also, we can classify these sources as public funded and private (government) funded, and Wells are privately funded sources of irrigation.

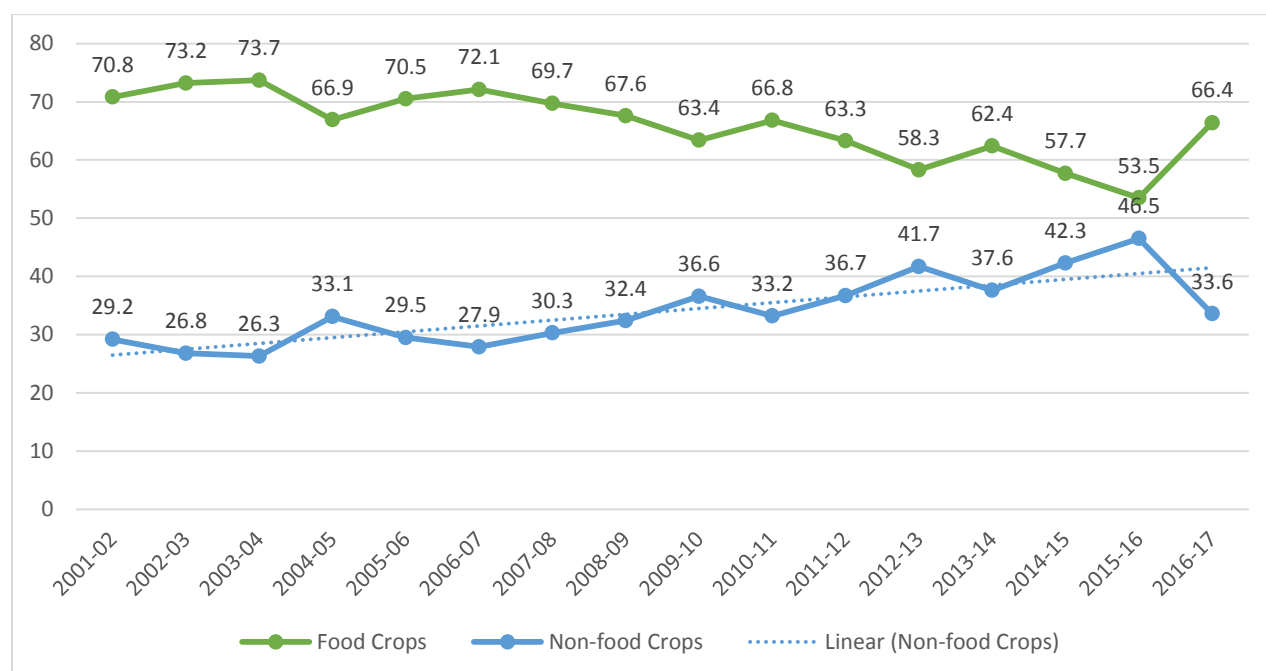
Net area irrigated under Canals is highest in 2011-12 325 thousand hectares and lowest in 2012-13 in the next year, 90 thousand hectares. Under tanks, the net irrigated area is largest on 238 thousand hectares in both the years 2008-09 and 2010-11, and lowest is 57 thousand hectares in 2009-10. The net area irrigated under Wells is highest in 2013-14, 1,711 thousand hectares and lowest is 1259 thousand during 2009-10. Most of the area irrigated by wells in Telangana, which results in high cost of production.

4.6 Cropping Pattern:

Food and non-food crops such as cereals, pulses, millets, oilseeds, cotton, fruits and vegetables are grown in the state. (Telangana, Socio-Economic Outlook - 2018, 2018). As per the gross area sown the main crops in the state are paddy, cotton and maize constituting nearly seventy percent of the cropped area..

Figure 4.5

Cropping pattern of Telangana since 2001-02 to 2016-17



Source: Socio-Economic Outlook-2018, Government of Telangana, Planning Department.

The trend in the share of food crops is decreasing from 2001-02 to 2015-16 and it increased in 2016-17. And the trend in non-food crops is increased from 29.2 in 2001-02 to 46.5 percent in 2015-16, again it decreased in 2016-17 to 33.6 percent. The overall trend is increasing for non-food crops.

Table 4.11

Crop wise area and production of food grains, oilseeds, and commercial crops.

Crops	Area (Lakh Hectares)				Production (Lakh tons)				Yield (kg/hectare)			
	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16
Rice	14.18	19.95	14.15	10.46	46.48	65.81	45.45	30.47	3277	3300	3211	2913
Maize	6.63	7.50	6.92	5.73	29.44	35.12	23.08	17.51	4440	4681	3338	3057
Cereals & Millets	22.25	28.75	22.05	17.08	77.51	102.21	69.55	48.98	3484	3556	3155	2867
Pulses	6.11	5.56	4.08	4.72	4.91	4.65	2.63	2.47	804	835	644	524
Food grains	28.36	34.31	26.13	21.80	82.42	106.86	72.18	51.45	2906	3115	2763	2360
Groundnut	1.87	2.10	1.55	1.28	3.35	3.55	2.95	2.06	1789	1691	1907	1611
Soya bean	1.58	2.42	2.43	2.43	2.87	3.90	2.62	2.52	1818	1610	1081	1036
Oilseeds	5.09	5.86	5.00	4.54	8.07	8.79	7.22	5.79	1587	1500	1442	1276
Sugarcane	0.41	0.39	0.38	0.35	35.74	33.76	33.43	24.05	87430	85898	87654	68911
Cotton#	18.13	17.03	16.93	17.73	40.57	42.35	35.83	37.33	380	423	360	358

Source: Agricultural Statistics at a Glance Telangana 2015-16, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Telangana.

Production in lakh bales of 170 kg each bale.

There is almost 5.80 lakh hectares decrease in the rice cultivation in 2014-15 from the previous year. In 2013-14 the rice cultivation was 19.95 lakh hectares decreased in 2014-15 to 14.15 lakh hectares. The decline in maize is not very much in 2014-15 it was 6.92 lakh hectares, where, in 2013-14 the cultivated area was 7.50 lakh hectares. All the cereals and millets cultivated area during 2013-14 was 28.75 lakh hectares but decreased to 22.05 lakh hectares in 2014-15, a decline of 6.70 lakh hectares. Overall food grains 34.3 percent lakh hectares cultivated in 2013-14 and during 2014-15 it was 26.13 lakh hectares. There is a decrease of 8.18 lakh hectares.

There is not much reduction of cultivated area of Soya bean, Oilseeds, and Sugarcane. During 2013-14 the cultivated area is 2.42, 5.86 and 0.39 lakh hectares respectively. For that matter, even cotton is also not decreased much. When you compare the area cultivated in 2012-13 to 2014-15, there is not much difference. But cultivated area of rice, cereal and millets and other food crops had increased in 2013-14.

Total production of Rice is estimated at 45.45 lakh tons as per final estimates for 2014-15 when compared to the previous years', 2013-14, production of 65.81 lakh tons is lower by 20.36 lakh tons. Estimated Maize production 23.08 lakh tons is lower to the past year production of Maize 35.12 lakh tons during 2013-14. Production of Rice and Maize is registered considerably lower than their average production levels. Cereals and Millets production estimated 69.55 lakh tons is lower by 32.66 lakh tons than the 2013-14 production of 102.21 lakh tons and less than the average production of last five years.

The total production of food grains decreased from 102-21 lakh tons in 2013-14 to 72.18 lakh tons in 2014-15, almost 30 lakh tns decrease. Pulses and Oilseeds estimated production is 2.63 lakh tons and 7.22 lakh tons respectively lower by 2.02 lakh tons and 1.57 lakh tons respectively over previous year production. 2014-15 production of Sugarcane estimated as 33.43 lakh tons is lower by 0.33 lakh tons to that of the last year, 2013-14, production. The production of Cotton estimated as 35.83 lakh bales (each bale is 170 kg) registered a decrease of 6.82 lakh bales over the 2013-14 Cotton production.

Table 4.12

Distribution of Soil and Crops grown.

Sl.NO	Name of the Zone	Districts	Soil Type	Principal Crops Grown	Standard Rain Fall (in mm)
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Northern Telangana Zone	Karimnagar, Nizamabad, Adilabad	Red Earths with loamy subsoils (Chalkas) and black cotton soils.	Rice, Maize, Soybean, Cotton, Red gram, Turmeric	900-1150
2	Central Telangana Zone	Warangal, Khammam, Medak	Red Earths with loamy soils (Chalkas), Red sandy soils and BC soils in pockets.	Cotton, Rice, Maize, Green gram, Mango, Chillies	800-1150
3	Southern Telangana Zone	Mahbubnagar, Nalgonda, Rangareddy and Hyderabad	Red soils chalkas	Cotton, Rice, Red gram, Maize, Green gram	600-780
4	High Altitude & Tribal Areas Zone	High Altitude & Tribal Areas of Adilabad and Khammam.	Red sandy, loamy and patches of all Aerial soils.	Coffee, Pepper, Chillies, Rice, Cotton and Horticulture crops	1400 Around

Source: Prof. Jayashankar Agriculture University, Rajendra Nagar, Hyderabad.

Table 4.13

The area and production of food grains in the state for the last five years.

Sl. No	Year	Area (In Lakh Hectares)			Production (In Lakh Tonnes)		
		Kharif	Rabi	Total	Kharif	Rabi	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1	Average of preceding seven years	19.57	9.38	28.94	47.15	28.90	76.06
2	2009-10	17.05	9.44	26.49	27.08	24.81	51.89
2	2010-11	22.24	12.19	34.43	53.73	38.87	92.60
3	2011-12	21.71	9.38	31.09	48.61	26.40	75.01
4	2012-13	19.68	8.68	28.36	54.91	27.51	82.42
5	2013-14	22.04	12.27	34.31	65.28	41.58	106.86
6	2014-15	18.00	8.13	26.13	44.72	27.46	72.18
7	2015-16	16.25	5.55	21.80	35.75	15.70	51.45

Source: Agricultural Statistics at a Glance Telangana 2015-16, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Telangana.

The area cultivated under food grains is declining over the years. The above table shows the same. In 2010-11 the total area under food grains cultivation was 34.43 lakh hectares which decreased to 26.13 lakh hectares in 2014-15. It is continuously declining over the years except for the 2013-14, 34.31 lakh hectares due to good monsoon. The average area cultivated under food grains for five years from 2010-11 to 2014-15 is 20.55 for Kharif, and for Rabi season it was almost half of the Kharif period 10.39 lakh hectares. The area cultivated under food grains shows the irrigated facilities influencing the cultivation. But the total average cultivated area shows the decline is not much 30.94 lakh hectares.

Unlike area cultivated in food grain production, the production of food grain shows fluctuations in the trend. Production of food grains in the Kharif is 53.73 lakh tons. During 2010-11, the next year 2011-12 production decreased to 48.61 lakh tons and increased in 2012-13 to 54.91 lakh tons in 2013-14 it rose to 65.28 lakh tons again it decreased to 47.72 lakh tons, by registering lowest production under food grains in the last five years. But the production of food grains in Rabi season and even total food grain production is continually decreasing, except in the year 2013-14, showing highest in the last five years.

4.7 Labor Force Distribution:

"Persons engaged in any economically gainful activity are considered as workers or workforce." The total workforce of the state according to population census 2011 is 163.42 lakhs. "Non-worker is a person who is not engaged in any gainful activity." The non-working population in the state is 186.62 lakhs, according to the 2011 census report.

Table 4.14
Cultivators and Agriculture workers.

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION (IN LAKHS)	GROWTH RATE	RURAL POPULATION (IN LAKHS)	CULTIVATORS (IN LAKHS)	GROWTH RATE	AGRICULTURE LABORERS (IN LAKHS)	GROWTH RATE	TOTAL 5+6 (CULTIVATORS AND AGRICULTURAL LABORERS)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)		(6)		(7)
1951	107.52	NA	85.02	38.42	NA	16.44	NA	54.86
1961	127.12	18.23	102.63	28.50	-25.82	17.19	4.56	45.69
1971	158.18	24.43	124.97	23.69	-16.88	22.03	28.16	45.72
1981	201.81	27.58	150.82	30.86	30.27	28.33	28.59	59.19
1991	260.89	29.28	182.15	34.36	11.34	40.02	41.26	74.38
2001	309.87	18.77	211.34	33.30	-3.08	32.10	-19.79	65.40
2011	350.04	13.58	213.95	29.94	-10.09	45.90	42.99	75.84

Source: Agricultural Statistics at a Glance Telangana 2015-16, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Telangana.

The above table explains the growth in population and cultivators and agricultural labor from 1951 census to 2011. The population growth is increasing from 1961 to 1991 that is 18.23 to 29.28 respectively, after that, the growth in population showing decreasing trend 1991 the growth is 29.28 percent to the previous year, and in following years it is 18.77 and 13.58 in 2001 and 2011 population census respectively. We can see the similar trend in the rural population.

The growth rate of cultivators is negative for the years 1961, 1971, 2001 and 2011 that is -25.82, -16.88, -3.08 and -10.09 respectively. There is sudden 30.27 percent growth rate for the year 1981 over 1971. Even in 1991, there is a positive growth rate of cultivators' 11.34 percent over the previous year. But if we take 1951 as the base year the growth of cultivators is negative. The population tripled from 1951 to 2011 that is 107.52 lakhs to 350.04 lakhs, but the cultivators in number are also decreasing, in 1951 it is 38.42 lakhs (highest), and in 2011 it dropped to 29.94 lakhs. Lowest registered in 1971, 23.69 lakhs.

Agricultural labors growing in positive rate except for the year 2001, – 19. 79 percent growth rate recorded. But if we take 1951 as the base year to calculate growth rate the trend is positive. From 1961 to 1971 the growth rate is tremendously increased, from 4.56 to 28.16. Sometimes the rate of growth is almost doubled, in 1991 the growth rate is 41.26 in the previous year it was 28.59 percent. In the same way during 2011 also there it increased from 32.10 lakh agricultural labor to 45.90 lakhs. In the previous year, the growth rate was negative.

Table 4.15

Population Distribution Details as per 2011 Population Census by Main workers, marginal workers and total workers

Sl. No	District	Total Population	Workers (in Nos.)					
			Main Workers	% of col.4 over Col. 3	Marginal Workers	% of col.6 over Col.3	Total Workers (Col.4+Col.6)	% of Col. 8 over col. 3
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	Adilabad	27,41,239	10,66,460	38.90	2,57,207	9.38	13,23,667	48.29
2	Nizamabad	25,51,335	10,55,965	41.39	2,05,111	8.04	12,61,076	49.43
3	Karimnagar	37,76,269	15,90,304	42.11	2,86,464	7.59	18,76,768	49.70
4	Medak	30,33,288	11,95,494	39.41	2,46,709	8.13	14,42,203	47.55
5	Hyderabad	39,43,323	10,96,081	27.80	3,17,216	8.04	14,13,297	35.84
6	Rangareddy	52,96,741	18,34,777	34.64	3,61,301	6.82	21,96,078	41.46
7	Mahabubnagar	40,53,028	18,15,643	44.80	2,66,858	6.58	20,82,501	51.38
8	Nalgonda	34,88,809	14,93,419	42.81	2,48,274	7.12	17,41,693	49.92
9	Warangal	35,12,576	14,42,197	41.06	2,63,458	7.50	17,05,655	48.56
10	Khammam	26,07,066	11,29,539	43.33	1,69,465	6.50	12,99,004	49.83
Total		3,50,03,674	1,37,19,879	39.19	26,22,063	7.49	1,63,41,942	46.69

Source: Statistical Yearbook - 2016, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Telangana, Hyderabad.

The population in Telangana according to 3,50,03,674 out of total population main workers are 39.19 percent that is 1,37,19,879, marginal workers are 7.49 percent that is 26,22,063. The proportion of total workers to total population is 46.69 percent, which accounts 1, 63, 41,942.

When it comes to the district level, Rangareddy has main workers with 18,34,777 workers, and marginal workers 3,61,301. But the proportion of these two categories to Rangareddy total population is 34.64 percent and 6.82 percent respectively which is second lowest percentage in the two categories. It is because, the total population of the Rangareddy is highest among all the districts, 52,96,741.

Mahbubnagar district holds the highest proportion of the main workers to the total population 44.80 percent and second-largest number of main workers that is 18,15,643. Adilabad contains a large proportion of marginal workers 9.38 percent, 257,207 in number.

But in number Rangareddy holds a high number of marginal workers. Hyderabad district has the low proportion of main workers to population 27.80 percent, with 10,96,081 number of main workers, after Adilabad and Nizamabad this is the lowest number of main workers. Nizamabad and Adilabad holding 10,55,965 (41.39 percent) and 10,66,460 (38.90 percent) workers respectively. When it comes to the total workforce, Rangareddy holding a high number of workforces, 21,96,078 with the second lowest proportion of the total population of the district 41.46 percent. The lowest proportion of workforce to the total population of the district is Hyderabad with 35.84 percent, 14,13,297 in number. Nizamabad has a smaller number of workforces 12,61,076 which is 49.43 percent of the total district population. The total workforce of the state is 1,63,41,942 which is 46.69 percent of the total state population.

Table 4.16

Category-wise distribution of main workers, 2011 census

Sl. No	District	Total Main Workers	Cultivators	% of col.4 over col.3	Agricultural Labor	% of col.6 over col.3	Household Industries	% of col.8 over col.3	others	% of col.10 over col.3
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	Adilabad	10,66,460	3,43,500	32.21	3,32,524	31.18	69,416	6.51	3,21,020	30.10
2	Nizamabad	10,55,965	2,67,489	25.33	3,30,793	31.33	1,49,979	14.20	3,07,704	29.14
3	Karimnagar	15,90,304	3,44,598	21.67	5,84,654	36.76	1,44,953	9.11	5,16,099	32.45
4	Medak	11,95,494	3,37,942	28.27	4,20,719	35.19	53,547	4.48	3,83,286	32.06
5	Hyderabad	10,96,081	14,693	1.34	16,751	1.53	32,500	2.97	10,32,137	94.17
6	Rangareddy	18,34,777	2,50,155	13.63	2,58,878	14.11	54,221	2.96	12,71,523	69.30
7	Mahabubnagar	18,15,643	5,48,983	30.24	7,62,853	42.02	46,497	2.56	4,57,310	25.19
8	Nalgonda	14,93,419	3,12,130	20.90	6,93,259	46.42	35,330	2.37	4,52,700	30.31
9	Warangal	14,42,197	3,84,329	26.65	5,76,649	39.98	34,820	2.41	4,46,399	30.95
10	Khammam	11,29,539	1,90,396	16.86	6,12,671	54.24	14,342	1.27	3,12,130	27.63
11	Total	1,37,19,879	29,94,215	21.82	45,89,751	33.45	6,35,605	4.63	55,00,308	40.09

Source: Statistical Yearbook-2016, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Telangana, Hyderabad.

The table below gives us the details of all main workers categories distribution according to all 2011 census. Here it says the total main workers are 1,37,19,879 among them 29,94,215 (21.82 percent) are cultivators, 45,89,751 (33.45 percent) are agriculture labor, 6,35,606 (4.63 percent) are household industries and 40.09 percent of them 55,00,308 are in the category of others. When you see the districts wise details, Hyderabad is holding a very low share of cultivators that is 1.34 percent, it is 14,693 cultivators. Even the proportion of agriculture labor to the total main workers of the district is very low 1.53 percent that is 16,751 in number. But the 94.17 percent of the main workers are under the category of ‘others’ in Hyderabad cultivators as well as agriculture labor are high in number 5,48,983 and 7,62,853 respectively.

The case of Khammam district is different from all the other district. Its total main workers are 11,29,539 out of which the proportion of agriculture labor is highest (54.24 percent) and 6,12,671 second highest in number after Mahbubnagar. Apart from Hyderabad and Rangareddy in the total workforce of the district Khammam having the lowest number of cultivators 1,90,396 that is 16.86 percent. When it comes to household industries, it is lowest for the Khammam in number and proportion both that is 14,342 and 1.27 percent respectively. And under the category of ‘others’ Khammam occupying second lowest after Mahbubnagar with 27.63 percent in number also it is second lowest after Nizamabad with 3,12,130 ‘other’ main workers. Khammam is showing the character of the urban spaces when it comes to cultivation and household industries but constituting mainly agriculture labor, unlike Hyderabad and Rangareddy where it occupies a high number of ‘other main workforce. Mahbubnagar consists a big number of agriculture labor of 7,62,853. Nizamabad is holding high proportion and a high number of household industries 14.20 percent and 1,49,979 respectively. After Nizamabad, it is Karimnagar which occupies the highest position in this category.

Table 4.17

Category-wise distribution of marginal workers, 2011 census

I. No	District	Total Marginal Workers	Cultivators	% of col.4 over col.3	Agricultural Labour	% of col.6 over col.3	Household Industries	% of col.8 over col.3	Others	% of col.10 over col.3
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	Adilabad	2,57,207	20,237	7.87	1,52,388	59.25	15,245	5.93	69,337	26.96
2	Nizamabad	2,05,111	10,613	5.17	1,17,488	57.28	21,332	10.4	55,678	27.15
3	Karimnagar	2,86,464	15,792	5.51	1,72,205	60.11	23,387	8.16	75,080	26.21
4	Medak	2,46,709	15,279	6.19	1,50,410	60.97	14,095	5.71	66,925	27.13
5	Hyderabad	3,17,216	13,615	4.29	6,278	1.98	13,657	4.31	2,83,666	89.42
6	Rangareddy	3,61,301	20,770	5.75	90,154	24.95	19,166	5.30	2,31,211	63.99
7	Mahbubnagar	2,66,858	20,159	7.55	1,68,231	63.04	11,349	4.25	67,119	25.15
8	Nalgonda	2,48,274	13,094	5.27	1,69,872	68.42	9,794	3.94	55,514	22.36
9	Warangal	2,63,458	17,317	6.57	1,81,443	68.87	8,730	3.31	55,968	21.24
10	Khammam	1,69,465	10,298	6.08	1,16,931	69.00	4,169	2.46	38,067	22.46
Total		26,22,063	1,57,174	5.99	13,25,400	5.055	1,40,924	5.37	9,98,565	38.08

Source: Statistical Yearbook-2016, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, The government of Telangana, Hyderabad.

Category wise marginal workers distribution is given in the above table. Total marginal workers according to 2011 census 26,22,063, most of them are agriculture labor 50.55 percent, that accounts about 13,25,400 and the remaining consists of cultivators, household industries, and others, with the proportion of 5.99 percent, 5.37 percent, and 38.08 percent respectively.

The marginal workers are high in number in Rangareddy district, 3,61,301 and the lowest is by 1,69,465 in Khammam district. Agriculture labor is occupying many of the marginal workers more than half (except Hyderabad and Rangareddy). Khammam district has more share of agriculture labor 69.00 where Warangal is holding a greater number of agriculture labor 1,81,443 (68.87 percent). And Hyderabad and Rangareddy holding very a smaller number of agriculture labor 1.98 and 24.95 percent respectively to their total marginal workers. Instead Hyderabad and Rangareddy holding more marginal workers in the category of others 89.42 and 63.99 percent respectively in number it is 2,83,666 and 2,31,211 respectively. When it comes to cultivators, Rangareddy has a high number of cultivators,

20,770 where Adilabad occupies the top position in cultivators' proportion to total marginal workers of the district, 7.87 percent. Khammam, with 10,298 cultivators among marginal workers having less number with 6.08 percent to the total marginal workers. But the proportion wise it is Hyderabad which holds a smaller number of cultivators' that is 4.29 percent to the marginal workers of the district.

The share of household industries to the marginal workers is high for the Nizamabad with 10.4 percent in number it is Karimnagar which occupies significant portion with 23,387 household industries. Khammam in number and proportion holding lowest in household industries with 4,169 and 2.46 percent respectively. In the category of 'others' Hyderabad and Rangareddy occupying the top position with 89.42 and 63.99 percent respectively to their district marginal workers.

Table 4.18
Workers Population, 2011 census

In lakhs

Sl. No	Particulars	Telangana	India
1	Total workers	163.42	4,818.89
a	Rural	113.28	3,487.43
b	Urban	50.14	1,331.43
c	Cultivators	31.51	1,188.08
d	Agriculture Labours	59.15	1,443.34
e	Household Industries	7.77	183.38
f	Others	64.99	2,004.09
2	Main workers	137.20	3,625.66
a	Rural	95.52	2,458.69
b	Urban	41.68	1,166.97
c	Cultivators	29.94	959.42
d	Agriculture labourers	45.90	861.69
e	Household Industries	6.36	123.33
f	Others	55.00	1,681.22
3	Marginal Workers	26.22	1,193.23
a	Rural	17.77	1,028.75
b	Urban	8.45	164.48
c	Cultivators	1.57	228.66
d	Agriculture Labourers	13.25	581.65
e	Household Industries	1.41	60.05
f	Others	9.99	322.87
4	Non-workers	186.62	7,289

Source: Telangana state at a glance, 2017, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Telangana.

In Telangana there are 163.42 lakhs total workers, that is just 3.39 percent of the total workforce of the India. Among them rural workforce is 113.28 lakhs and urban 50.14 lakhs. Most of the workforce is still based in rural areas, its more than half of the urban workforce. Out of 163.42 lakhs working population, cultivators consist of 19.28 percent that is 31.51 lakhs. Agriculture labor in Telangana is 59.15 lakhs that is 36.21 percent of the total workforce of the Telangana. And 7.77 percent of the working population depends on Household Industries. Remaining 64.99 percent of the population depends on others. Among 163.42 lakhs working population of Telangana, Main workforce is 137.20 lakhs and marginal

working population is 26.22 lakhs. Non-working population in Telangana is 186.62 lakhs which is 2.56 percent of the all India non-working population.

4.8 Occupation wise household details

Table 4.19

Household Classification Data for All-India, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana in Percentage

Particulars	2013	
	Telangana	India
Cultivation	48.34	42.92
Livestock Farming	1.29	1.75
Other Agri. Activities	3.57	3.47
Non-Agri. Enterprise	8.56	11.59
Wage/Salaried Employment	32.16	32.36
Others (Pensioners, Remittance)	6.08	7.91
Total	100	100

Source: NSSO 70th round Land and Livestock holdings data

In 2013, 48.34 percent of the households are cultivators in Telangana, this percentage is higher than the all India 42.92 percent cultivators. There are 1.29 percent of the livestock farming households. Wage/salaried employment households consists of 32.16 percent of the total Telangana households, which is lesser than the cultivating households. That means most of the households in Telangana still depends on agriculture and allied activities.

4.9 Infrastructure:

The infrastructure always means economic such as irrigation, transportation, energy, and social infrastructure such as education, basic facilities and health. (Telangana, Socio-Economic Outlook - 2018, 2018). Providing good infrastructure to the people means improving the well-being of the people. (Telangana, Socio-Economic Outlook - 2018, 2018). The increase in urban population demands the good infrastructure and basic facilities.

4.9.1 Energy

Table 4.20
Installed capacity of energy in different sectors

Sl. No	Sector	Installed capacity in MW (as on 31.12.2017)
1	State sector	5,295
2	Interstate	76
3	Joint sector	25
4	Private sector	7,279
5	Central sector	2,238
	Total installed capacity	14,913

Source: Socio-Economic Outlook – 2018, government of Telangana, Planning Department

In Telangana, with 5,295 MW power generating capacity, Generation Corporation of Telangana Limited (TSGENCO) is the largest company. And private sector providing more energy than the government sector, that is 7,279 MW capacity. This can give us the actual situation of energy generation in the state. Though, government boast of their policies that they are developing government power generation sector still private sector dominating the power sector. From Central sector, state is benefitting 2, 238 MW energy. In the state, 14,913 MW is the installed capacity of energy.

Table 4.21
Category wise services

Sl. No	Sector	Total Connections (as on 31.12.2017)
1	Domestic Connections	99,23,293
2	Non-domestic	12,38,895
3	Industrial	92,708
4	Cottage Industries	17,258
5	Agriculture	22,64,065
6	Public lighting	1,20,720
7	General purpose	53,986
8	Temporary	819
9	HT total	11,087
	Total Services	137,22,831

Source: Socio-Economic Outlook – 2018, government of Telangana, Planning Department

In the state, there are 99.23 lakh domestic connection of electricity. And agriculture comes in next in terms of connections by 22.64 lakh connections. There are 12.39 lakh non-domestic connections in the state. Industries have 92.7 thousand connections. Public lighting is using 1.21 lakh connections for the streetlights etc.

4.9.2 Road Infrastructure

Roads are the basic and most important modes of transportation, by fulfilling 80 percent needs of the total transportation; carrying goods and passengers. Road construction in the state is the responsibility of Road and Buildings (R&B) and Panchayat Raj Engineering Department (PRED). Responsibility of national high ways is with the R&B, and state highways and district roads is with the PRED.

Table 4.22
Details of the roads maintained by R&B (in kms)

Type of Road	Four lane and above	Double lane	Intermediate lane	Single lane	Total
National Highways	1,051	2,310	291	210	3,862
State Highways	279	1,901	88	203	2,471
Major District Roads	210	4,065	135	7,695	12,105
Other District Roads	24	620	60	8,457	9,161
Total	1,564	8,896	574	16,565	27,599

Source: Socio-Economic Outlook – 2018, government of Telangana, Planning Department

In the state national highways consists of 3,862 km of which 27.21 percent are four lane and above roads, 59.81 percent are double lane roads, and the rest are intermediate and single lane national highways. The total distance of state highways in the state is 2,471 km, among which 76.93 percent are double lane roads. And the remaining 23.07 percent of the roads are four lane, intermediate and single lane roads. Most of the district roads are single lane roads. The total distance of the district roads is 12, 105 km. Among the district roads more than half, that is 63.57 percent are single lane roads, 33.58 percent are double lane roads and the remaining small portion occupies the four lane and intermediate roads. There are also other district roads of 9, 161 km, majority of them are single lane roads.

Table 4.23

Comparison of road length under PRED in 2014 and 2017 (in kms)

Type of Road	2,014	2,017
Cement concrete	1,717	3,003
Bituminous	18,564	22,086
WBM	14,146	11,751
Gravel Roads	14,734	13,714
Earthen Roads	14,884	18,946
Total	64,044	69,500

Source: Socio-Economic Outlook – 2018, government of Telangana, Planning Department

Roads under Panchayat Raj Engineering Department (PRED) consists of Cement concrete, Bituminous, WBM, Gravel roads, Earthen roads. In 2017 there are 3. 003 km cement concrete roads which is an improvement from 2014 which was 1, 717 km only. WBM roads decreased from 14, 146 km in 2014 to 11, 751 km in 2017. And even Gravel roads have decreased from 14, 734 km in 2014 to 13, 714 km in 2017. Bituminous roads have increased from 18, 564 km in 2014 to 22, 086 km in 2017. And even earthen roads are also increased from 14, 884 km to 18, 946 km in 2017.

4.9.3 Housing

Table 4.24

Status of 2BHK programme as on 31 January 2018

Sl. No	Particulars	Total no. of Houses
1	Houses Sanctioned	2,72,763
2	Administrative sanction accorded	2,40,153
3	Grounded	1,38,795
4	Completed	5,824

Source: Socio-Economic Outlook – 2018, government of Telangana, Planning Department

Before Telangana state formation, under the scheme of ‘Indiaramma Awas Yojan’ government would support people who want to build the house. After Telangana KCR lead Telangana Rastra Samiti (TRS) came into power, then started a scheme ‘Double Bedroom House’, which looks great on paper but poor on implementation. The above table can give the

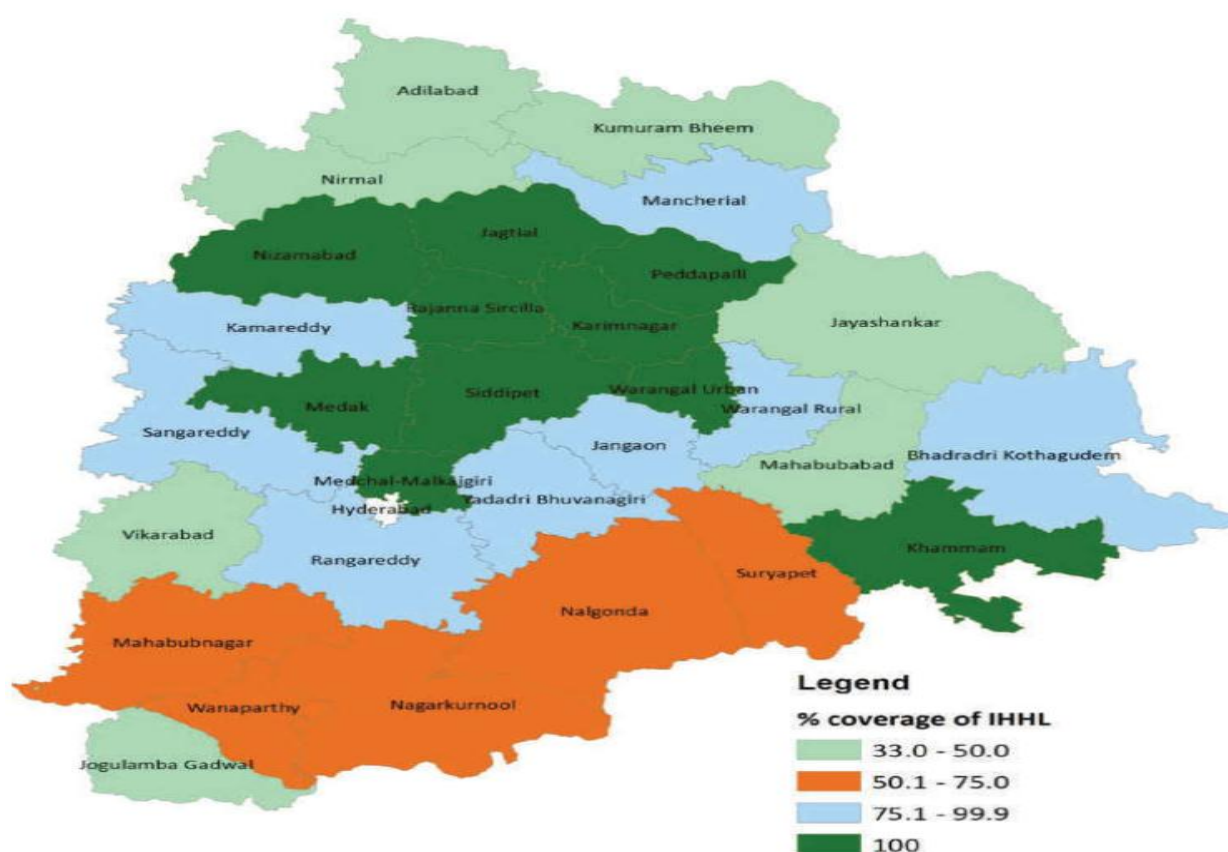
clear picture of that scheme. Government planned to build 2, 72, 763 houses, officially administration sanctioned 2, 40, 153 houses. But actually, completed only 5, 824 houses.

4.9.4 Drinking Water Supply

To provide safe and adequate water supply to the people, state had initiated ‘Mission Baghiratha’ scheme with the budget of 43,791 crores. All the existing and ongoing water supply projects are integrated into Mission Baghiratha programme.

4.9.5 Sanitation

Figure 4.6
District wise IHHL coverage in rural areas



Source: Socio-Economic Outlook – 2018, government of Telangana, Planning Department

4.10 Conclusion

In the GSDP, agriculture and allied sectors share is very significant. Growth rate of GSDP over the previous years is positive for all the years from 2007-08 to 2014-15. But the growth of agriculture and allied sector showing negative growth also in comparison with the prior year growth. GSDP of Telangana is constantly growing in current prices from 2011-12

to 2018-19. At the current prices the share of GSDP to all India GDP is almost same for the eight years from 2011-12 to 2018-19, that is 4 percent.

Primary sector in Telangana going through disturbing fluctuations from 2012-13 to 2017-18. Within the primary sector it is mining and quarrying which is growing positive all the years. Secondary sector is experiencing continuous growth, it grew from negative to positive. In secondary sector, construction sector is growing at a positive rate for all the years from 2012-13 to 2018-19. Tertiary sector in Telangana never seen a negative growth or even slow growth. There are fluctuations too in this sector but the growth rate quite good. Within the tertiary sector all sectors are growing in a good phase. Only storage and railways which are under government sector has seen negative growth rate for more than one year. Per capita growth of Telangana is higher than the all India level. In Telangana, the average operating holding was much higher than the all India in 1970-71 and it slowly lessened to all India by 2010-11 agriculture census and it continued to be low. In the total operational holdings, 80 percent are small and marginal operational holdings.

Tank irrigation is fluctuating very much in terms of its irrigated area. Canal irrigation is as fluctuating as tanks, which depends on monsoon. Even after five years of Telangana formation farmers still depending on well irrigation. Almost 70 – 90 percent of the irrigated source is coming from wells only. Even after Telangana formation this percentage has not came down but increased. Next it is canals which is irrigating more area after wells. If you see the cropping pattern of Telangana, food crops have slowly decreased and by the 2015-16 it was almost equal to the non-food crops. The area cultivated under food grains is declining over the years. The area cultivated under food grains shows the irrigated facilities influencing the cultivation.

Agricultural labors growing in positive rate since 1951 to till date, except for the year 2001. Most of the workforce is still based in rural areas, its more than half of the urban workforce. In 2013, 48.34 percent of the households are cultivators in Telangana, this percentage is higher than the all India. That means most of the households in Telangana still depends on agriculture and allied activities.

CHAPTER-5

AGRARIAN RELATIONS IN BUSSAPUR VILLAGE: A CASE STUDY

5.1 Introduction

Large parts of Warangal district present a desolate landscape; rock soil, huge and startlingly bald boulders which pretend to be hills, endless thorny bushes and an occasional grove of tamarind trees. Godavari runs through the district, but unlike Karimnagar, Warangal is yet to benefit from the river; barring one or two big tanks, most of the paddy cultivation is under small tanks and wells. The only improvement modernization has brought is HYV seeds and extension of electricity to the villages which increased acreage of paddy under the wells. But for that, the district remains the same as in the last Nizam (Balagopal K. , 1983). All the irrigated wet land from the Laknavaram lake of Warangal district passed on to the hands of non-tribes. There are many villages of Warangal district which were purely of tribal village outnumber with the non-tribal from the Nalgonda district. In another village called Rohir of Warangal also the thing happened (Subba Reddy, 1988).

5.2 Basic Information of Warangal District

In erstwhile Warangal district there are five revenue divisions, 15 towns, 51 mandals and 1049 villages. From 2001 census to 2011 census almost 13 villages are submerged into towns **Invalid source specified..** District spreads over 12, 846 sq. Km and the population is 35, 12, 576 persons.

5.2.1 Population

Table 5.1
Population details of the Warangal district

Particulars	2001(in lakh)			2011		
	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons
Total	16.01	16.45	32.46	17.59	17.53	35.13
Rural	12.94	13.29	26.23	12.61	12.60	25.20
Urban	3.07	3.16	6.23	4.99	4.94	9.92

Source: District Census Handbook, Warangal: Village and Town Directory, Census of India 2001 and 2011.

Total population of the Warangal district is 35.13 lakh. Male and Female population share almost equal. More than 70 percent of the population, 25.20 lakh people, resides in the rural areas. From 2001 to 2011 there is massive increase in urban population in the district. Urban population has increased from 6.23 lakh to 9.92 lakh, more than 50 percent increase. At the same time rural population has come down from 26.23 lakh to 25.20 lakh. So, whatever increase happened in the population, that is contributed to the urban population. In 2001 rural female population is higher than the male population. However, in 2011 share of male, female rural population becomes almost equal, 12.61 lakh and 12.60 lakh.

Table 5.2
Demographic details of the Warangal district

Particulars		2001	2011
Villages	Total	1,071	1,049
	Inhabited	984	961
	Uninhabited	87	88
Towns	Total	2	15
Households	Normal	-	8,82,867
	Institutional	-	2,119
	Houseless	-	1,293
Urban population %		19.2%	28.25 %
Sex ratio	Total	973	997
	Rural	-	999
	Urban	-	990
Density of population		253	273

Source: District Census Handbook, Warangal: Village and Town Directory, Census of India 2001 and 2011.

According to 2011 census, there are more than one thousand villages and 8.83 lakh households are there in the district. Urban population of the district is 28.25 percent. From 2001 to 2011 the sex ratio has increased from 973 to 997. Even density of the population has increased from 253 to 273. As some village have merged into the nearby urban spaces the number of villages has come down from 1,071 to 1,049.

5.2.2 Labour Distribution

Table 5.3
Labour Distribution of Warangal district in 2011 census

Particulars	Number (in lakh)			Percentage		
	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
Literates	20.65	11.80	8.85	65.11	74.58	55.69
SC	6.16	3.08	3.08	17.54	17.49	17.59
ST	5.31	2.69	2.62	15.11	15.29	14.93
Workers and Non-workers						
Total Workers	17.06	9.61	7.45	48.56	54.62	42.47
Main Workers	14.42	8.66	5.76	41.06	49.21	32.87
Marginal Workers	2.63	0.95	1.68	7.50	5.41	9.60
Non Workers	18.07	7.98	10.09	51.44	45.38	57.52
Category of workers (Main and Marginal)						
Cultivators	4.02	2.55	1.46	23.55	26.58	19.63
Agricultural Labourers	7.58	2.94	4.64	44.45	30.59	62.33
Workers in Household Industry	0.44	0.23	0.21	2.55	2.35	2.82
Other Workers	5.02	3.89	1.13	29.45	40.48	15.23

Source: District Census Handbook, Warangal: Village and Town Directory, Census of India 2001 and 2011.

Literacy rate in Warangal district is 65.11 percent. Female literacy rate is much lower than that of the male, 55.69 and 74.58 respectively. SC and ST population consists 17.54 and 15.11 percent respectively.

In the total population of the district, 35.13 lakh, 48.56 percent are working population. And the remaining 51.44 percent of the population are non-working population. Male population is high in the main workers category and the female population are high in the marginal workers category. Women workforce is higher in the marginal workers than the male, 5.41 and 9.60 respectively.

Agriculture labour are the major workforce in the district, 7.58 lakh, 44.45 percent of the total workforce. Cultivators consists of 23.55 percent of the total workforce. Under the cultivators category male population is dominating, almost doubled the female workforce,

2.55 lakh and 1.46 lakh respectively. Nevertheless, female population dominates the male in the agriculture labour category, 4.64 lakh and 2.94 lakh respectively.

5.2.3 Land distribution

Table 5.4
Comparison of landholding classification of Warangal district over the years

Size/Year	2000-01 (in ha.)		2005-06		2010-11	
	Number	Area	Number	Area	Number	Area
Marginal	63.40	21.71	63.05	22.06	67.09	28.61
Small	20.66	23.17	20.96	23.66	21.40	29.74
Semi-medium	10.92	23.54	10.71	23.30	8.65	22.76
Medium	4.25	19.52	4.53	20.86	2.57	14.23
Large	0.76	12.06	0.74	10.22	0.28	4.66
All	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Agriculture Census, 2000-01, 2005-06, and 2010-11

According to 2010-11 agriculture census 67.09 percent of the cultivators are marginal farmers holding only 28.61 percent of the total lands. The average holding of the marginal farmers is 0.42 hectares. Small farmers consists of 21.40 percent, holding 29.74 percent of the total holdings with the average farm size 1.39 hectares. Semi-medium farmers comprises 8.65 percent of the total farmers with the average holding size 2.63 hectares. Medium farmers are 2.57 percent of the total cultivators and they are holding 14.23 percent of the total land. The average holding of the medium farmers is 5.53 hectares. And 0.28 percent of the large farmers are holding 4.66 percent of the lands with the average holding of 16.64 hectares of the land.

Over the three agriculture census 2000-01, 2005-06 and 2010-11 the average holding for all the categories of farmers is almost same. However, the actual numbers have changed. Especially, from 2005-06 to 2010-11 period, the marginal farmers have increased from 63.05 to 67.09 percent. Medium and large farmers and their land holdings have decreased drastically. In 2005-06 the number of medium and large farmers is 4.53 and 0.74 respectively. It decreased in 2010-11 to 2.57 and 0.28 percent respectively. But their average holding size remains the same.

5.2.4 Cropping Pattern

Table 5.5
Area under food and non-food crops

Year	Geographical area	Food Crops (in lakh ha.)		Non-Food Crops		Total	
		Area	%	Area	%	Area	%
2000-01	12,84,600	4.18	32.51	2.23	17.38	6.41	49.89
2004-05	12,84,600	3.20	24.90	2.30	17.89	5.50	42.79
2010-11	12,84,600	4.46	34.70	2.65	20.64	7.11	55.35
2015-16	12,84,600	3.44	26.80	2.75	21.40	6.19	48.20

Source: Data Collected from Different Statistical Year Books, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana

From 2000-01 to 2015-16 the area under food crops has come down. Only in 2010-11 there is an increase in area of food crops. In 2000-01 the area under food crops is 4.18 lakh hectares. It decreased to 3.44 lakh hectares in 2015-16. Meanwhile, the area under non-food crops is increasing. In 2000-01 area under non-food crops is 17.38 lakh hectares, it increased to 21.40 lakh hectares in 2015-16. However, the total area under cultivation has come down, except for the year 2010-11. Total cultivated area is 49.89 percent of the total geographical area and decreased to 48.20 percent in 2015-16.

5.2.5 Irrigation

Table 5.6:
Area irrigated by different sources in Warangal

Year	Net area irrigated (in hectares)						Area irrigated more than once	Gross area irrigated
	Tanks	Canals	Tube Wells	Dug Wells	Other Sources	Total		
1955-56	1,99,786 (77.02)	15,179 (5.85)	769 (0.30)	41,068 (15.83)	2,601 (1.00)	2,59,403 (100)	44,434	3,03,837
2000-01	78,086 (25.40)	2,650 (0.86)	26,700 (8.68)	1,95,880 (63.70)	4,164 (1.35)	3,07,480 (100)	67,901	3,75,381
2006-07	77,134 (23.81)	2,287 (0.71)	72,473 (22.38)	1,68,896 (52.15)	3,099 (0.96)	3,23,889 (100)	87,589	4,11,478
2010-11	80,525 (23.32)	2,817 (0.82)	86,572 (25.07)	1,70,768 (49.45)	4,641 (1.34)	3,45,323 (100)	1,41,995	4,87,318
2015-16	46,056 (14.95)	12,827 (4.17)	96,958 (31.48)	1,48,135 (48.10)	3,976 (1.29)	3,07,952 (100)	1,02,980	4,10,932

Source: Data Collected from Different Statistical Year Books, Directorate of Economics and Statistics - Telangana

Irrigated area under Tanks constantly reducing. In 2000-01, 25 percent of the area is under the tank irrigation. In 2015-16 tank irrigation decreased to 14.95 percent. In 1955-56 more than 75 percent of the irrigated area is under tank irrigation. From 2000-01 canal irrigation has increased to 4.17 percent in 2015-16. Tube wells have increased in an unprecedented level. In 2000-01 tube wells irrigated 8.68 percent of the total irrigated area. In 2015-16 it increased to the level of 31.48 percent of the irrigated area. Meanwhile, the area irrigated by dug wells has come down from 63.70 percent in 2000-01 to 48.10 in 2015-16. Total area irrigated is inconsistent due to fluctuations in the rain fall.

5.3 Profile of the Village

Table 5.7
Caste wise household distribution of the village

Caste	Number	Percentage
Nayakpod	25	11
Dorla	26	11
Lambadi	2	0.91
Madiga	23	10.50
Chakali	4	1.83
Mangali	1	0.46
Golla	20	9.13
Muslim	19	8.68
Padmashali	9	4.11
Mera	1	0.46
Vadla	3	1.37
Mutrasi	1	0.46
Goud	38	17.35
Christian	2	0.91
Reddy	45	20.55
Total	219	100

Source: Field Survey

There are 219 households in the village, and 15 castes have been existing in the village. Reddy caste, though they have migrated from different places of the erstwhile Warangal district, they are the single largest group with 20.55 percent of households. The tribe groups such as Nayakpodu and Dorla have occupied 11 percent of households each. After Reddy's, it is Gouds who dominates the village in terms of the number of households

with 17.35 percent households. Then comes Madiga's with 10.50 percent of households. Apart from Tribal groups in the village, everyone else has migrated into the village.

5.3.1 Household Distribution

Table 5.8
Social status wise household distribution of the village

Social Status	Number	Percentage
ST	53	24.20
SC	23	10.50
BC	98	44.75
OC	45	20.55
Total	219	100

Source: Field Survey

As a social category, Backward Castes (BC's) occupying 44.75 households, which is a large group in the village. Then it is Scheduled Tribe who dominates the village in terms number of households with 24.20 percentage. Other castes who are an upper caste occupy 20.55 percent of the households. These OC groups have only Reddys; thus, this is the only largest group in the village. Schedule Caste occupy 10.50 percent of households. Most of the SC's are Madigas, and there are Two Mashti families.

5.3.2 Gender

Table 5.9
Gender wise population distribution

Gender	Number	Percentage
Female	452	52.01
Male	417	47.99
Total	869	100

Source: Field Survey

The total population of the village is 869, out of which 52.01 are female, and 47.99 are male population. The female population of the village is high.

5.3.4 Marrital Status

Table 5.10
Married Status wise population distribution

		Number	Percentage
Men	Married	239	40.72
	Widowed	5	0.85
	Divorced	1	0.17
Women	Married	208	35.43
	Widowed	53	9.03
	Divorced	1	0.17
Women Married Off from the village	Married	72	12.27
	Widowed	3	0.51
	Divorced	6	1.02
Total		587	100

Source: Field Survey

There are 587 married people in the village, out of which 239 are male, and 208 are female. The widowed population is high within the female, (53) than the male (5). Maybe the age gap between males and females married is high, and female is younger than the male partner when they get married. That's one reason for a male partner is dying earlier than the female. Divorce cases are high against women who were married off from village to other places. These women are preferring to stay in the village than staying in other places where the employment opportunities are less. Most of the girls married within the village, and whoever married off from have come back along with their partners. And in some other instances, they got divorced and have come back to the village. Most of the women were married after their seventh standard or after the tenth standard. If a girl is studied more than the tenth standard, they are married to some other places as they would not get suitable partners within the village.

5.3.5 Education

Table 5.11
Education-wise population distribution of the village

Education	Number	Percentage
Primary	87	18.39
Secondary	234	49.47
Intermediate	58	12.26
Higher Edu.	70	14.80
Technical Edu.	24	5.07
Total	473	100

Source: Field Survey

There is only one school in the village, which is also up to the seventh standard. After that, they must go to the Govindaraopeta for further studies. Chalvai is another nearby village, which also has a high school, but people prefer to go to Govindaraopeta high school as the distance is the same as Chalvai. There is one Anganwadi school which also functions along with the primary school of the village. Though there is a primary school in the village, people are in the impression that it's not a good one. So, most of the families are sending their children to private schools. There are private schools for all economic classes of people. According to their economic situation, people sending their children to private schools. There are private schools, which the poor think they can afford it.

The Literacy rate of the village is 54.43. Out of total literates, there are 67.86 percent of the literates have studied only till secondary education. And the rate of technical education is 5.07 percent.

5.3.6 Occupation wise population distribution

Table 5.12

Occupation wise population distribution

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Cultivators	151	30.69
Agriculture Labour	171	34.76
Wage/Salaried Empl.	82	16.67
Non-Agriculture Labour	32	6.50
Pension/Remittances	47	9.55
Business	9	1.83
Total workforce	492	100

Source: Field Survey

The Working population of the village is 492, out of which 34.76 are the agriculture labor. Agriculture labor is the major workforce in the village. Then comes cultivators with 30.69 percentage. The business class in the village, who are big landlords and got control of the input market in the village, are just 1.83 percent, but they have control over the entire village.

5.3.7 Vehicles in the village

Table 5.13

Vehicles used in the village

Vehicle	Number
Scooter-TVS	7
Bike	31
Auto	8
Tractor	9

Source: Field Survey

As the Laknavaram Lake is a tourist place, there is a demand for transportation from the highway, which is 3km away from the village. And people must go to the Mandal headquarters from all grocery and household purpose and their children to school they depend on private transport like Autos. So, there is youth who runs Autos as an auxiliary work, not as a primary economic source. There are 8 Autos, some of them purchased on their own. But most of them from finance where they had to pay so much interest rate.

As Reddys owning so much land with an irrigated facility, they cultivate two crops for the year. And remaining farmers of the village were dependent on Reddy big landlords (feudal businessmen) for investment and other things. There is so much demand for tractors for agriculture work. So, there are nine tractors in the village except one, and Reddys own all the tractors.

As there is no public transport, and people need to travel to nearby towns for all the needs. And to send their children to schools, most of the people purchased bikes and scooters (TVS). There are 31 bikes and 7 TVS motors.

5.3.8 Basic Facilities

Table 5.14
Basic Facilities available to household

Facility	Number			Percentage		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
TV	153	66	219	69.86	30.14	100
Power	184	35	219	84.02	15.98	100
Letrin	157	62	219	71.69	28.31	100
Mobile	163	56	219	74.43	25.57	100
Gas	153	66	219	70.18	29.82	100

Source: Field Survey

Almost 30 percent of the village do not have basic facilities like power, latrine, mobile, and gas connections. Still, 15.98 percent of the households do not have a power connection. They still depend on gasoline lantern, 28.31 percent of the households do not have toilet facility, they must go to fields for their basic needs. Almost 70 percent of the households have gas connections, but still, 29.82 percent of the households depend on the firewood for cooking. And 30.14 percent of the households do not have TV sets in their houses.

5.4 Landholding Details in Percentage

Table 5.15
Household classification of the number of landholdings in percentage

Classification	Irrigated		Un-Irrigated		Both	
	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operating
Landless	61.47	57.80	55.96	61.93	36.24	40.83
Marginal	13.30	11.01	14.22	12.39	18.81	15.14
Small	11.93	9.17	14.68	11.93	14.22	10.55
Semi-Medium	8.72	11.01	11.93	11.47	16.06	17.89
Medium	4.59	9.63	3.21	2.29	13.30	12.39
Large	0	1.38	0	0	1.38	3.21
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey

In the village, 61.47 percent of the households, not owning any irrigated land. But some of them are operating irrigated lands. That's why the percentage of landless category in irrigated operating is less (57.80) than the irrigated owning. So, 57.80 percent of the households do not operate any irrigated land. Some households who are not owning any irrigated lands are operating some irrigated lands. About 3.67 percent of the households are leasing in the irrigated lands. Marginal irrigated landowners are 13.30 percent, but the operating households of the irrigated lands came down to 11.01 percent. That means, about 2.29 percent of the marginal farming households are leasing out their lands. The case is even the same for small farmers for irrigated lands. The percentage of owners is higher than the percentage of operators for irrigated lands, which means small irrigated owners are leasing out the lands. About 2.76 percentage of the small irrigated households are leasing out the lands.

The case of semi-medium and medium is opposite to the marginal and small irrigated households. Semi-medium and medium farming households for irrigated lands, they are operators are more than the owners of these categories. Semi-medium and medium irrigated farming households are leasing in lands about 2.29 and 4.59 percent, respectively. No one owns more than ten acres of irrigated lands in the village but, about 138 percent of the

households out of 219 are operating more than ten acres of irrigated lands. This data shows that the marginal and small irrigated farmers are leasing out in big numbers to semi-medium, medium, and large holders. And also, landless households are leasing in the lands from marginal and small farmers. May be for marginal and small farmers who owned less than two acres of land is profitable to lease out the lands than cultivating. For irrigated lands, the rent is also high, and demand (ten bags per acre) is also high. For irrigated lands, the rent in this village is 10-12 bags (one bag can be 70kg). If these marginal and small farmers depend on Reddys for investment, inputs, and other needs, they would get much lesser than that. As the interest rates are very high, most of the time, farmers wouldn't get anything back.

There are 55.80 percent of households not owning any drylands, but they must be owning irrigated lands. There is 5.97 percent of the households who own drylands also not operating. Maybe the reason is that some of the Reddys and other upper castes purchased *podu* lands from tribal and other lower castes. And gave it to their daughters as dowry, and they are not cultivating their lands. Most of the dry landowners must operate; otherwise, there is not much demand for those lands. Till they sold out, owners not operating these lands. When it comes to dryland, there is not much difference between owning and operating. All categories of dry owning lands are higher than the operating. There is not much interest in operating these drylands as it is difficult to get irrigation. Only people who afford to buy a motor to get water from the nearby canal are operating these lands.

Table 5.16
Household classification for the area of holdings in percentage

Classification	Irrigated		Un-Irrigated		Both	
	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operating
Landless	0	0	0	0	0	0
Marginal	13.19	7.23	12.39	12.61	8.31	6.10
Small	24.36	12.5	26.56	25.23	13.12	8.63
Semi-Medium	29.85	25.68	39.29	44.47	27.40	27.30
Medium	32.65	43.03	21.87	17.69	42.76	39.97
Large	0	11.56	0	0	8.40	18.00
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey

Marginal landholders own 13.19 percent of the irrigated lands, but they are operating only 7.23 percent. Most of the lands they are leasing out. In the same way, small farmers owning 24.36 percent of the village irrigated lands, but they operate only half of them, which is 12.5 percent. That means 50 percent of the small farm holdings are leased out. Even for semi-medium landholdings, there is a slight difference between owning and operating the lands. Almost 4.17 percent of the irrigated semi-medium land holdings are leased out. But when it comes to medium and large landholding, the situation is the opposite. Medium and large irrigated land holdings area increased when it comes to operating the area. There is huge leased-in land in these two categories. Under medium farmers, 32.65 percent of the irrigated lands are there, but they operate 43.03 percent of the irrigated village land. When it comes to large landholdings, there are no large irrigated holdings. But the 11.56 percent of the village lands are operated under large holding category. Most of the irrigated land is leased in by medium and large landholdings under the irrigated area.

For unirrigated lands, there is not much difference between owned and operated land area. Only one percent of the lands of unirrigated small lands are leased-in 5.18 percent of the lands of the village. Most of these lands are leased out from medium holding area. There are no large holdings in the unirrigated area.

If we consider both irrigated and dry land areas together, the pattern is more or less similar to the pattern of wet landholdings. Except for the large landholding area, all the other categories of the land class are leasing out the land. Large landholdings are owning 8.40 percent of the land, but they operate 18.00 percent of the land. Almost 10 percent of the lands are leased in under large holding size class. And the medium landholdings were leasing out their dry lands. That's why the overall percentage shows that the land was leased out from this class, but in general, this medium class is leasing in wetlands.

5.5 Social Status wise Landholdings

Table 5.17

Social status wise classification irrigated holdings in percentage

Classification	ST		SC		BC		OC	
	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operating
Landless	73.8	62.26	86.96	82.61	61.22	55.10	31.11	42.22
Marginal	18.87	16.98	4.35	0	15.31	14.29	8.89	4.44
Small	3.77	3.77	8.70	17.39	12.24	9.18	22.22	11.11
Semi-Medium	3.77	11.32	0	0	7.14	13.27	22.22	11.11
Medium	0	5.66	0	0	4.08	6.12	15.56	28.89
Large	0	0	0	0	0	2.22	0	2.22
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey

Among ST households 73.8 percent are not owning any irrigated lands and 62.26 percent of them are not operating any irrigated lands. Almost 11.54 percent of the landless ST households are leasing in lands and operating as pure tenants. There 18.87 percent of marginal farmers are STs, and 16.98 percent of the ST households operate lands under the marginal farm size category. 1.89 percent of the ST households lease out the lands under the marginal category. There are equal households who own and operate small farm size holdings. STs owning 3.77 percent but operating 11.32 percent of the semi-medium size irrigated lands, which means 7.55 percent of the ST households are leasing in irrigated lands

under this category. No ST household owning any lands under medium size category and large land class, but 5.66 percent of STs operate medium size irrigated lands.

Out of total SC households (23), 86.96 percent of the households do not own any irrigated lands. But 4.35 percent of the SC landless are leasing in lands as pure tenants. 4.35 percent of the SC households own irrigated lands under the size class marginal but no SC household operating land under the marginal farm category. Maybe these SC households who own marginal lands are leasing in lands from other castes and becoming small landholding operators. Hence, under small irrigated landholdings, 8.70 percent of the SC households own lands. At the same time, the operating SC households doubled the number, 17.39 percent. Most of the SC families leasing in small size lands. SC households do not own or operate any irrigated lands under three size class semi-medium, medium, and large.

61.22 percent of BC households do not own any irrigated lands. But 6.12 percent of the BC landless households are leasing in lands and operating. So, only 55.10 percent of the BC households do not operate any lands. Only one percent of the BC households leasing out the lands under the category of marginal holdings. Even small irrigated BC landowners are leasing out their lands; the percentage is almost 3.06 percent. Under semi-medium, medium, and large irrigated holdings, BCs are leasing in the lands. The percentage of the tenancy is 6.13, 2.04, and 2.22 percent, respectively.

Among OCs, the landless irrigated households are very less, which is 31.11 percent, and 42.22 percent of them do not operate any lands. That means 11.11 percent of them are not operating their irrigated lands. They are leasing out their lands. These families might have sent their children to cities for jobs, and the older people are staying at home without cultivating. Some absentee landlordism kind of thing. Marginal, small and semi-medium landholders of the OC category are leasing out their irrigated lands. The households who are leasing in lands are medium and large farmers.

Table 5.18

Percentage of the social status-wise land classification of the un-irrigated holdings.

Classification	ST		SC		BC		OC	
	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operating
Landless	58.49	64.15	69.57	73.91	61.22	65.31	33.33	44.44
Marginal	15.09	15.09	8.70	8.70	14.29	12.24	15.56	11.11
Small	16.98	13.21	13.04	8.70	12.24	11.22	17.78	13.33
Semi-Medium	9.43	7.55	4.35	8.70	6.12	6.12	31.11	28.89
Medium	0	0	4.35	0	6.12	5.10	2.22	2.22
Large	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey

If you observe ST households, 58.49 percent do not own any un-irrigated lands, and 5.66 percent are not operating them. Marginal farmers who own and operate unirrigated lands are almost equal. And small and semi-medium holders are leasing out their lands.

Among SC household's 69.57 percent are not owning any drylands. And 73.91 percent are not operating any drylands. That means the SC households who own drylands are not operating any lands, which is 4.34 percent. SCs owning 13.04 percent of the unirrigated smallholdings and operate 8.70 percent, which means 4.34 percent they are leasing out the lands. 4.35 percentage of the SC households own drylands under semi-medium, and 8.70 percent of the SCs are operating drylands under this category. SCs are the only group that leased in the drylands. No other caste or land size group leasing in the drylands. And 4.35 percent of the households own medium size drylands, but they are not operating them. Most of the village is not operating drylands. Maybe because of the new upcoming deer park and govt declared all *podu* land as govt land under the Land Transfer Regulation (LTR) act.

61.22 percent of BC landholders do not own any drylands, 65.31 percent are do not operate any drylands. 14.29 percent of the marginal farm holding BCs owning lands and 12.24 percent of the BC households are operating marginal dry holdings. There is not much

difference between owners and operators when it comes to small and semi-medium BC households. 6.12 of the BC households are owning lands under the medium-size category, and operators of the medium dry size are one percent less than that.

Among OC household's 33.33 percent are not owning any lands, and 44.44 of the households are not operating. All the other dry land size classes are operating less than what they own. They must be either leasing out their lands or not cultivating at all. As there is no other caste group which leasing in these drylands, we have to conclude that most of the drylands have not cultivated.

Table 5.19
Social status wise land classification of households in percentage

Classification	ST		SC		BC		OC	
	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operating
Landless	47.17	49.06	60.87	60.87	35.71	37.76	8.89	24.44
Marginal	18.87	15.09	8.70	8.70	25.51	20.41	11.11	8.89
Small	13.21	11.32	13.04	21.74	14.29	10.20	15.56	4.44
Semi-Medium	16.98	15.09	8.70	4.35	11.22	18.37	28.89	26.67
Medium	3.77	7.55	8.70	4.35	12.24	9.18	31.11	31.11
Large	0	1.89	0	0	1.02	4.08	4.44	4.44
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey

In the village, there are four social categories SC, ST, BC, and OC. In STs, there is 47.17 percent of the households do not own any lands, and 49.06 percent of ST households not operating any lands. That means some of ST's who are owning lands also not operating them. Under the categories of marginal, small, and semi-medium, ST's are owning higher holdings to operating holdings. That means they are leasing out the lands, or they are not cultivating at all. In the medium land size class, 3.77 percent of the STs own lands, but 7.55 percent of the households are operating lands under medium size land holdings. STs do not own any large holdings, but one household (1.89 percent) among STs is operating lands more than ten acres.

Out of SC's, 60.87 percent of the households are landless. They neither own any lands nor operate any. Most of them depend on agriculture labor. There are 8.70 percent of the SC households own and operating lands under the small size holdings. Under small land size class, 13.04 percent of the SC households own lands, but they operate much higher lands under this category that is 21.74 percent. That means 8.7 percent of the SC households are leasing in lands. At the same time, SC households who own lands under the category semi-medium and medium they are leasing out the lands. Half of the SC households in these categories do not operate lands.

Among BCs, 35.71 percent of the households are landless. And 37.76 percent of the BC households not operating any lands. Marginal land operating households among BCs are lesser than the owning percentage, which means almost 5percent of the marginal landholding BC households are leasing out their lands. And the pattern is similar to the small landholders. Small landholders among BCs are also leasing out their lands. But most of the semi-medium landholders within BCs are leasing in the lands. They are operating more lands than they own. There is a change in the medium holding pattern. BC households are owning 12.24 percent of the medium size class lands among BCs, but they are operating only 9.18 percent of the lands. As we have already seen the pattern of medium-size land class, in general, they do not operate or lease out their drylands. That might be the reason for the tendency of leasing out lands in the BC category also. When it comes to large landowning, among BCs, there is only one household (1.02 percent) own more than ten acres of land. But 4.08 percent of the households are operating more than ten acres of land. They are leasing in lands in this large land size class.

There are very few landless households in the OC category, but almost 24.44 percent of them are not operating their lands. They are leasing out their lands. Marginal, small and semi-medium landholders among the OCs are leasing out their land. The operating percentage is lesser than the ownership percentage. Especially in small farm holdings, 15.56 percent of the OC households own lands, but they are operating only 4.44 percent of the lands. At the same time, the medium and large landholders are operating the lands that they own.

Table 5.20

Social status wise land classification of the number of holdings irrigated.

Classification	ST		SC		BC		OC	
	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operated	owning	Operating
Landless	39	33	20	19	60	54	14	19
Marginal	10	9	1	0	15	14	4	2
Small	2	2	2	4	12	9	10	5
Semi-Medium	2	6	0	0	7	13	10	5
Medium	0	3	0	0	4	6	7	13
Large	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1
Total	53	53	23	23	98	98	45	45

Source: Field Survey

Out of 53 ST households, 39 households do not own any lands; when it comes to operating holdings, 33 ST households are not operating any holdings. 10 ST households are owning marginal holdings, but only nine households are operating marginal holdings. That means ST households who own irrigated marginal holdings are leasing out their lands; not all of them are operating. At the same time, the ST household who operate irrigated marginal holdings is also more or less equal in number. Small irrigated households are owned by 2 ST households, and smallholdings are operated by the same number may not be the same holder though. 2 ST households are owning semi-medium size irrigated holdings, but the operating ST households are three-time higher than that. 6 ST households are operating semi-medium holdings. 4 ST households are leasing in semi-medium holdings. Medium and large irrigated holders are no there within ST households, but three households are operating medium-size land holdings. Overall there are 14 ST households that own any size class of irrigated holdings. But 20 ST households are operating irrigated lands. That means ST households are leasing in lands from other castes.

Out of 23 SC households, 20 households do not own any irrigated lands. Nineteen households do not operate any irrigated lands. One household owning marginal irrigated holdings and two SC households are owning small landholdings which irrigated, but 4 SC

households are operating small irrigated holdings. That means out of 4 SC households at least two households are leasing in lands from other caste groups.

Out of 98 BC households, 60 are not owning any lands, and 54 BC households are not operating any lands. Fifteen of the BC households are owning marginal irrigated households, and 14 BC households are operating marginal irrigated households. When it comes to small irrigated holdings, 12 BC households are owning small irrigated holdings, and only 9 BC households are operating smallholdings. So, some of the BC households are leasing out lands under small size holdings. Seven BC households own Semi-medium holdings, but more BC families are operating semi-medium holdings. There are BC households who are leasing in lands and operating under semi-medium irrigated holdings. 4 BC households are owning lands under medium-size category, and six households are operating medium size holdings. No BC family owns large holdings, but two households are operating under this category.

There are 45 OC households. Out of that, 14 households do not own any irrigated lands. And 19 OC households are not operating any irrigated lands. The number of households who do not any irrigated lands is lesser than the households who do not operate. This means there are OC households who are owning irrigated holdings but do not operate. There are absentee landlords in the village. Four OC households own irrigated marginal holdings, and only two households operate under this category. Small and sei-medium irrigated holders are 10 of each category and only half of them in each size class are operating lands. They must be leasing in lands and becoming medium farmers, or they are leasing out their lands to other castes and becoming absentee landlords. The number of holdings under medium and large irrigated holdings are conveying that small and semi-medium holders are leasing out their lands. Only seven households among 45 OCs own lands under medium irrigated holdings, but the operators under this category are doubled to this number — many households under this category leasing in irrigated lands. There are no OC households that operate lands more than ten acres, only one household operating lands under large size class.

Table 5.21

Social status wise land classification of a number of holdings un-irrigated

Classification	ST		SC		BC		OC	
	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operated	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operating
Landless	31	34	16	17	60	64	15	20
Marginal	8	8	2	2	14	12	7	5
Small	9	7	3	2	12	11	8	6
Semi-Medium	5	4	1	2	6	6	14	13
Medium	0	0	1	0	6	5	1	1
Large	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	53	53	23	23	98	98	45	45

Source: Field Survey

There are 53 ST households in the village. Out of the 31 households do not own any drylands, 34 households do not operate any drylands. 22 ST households own some kind or other drylands in the village. Eight households are owning marginal drylands and operating the same number of households. Nine households own small size lands that have no irrigation facilities, and seven households are operating drylands. Five households own Semi-medium dry lands and four households are operating them. One household is leasing out land or leasing in some more land and operating much bigger holdings. There are no medium and large farmers in the ST households who own drylands in that category.

Out of 23 SC households, 16 households are not owning any drylands and 17 households not operating any drylands. There two SC households who own marginal size drylands and the same number of households are operating marginal dry holdings. There are three households owning small farm drylands. And two of them operating them. One SC household is owning, but two SC households are operating lands under the semi-medium category. There is one medium farming household that do not operate any lands in this category. No SC households are owning large un-irrigated farms. This data shows some SC households are leasing in lands from other castes. There are 98 households of BCs. 38 households own drylands. But 60 of BC households do not own any drylands. Sixty-four

households do not operate any drylands. Some BC houses that own drylands are not operating them 14 marginal dry farming households are there, only 12 of them operating under this category. Small size land holdings are 12; in the BCs only 11 of them are operating them semi-medium, and medium-size classes are owned and operated equally by the BCs.

A total of 45 households are OCs (Reddy), 15 of them do not own any drylands and 20 of them are not operating any drylands. That means five dry land-owning OC households are not operating their lands. Seven marginal dry land-owning households are there, and 5 of them operating their lands. There are eight small dry landholders; only 6 of the households are operating lands under the small size category. Out of 14 semi-medium households, 13 are operating. There is one medium size dry owner who is also is cultivating it. With this data, we can conclude that two marginal, two small, and one semi-medium holder are not operating their lands. They must be leasing out their lands to the other castes or not operating at all.

Table 5.22

Social status wise land classification of a number of holdings for both

Classification	ST		SC		BC		OC	
	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operated	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operating
Landless	25	26	14	14	35	37	4	11
Marginal	10	8	2	2	25	20	5	4
Small	7	6	3	5	14	10	7	2
Semi-Medium	9	8	2	1	11	18	13	12
Medium	2	4	2	1	12	9	14	14
Large	0	1	0	0	1	4	2	2
Total	53	53	23	23	98	98	45	45

Source: Field Survey

In the village, some households own lands in the irrigated area and some in un-irrigated areas. There must be people who own lands in a dry areas but not in the irrigated areas. There is a possibility of another way round. So, when you see the overall situation then only, we will know the final situation of the landholdings.

Out of 53 ST households, 25 of the households are not owning any lands neither irrigated nor dry. And almost equally, that is 26 households are not operating any lands. There must be some landless people, and there must be households who own lands but not operating. And people who are not owning any lands can be leasing in lands and becoming operators of the land in some category of land size class.

There are ten marginal landholders within ST's, and eight families are operating lands under this category. 7 ST households are owning lands under small size holding, and six households are operating smallholdings. 9 ST households are owning semi-medium lands; only eight households are operating lands under this category. There are two medium landowners, and operators under this category are doubled. No ST household owning lands more than 10 acres; only one family was operating large holdings.

Among 23 SC households, more than half of them, 14 households are not owning any lands nor operating any lands. These households mostly depended on agriculture labor or migrated to cities for non-farm sector labor. Only two households are owning and operating marginal landholdings. Three households own small land size categories, and the operating households are 5. Under semi-medium and medium-size class two households each are owning lands, but only one from each category is operating. There are no large farmers SC households.

Out of 98 BC households, 35 are not owning any lands, and 37 are not operating any lands. There are 25 marginal owners, and 20 of them are operating those lands. Among BCs, 14 households are owning small land holdings, but only ten households are operating smallholdings. Eleven households under semi-medium own lands, and 18 households are operating lands under the semi-medium size category. In this category, BCs are leasing in lands hugely. It seems marginal and small landholders leasing in lands and operating at a semi-medium size. Medium landholders are also leasing in lands and operating more than ten acres. That's why 12 households are owning lands under medium category, but only nine households are operating. And when you see the large holdings, only one BC household is owning lands more than ten acres, but four households are operating more than ten acres lands. BCs are leasing in lands in huge amounts.

OC's are 45 households in the village, where four households do not own any lands. Eleven households do not operate any lands. So, there are households that do not operate their lands. Eight households are there in this way. Marginal farmers owned by five households. Four households are operating lands under this category. There are seven small hold owners, and only two households are operating in the small size class. And these farmers who are owning lands under small and marginal holding they are leasing out lands to other castes like BCs they are not moving upward. They are leasing-out lands and not operating any lands. Under semi-medium size, the 13 OC owners are there 12 of them are operating their lands. All the farmers' owners of the medium size and large holdings are operating their lands, which is 14 and 2 households, respectively.

Table 5.23
Social status wise land classification of area in percentage

Classification	ST		SC		BC		OC	
	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operated	Owning	Operating	Owning	Operating
Landless	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Marginal	12.70	8.28	7.14	8.53	12.75	8.48	2.33	2.00
Small	21.30	13.19	21.43	42.68	15.00	8.85	7.14	2.28
Semi-Medium	48.45	29.44	30.61	19.51	19.89	30.54	27.40	23.40
Medium	17.54	34.35	40.82	29.27	44.00	28.85	50.58	56.92
Large	0	14.72	0	0	8.40	23.27	12.54	15.41
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey

In total ST households owned area, marginal holders own 12.70 percent of the lands, but they are operating only 8.28 percent of the area they own. That means ST marginal holders are leasing out almost 4.42 percent of the area. Out of the total ST controlled area, 21,30 percent of the area owned by smallholders but the same smallholders are operating only 13.19 percent of the land. The small ST landholders are leasing out the lands. Semi-medium ST farms are owning 48.45 percent but operating only 29.44 percent. Almost 19 percent in semi-medium land size classes are leasing out the land. Within ST farms, medium

and large farms are leasing in the lands. ST households are not owning land more than ten acres of land, but 14.72 percent of the ST operated lands are more than the size of ten acres. When it comes to SC, the entire pattern is almost the opposite. Marginal and small SC landholders are leasing in the land, and semi-medium, and medium SC households are leasing out the lands. There are no large farms controlled by SC households.

BC marginal and small farmers are leasing out the land; they own 12.75 and 15.00 percent, respectively. But operate 8.48 and 8.45 percent, respectively. Semi-medium BC households are owning 19.89 percent of total BC controlled area but operate 30.54 percent. That means they are leasing in almost 10.65 percent of the area. And BC medium households are leasing out the lands. Large farms are owning 8.40 percent of the area controlled by BCs, and they operate 23.27 percent of the area. BC households lease in the lands under the category of large farms.

OCs households own and operate almost the same area under the category of marginal land size class. But most of the area under the category of smallholding area leased out. Small OC households own 7.14 percent of the total area under the OCs, but they operate only 2.28 percent of the area under this category. Even semi-medium OC households leased-out the lands. Medium and large OC landholders are leasing in the lands, they are owning 50.58 and 12.54 percent respectively and operating 56.92 and 15.41 percent, respectively.

Table 5.24
Social status wise occupation of households

Occupation	ST		SC		BC		OC	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Cultivators	20	37.74	4	17.39	35	35.71	26	62.22
Agri. labor	22	41.51	10	43.48	26	26.53	2	4.44
Wage/ Salaried empl.	5	9.43	4	17.39	10	10.20	1	2.22
Non-agri. labor	2	3.77	3	13.04	7	7.14	0	0
Pension/ Remittances	4	7.55	2	8.70	19	19.39	11	24.44
Business	0	0	0	0	1	1.02	5	6.67
Total	53	100	23	100	98	100	45	100

Source: Field Survey

Out of 53 ST, household's 37.74 percent are cultivators, 41.51 are agriculture labor, wage/salaried employees are 9.43 percent and non-agriculture labor are 3.77 percent, and there is 7.55 percent of the households depend on the pension and remittances. Business-class people are not there in this ST category. Among SC household's 17.39 percent are cultivators, 43.48 percent are agriculture labor. Wage/salaried employees are 17.39 percent, non-agriculture labor is 13.04 percent and households which depend on pension/remittances are 8.70 percent. Agriculture labor is more or less the same for SC and ST categories. But there is a good number of cultivators in the ST category comparatively with the SCs. Though, they might be some small and marginal farmers. There are 98 BC households in the village. Among them, 35.71 are cultivators, 26.53 percent are agriculture labor, 10.20 percent are wage/salaried employees, non-agriculture labor households are 7.14 percent, and 19.39 percent of the BC households depends on the pension and remittances. There is one business family in the BC category.

Within the OC category, 62.22 percent of the 45 households are cultivators; there are two households that depend on agriculture labor, which is 4.44 percent. One household is a

wage/salaried employee. And 24.44 percent of households depend on pension/remittances. 6.67 percent of the households are businessmen from this category.

Table 5.25
Social status wise occupation of households.

Class	Cultivators		Agr. labor		Wage/Sal.empl		Non-agri. labor		Pension/Remittances		Business	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
ST	20	23.53	22	36.67	5	25	2	16.67	4	11.11	0	0
SC	4	4.71	10	16.67	4	20	3	25	2	5.55	0	0
BC	35	41.18	26	43.33	10	50	7	58.33	19	52.78	1	16.67
OC	26	30.59	2	3.33	1	5	0	0	11	30.55	5	83.33
Total	85	100	60	100	20	100	12	100	36	100	6	100

Source: Field Survey

Out of 85 cultivator households' 23.53 percent are ST households, only 4.71 percent that is four households are cultivators, 41.18 percent of the households are BC cultivators, and 30.59 percent of the cultivators are OC households.

There are 60 agriculture labor households, only two households from OCs are depends on agriculture labor; the majority of the agriculture households are in the BC category. Their (BCs) number in the total population is also high. And among BCs, whoever claimed that they are agriculture labor are also have the second occupation which is their traditional caste occupation. So, the majority of agriculture labor is from STs 36.67 percent. Even the STs hold some lands in the past, sold off to non-tribal, and might be holding little lands and working as agriculture labor. That's why the only agriculture labor who depends only on 'coolis' for their survival are among SCs, their percentage in the total agriculture is 16.67 percent.

When it comes to wage/salaried employees, 20 households depends on this occupation. Out of the 50 percent are BC households, which is the majority of households. And ST and SC households who are wage/salaried employees are 25 and 20 percent,

respectively. Only one household from the OC category getting its major economic source from wage/salaried employment. But most of the family members of OCs are wage/salaried employers. Here, we have taken only household elders' occupation that's why the percentage of wage/salaried employees within the OCs is very less.

58.33 percent of the non-agriculture labor are from BC households. There are no non-agriculture labor households among OCs. And 16.67 and 25 percent of non-agriculture labor are from ST and SC households, respectively. 36 households are getting their main economic source from pension/remittances. 52.78 percent of the pension/remittance belongs to BCs. After them, the biggest number in this income source is OCs, which is 30.55 percent. Most of the OC families, who were migrated from outside the old generations are staying in the village, whereas their family members are working in the cities gets remittances, rents, and pension from the govt. At the same time, the ST and SC families under this category are living on a pension of govt, like a widow, old age pensions, and some families, especially under STs, are living only on subsidy rice of the government. The ST and SC families who come under this category are 11.11 and 5.55 percent, respectively.

Business section is dominant in the village, they almost control the entire village economy. Every household of the village has some the other economic relationship with these business families. The business families are landlords holding bigger lands in the village and became investors, fertilizers, and seed traders in the village, who could also take the product and sell in the market. And give money if farmers get after cutting all the expenses. So, 83.33 percent of the businesspeople belong to OCs, and only one household is from the BC category

5.6 Occupation wise Land Holdings

Table 5.26
Occupation wise land classification in percentage

Classification	Cultivators		Agr. Labour		Wage/Salaried Empl.		Non-Agr. Labour		Pension/Remittances		Business	
	Own	Operate	Own	Operate	Own	Operate	Own	Operate	Own	Operate	Own	Operate
Landless	7.32	0	61.67	65.00	47.62	57.14	76.92	76.92	37.84	64.86	0	0
Marginal	17.07	9.76	20.00	23.33	14.29	4.76	15.38	15.38	29.73	24.32	0	0
Small	20.73	17.07	10.00	6.67	14.29	19.05	0	0	13.51	5.41	0	0
Semi-Medium	30.49	41.46	5.00	1.67	9.52	14.29	7.69	7.69	2.70	2.70	50.00	16.67
Medium	23.17	25.61	3.33	3.33	14.29	4.76	0	0	13.51	2.70	33.33	50.00
Large	1.22	6.10	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.70	0	16.67	33.33
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey

Out of cultivators, 7.32 percent are landless. 17.07 percent of the cultivators are marginal farmers, who own lands under the size class of marginal holding. But operators in this class are lesser than the owners. That is, 9.76 percent of the households operate lands under marginal farming.

There is 20.73 percent of the small land are owned by cultivators. And 17.007 percent of the households operate small size category. When it comes to semi-medium 30.49 percent are owning lands under this category, but 41.46 percent of the lands operated under semi-medium size class. Medium 23.17 percent of the cultivators are owning, and there is almost a two percent increase in the operators of medium class. Large size class, there is only 1.22 percent of the cultivators are owning lands above 10 acres, but the operator households are much larger than that. Out of the total cultivators' large farm holders are 6.10 percent.

61.67 percent of the agriculture labor does not own any land, and 65.00 percent of the agriculture labor does not operate any land. 20.00 percent of the agriculture labor own marginal holdings. But 23.33 percent of the agriculture labor households operate lands under the marginal category. Small landowners among the agriculture labor 10.00 percent and only 6.677 percent of the small landholding agriculture labor are operating lands, which means they are leasing of lands to the other occupations. Even semi-medium category there is 5.00 percent of the agriculture labor households are owning lands, but only 1.67 percent of the households are operating lands. They are also leasing out their lands. Among agriculture labor, there is 3.33 percent of the households operate the lands.

Under wage/salaried occupations, 47.62 percent are landless, and 57.14 percent do not operate any lands. This means almost 10 percent of the wage/salaried employers are leasing out their lands. 14.29 percent of the wage/salaried employers are marginal landowners, but the operators' households under this category are very lesser than the owners; 4.76 percent almost 10 percent of households are either moving up in their land size or leasing their lands out. When it comes to smallholdings, 14.29 percent of the wage/salaried employers own lands, and 19.05 percent of the lands operated. There is an increase in operating holders. So, wage/salaried employers are leasing in lands under this category. The semi-medium land holding case is also the same. There is 9.52 percent of the households of wage/salaried employers own lands under the semi-medium category, but operators under this category are 14.29 percent, almost 5 percent increase in the operators. But medium-size classes are different. It's opposite to the small and semi-medium category. Under the medium size class

holdings, 14.29 percent of the wage/salaried employees own lands, but the operators under this category are very less 4.76 percent. Almost 10 percent of the wage/salaried employers' households are leasing out their lands. There is a ten percent difference between owning and operating households. So, these wage/salaried employers' households are leasing out their lands to other occupations. 76.92 percent of the households among non-agriculture labor does not own any land, and the same percentage of households do not operate any lands. In this occupation, the landowning and operating percentage is the same for all categories. This non-agriculture labor is neither leasing out nor leasing in the lands.

In the total pensions/remittances households, 37.84 percent do not own lands; 64.86 do not operate any lands. This pension/remittance class is leasing out their land to other occupations in the village. All the class size lands operated lesser than the owners.

Business-class is the dominant class in the village. There are no landless households among them. Fifty percent of the business class owns lands undersize class semi-medium, but only 16.67 percent of the business class is operating lands under this category. They must be leasing in lands and operating bigger holdings. There 33.33 percent of business class households own lands under the medium-size category, but the operating households' percentage is 50 in this category. And under the size class of large holdings, there is 16.67 percent of the households' lands. But the percent of operators under large landholdings double than the 33.33 percent.

Table 5.27

Occupation wise land classification of the number of holdings

Classification	Cultivators		Agr. Labour		Wage/Salaried Empl.		Non-Agr. Labour		Pension/Remittances		Business	
	Own	Operate	Own	Operate	Own	Operate	Own	Operate	Own	Operate	Own	Operate
Landless	6	0	37	39	10	12	10	10	14	24	0	0
Marginal	14	8	12	14	3	1	2	2	11	9	0	0
Small	17	14	6	4	3	4	0	0	5	2	0	0
Semi-Medium	25	34	3	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	3	1
Medium	19	21	2	2	3	1	0	0	5	1	2	3
Large	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
Total	82	82	60	60	21	21	13	13	37	37	6	6

Source: Field Survey

There are 82 households which are cultivators 6 of them are landless. Cultivators who own marginal holdings are 14, and only eight households operate marginal landholdings. Under this category, some households must be leasing-out lands or leasing in lands and operating bigger landholdings. There are 17 households that own lands under the category of smallholdings, and only 14 households are operating lands under this small land size class. Semi-medium, 25 households cultivate size group semi-medium. But the operating cultivators under this category are 34. There is an increase of 9 households who operate under this category. And 19 households owned medium size lands, but operated by 21 households, in this category also there is an increase when it comes to cultivators, who own more than ten acres of land. One household owning large size lands. But when it comes to operating the large holdings, five households are operating.

Out of 60 households of agriculture labor, 37 are landless. Thirty-seven households of agriculture labor do not own any lands, and thirty-nine households do not operate any lands. Two agriculture labor households own lands but do not operate any lands. Twelve agriculture labor households own lands under marginal holding size. There is an increase in agriculture labor households who operate marginal holdings comparatively with the owners. Fourteen households operate marginal holdings — six agriculture labor own smallholdings. At the same time, only four households operate smallholdings. Three households own semi-medium holdings, whereas only one household who operate semi-medium holdings.

If you observe the wage/salaried employers' 21 households, and 10 of them do not own any lands, and 12 of them do not operate any lands. Medium landowners of wage/salaried employers are not operating their lands. There are three households of wage/salaried employers who own lands, but only one household is operating lands.

Among non-agriculture labor, ten households do not own any lands. Ten households do not operate any lands. 2 households own marginal holdings, one household own semi-medium size class lands. And they operate the same category of lands in the same size land class. Pension/remittances households 37 in the village, 14 of them do not own any lands. But 24 households do not operate any lands. They are leasing their lands out, 11 households own marginal holdings, and nine households

operate marginal holdings. Five households of the pension/remittances own small size class, only 20 of them are operating land under this category. Under medium holders, there are five pension/remittances households are owning lands, and only one household is operating lands under this medium category. There is only one large far holding among the pension/remittances category. And that household is not operating any lands under this large size.

Business-class households are owning and operating lands under semi-medium and medium and large size classes. Three business households own lands under the category of semi-medium; this size class business households are leasing-in lands and operating bigger holdings. And two households are owning lands under medium size class, but three households are operating lands under this category. Only one household of business class owns land more than ten acres, but two households are operating land under this large land size class.

5.7 Migration

Table 5.28
Migration status of the village

Migration	Number	Percentage
Migrated to other villages	17	13.71
Migrated to Cities	46	37.09
Migrated to other states	1	0.81
Migrated into Village	44	35.48
Married women returned	16	12.90
Total Migration	124	100

Source: Field Survey

Total migrated people are 124. The total number of migrated out of the village to cities like Hyderabad and Warangal is almost equal to the people who have migrated into the village, which is 46 and 44, respectively. Sixteen married women returned to the parents' house. It constitutes 12.90 percent of the migrated population. Some 13.71 percent of people migrated to other villages for non-agricultural work. Reddys migrated

to cities for the job and other business purposes, whereas Dalits and Tribes migrated for some informal sector jobs like security guards, saleswoman, and construction work. Some BC castes like Washermen (Chakali) migrated to cities to wash clothes and iron the clothes, which are their traditional work.

The people who have migrated into the village also have different purposes. Reddys migrated to the village and purchased lands in the village for cultivation and earned enough money to get their children educated and send them out of the village for job purposes. And Dalits migrated into the village as there is the availability of regular agriculture work. The tribe is the only social group that existed in the village from the beginning.

5.8 Conclusion

More than 70 percent of the households had migrated into the village. Reddys with more than 20 percent of the households are dominating the village economically and socially. All the households who migrated into the village are from the plain areas of the same district, erstwhile Warangal. As a social category, BCs dominating the village, with 44.75 percent of the households. The female population of the village is high because of the high widowed population. Most of the people dropped out of school after secondary education. Most of the girls from the village married after their 7th class. Cultivators and agriculture labor together consist of almost 64.50 percent of the workforce. About 30 percent of the village doesn't have basic facilities like power, latrine, etc. In the village, 61.47 percent of the village does not own any irrigated land. Small size irrigated owners are preferring to be leasing out their lands to cultivating, and maybe the opportunity cost higher for leasing out. Due to this, many marginal and small irrigated farmers are leasing out their lands. About 73 percent of the ST households do not own any irrigated lands. Almost all the OCs own lands. But 24.44 percent of them are not cultivating their lands. Reddys migrated to village and purchased lands in the village for cultivation and earned enough money to get their children educated and send them out of the village for job purposes. And Dalits migrated into the village as there is the availability of regular agriculture work.

CHAPTER-6

CHANGES IN AGRARIAN RELATIONS – A CASE STUDY OF BUSSAPUR VILLAGE

6.1 Introduction:

Bussapur village is located in the Govindaropeta mandal, of the erstwhile Warangal district. It is 75 km away from the district headquarters. Laknavaram natural lake is one of the most visited tourist spots in the district. Bussapur village is on the way to Laknavaram Lake, three km away from the national highway 163. Adivasis constitute the majority of the population of the village and hence it is classified under the scheduled status. The 2011 census recorded 20.43% ST population for the village. According to 2011 population census there are 236 households, and 886 is the population of the village. Among this 475 are male, 411 are female. Literacy rate is 59.20 percent. The working population of the village is 495, among them 126 are cultivators and 293 work as agricultural labor. The village spreads over 795 hectares.

According to Sarpanch Palem Yadagiri there should be 310 households in the village. I have surveyed 220, almost hundred houses have no details. I might have missed barely 10-15 houses, not more than that. There are two, three families in one house, like big families. That's why almost 80 houses are not counted in my survey. There are few families who stay in the cities but are counted in the village as well.

Nayokpod and Dorla (Koya) form the majority of the population of the village. Initially they were the only groups in the village, and over time many other communities migrated here. Laknavaram Lake, which spreads over ten thousand acres, built in Kakatiya period is right above the village within the two km distance. With hills on all four sides this Laknavaram Lake formed naturally. The water which overflows from and through the sluice valve changes into Jampanna stream and flows through Medaram and joins in Godavari River at Eturnagaram. Though the Adivasi population is high in this village they would not hold *pattas* to their lands. Maize and Corn were the major crops for the tribes. Main occupations in the village are 1) Agricultural

cultivation 2) Agricultural labor, 3) Auto driving, 4) Sheep herding, 5) Grocery shops, 6) Security guards 7) Toddy tapping, 8) Dairy farming.

6.2 Initial feudal dominance: Pal Sab family ruling

A Christian feudal family named ‘Palsab’ used to dominate the village of Bussapur and the surrounding lands. Palsab family had also been the family that dominated other villages like Govindaraopeta, Chalvai, Dumpillagudem and Palsab palle. Pal sab family owned hundreds of acres of lands with pattas in these villages. The village ‘Palsab Palle’ is also named after the Palsab family. They owned most of the lands in these villages. Palsab’s younger brother was the ‘police patel’ to Bussapur village. Since twentieth century the Nizam state encouraged dominant upper caste peasants to bring barren lands and forest lands into cultivation under the ijara system and offered considerable economic and social incentives and previlages. This system made posiibel to the dominant upper caste peasants who brought one third of the village land into cultivation to get the paata of the whole village and administrative authority as police patel. To get this sort of highly beneficial positions the upper caste landlords and other peasants infiltrated into forest lands and evicted local Adivasis out of their own lands. (Bhukya, 2010). Peoples War group, the then Maoist party killed this police patel, because of his feudal domination and oppression of the people. Many Naxalite groups like Peoples War Group, Janashakti, Prathighatana, and Praja Pratighatana existed in this village as the surrounding by forests and hills provided them a conducive situation.

Jinuga Laxmamma recalls police Patel’s murder by Peoples War Group and the subsequent loss of lands by the Palsab family in the village, “It has been 24 years since he was killed. The police patel was killed the day after of my younger son’s marriage”. Palsab had three wives. Police patel married a woman from the Dakkali caste, who was already married and had one daughter and a son. Pal sab’s younger son also married a Dakkali woman. It was after the death of the police patel that they only distributed all the land. Pal sabs sold their lands out of fear of the Naxalites (Peoples War Group) who wanted to distribute those lands to the poor people. Most of the lands were purchased by people of the Reddy caste (Pasham Madhavareddy, Pasham Venkatreddy). They

ended up selling their lands for a very less price as they were in a hurry to sell it off. They even sold the house to some *Gouds*. “The men in this Palsab family have married women from every caste, except women from the washer and barber castes. They were Khasi Brahmins who had converted to Christianity” says Jinuga Laxmamma.

Palsab family sold their lands to Reddys for very less price. The lands given to tenancy were taken by tenants, who also got pattas to those lands. The family later filed cases against those tenants. Almost thirty acres of land is under dispute like this. The case is still in court. They now have a house in the nearby town of Mulugu, the present district headquarters. Some of the family stays in Hyderabad. One of the Palsab’s sons who died in Hyderabad, was brought here for his burial. Now they have just enough lands for their burial grounds.

Rajman-bhi also talks about the landlord’s legacy in the village, “they were the Doras in this village, they have sold all their lands now. Now no one holds more than 30-40 acres of land, as they used to before. They could even own up to fifty acres without selling”. And she continues to tell, “there was a family called Palsab, the entire village was owned by them. His sons sold off all the land. After the death of the landlords, their children sold off all the lands and it could not reach to the third generation”.

Rajman-bhi says that Doras fled the village out of the fear of the Naxalites. “In those days landlords fled the village in fear of Naxalites. ‘toppollu’ of Jangalapalli and Palsab family of our village; everyone fled to Hyderabad. That time they sold off their lands and settled in main centers of cities. They sold so much of their land here to get some land in the city, but now its value is in crores.” And she also explains how the landlords’ land was sold and how some of it was also occupied by villagers, “The neighboring landowners would give thousand to two thousand rupees each time and shift the boundaries of the plots of land. In this way they lost all the lands for two thousand, three thousand per acre. I remember they are sold an acre for 12,00. Naxalites distributed house plots. there used to be a lot of ruckus for that land also. Finally, ITDA officially purchased that land that the Naxalites had redistributed and retained to the occupants of the house plots.

Moulabi says this entire village belongs to them (Palsab). Jaheer Ahmad sir settled this village. Palsab had lands from this village to Chavai (the neighboring village three km away). No one even owned a gunta of land in this village. Everyone got land for free which originally belonged to the Palsab family, says Moulabi. “No one even owned a gunta of land here, this entire land is Palsab’s! Naxalites called him and asked him to distribute this land to the poor, of course he said he won’t. So, after his death Naxalites distributed some of the land. Then his sons sold away the rest of it”.

Pal Noble, Palsab family third generation member, runs a grocery shop in the village. He recounts “my family used to stay here, but they sold everything and left the village. They settled in Hyderabad and took up some or the other job. There is a village called Palsab palle, near Mulugu. We have lands there as well, but people have occupied all the land. My grandfather (Palsab) came here when he was not well. The people of Palsab palle village occupied our land, even though my grandfather never sold any of it. Here, in this village (Bussapur) we sold the land for just two thousand to five thousand per acre.”

Reddy Sammakka remembers that “there was the Palsab family in the village. After them Koyas and Nayakpodu’s were the only people staying in the village. Now Reddys have purchased all the lands of the Palsab’s family. All this land on the roadside was Palsab’s land. For the fear of Naxalites, they sold their land for a very low price, and left the village. These Kayas and Naykpodus also sold their lands which were far from the village, that is near the streamside. Reddys got even that land for a very less price. ST’s sold their land due to poverty, and so the Reddys were able to procure it for very cheap.

Junnu Iamma speaks about how they used to do agricultural labor work when they had come to village initially. “Venkat reddy and Madhavareddy (two big landlords in the village) purchased Palsab’s land only. Palsab owned hundreds of acres of land. Many people purchased it. Some by reddys and some by Gollas. Reddys purchased most of the lands. Three Golla families purchased a part of it, and the remaining was all bought by reddy families. 12 acres was purchased by three Goud brothers (Dheekonda

Sharif, Yakanna, and Sammanna). Madhavareddy has come from Jairram from Suryapeta. Palsab has two brothers, when they redistributed lands among themselves one got 'reguchettu mitta', One got 'mamidi thota' lands and another got 'police patel' land. They sold all their lands. They do not own lands anymore in the village. Rajendra pal staying in Hanamkonda. His two sons are engineers, do not know whether they got job or not their family is not here anymore. Police patel had one child and the daughter of his second wife. They stay in Hyderabad only. They have sold everything, and do not own any land. They used to own all the patta land here. Nobody else in the village other than the Palsab had patta titles. Reddys purchased all of Palsab's land and Rajireddy sir purchased 'mamidi thota' lands.

6.3 Emergence of Reddy landlords

6.3.1 Migration from outside:

More than half of the households are migrant families into the village. Agrarian relations among these migrated people are very interesting. Here, Reddy families are called Patels. Among the people who are migrating from village to cities are mainly SCs (for labor work) and Reddys (for jobs and business). The children of reddy landlords, who were migrated from different places, were settled in cities by doing jobs and business. Reddys who have migrated are not willing to stay in the village after a generation. When they migrated into the village, they had sold off their lands in their plain villages, which have now become towns with highways on their lands. Their land value has increased immensely due to the highways and real estate boom in the towns. Looking at the increased land rates Reddys are regretting selling those lands and coming here. Reddys and other BCs who used to stay in towns in the nearby district headquarters have come here to purchase lands as they can get more land for the same money. But the second generation is migrating to Hyderabad. 50-60 years back they have migrated here. People who migrated to the village as children have now become old. Only they are staying back in the village. Their children prefer to move out of the village to cities and towns.

6.3.2 Land from Adivasis:

When you ask what happened to their land, “our grandfathers had so much land. If any new person comes to the village, they would give their land away for free. The migrant Reddys started cultivating the land my grandfather gave them, they reaped benefits out of it and purchased all the remaining land of my grandfather. They grabbed all our lands with the help of the land which we had given to them for free out of goodwill.”. Initially there were only 20-30 families in the village. All the other families have migrated from outside. Even the place to stay also Nayakpodu and Dorla’s only gave it for free, some lands for nominal cost. Arigela’s wife interfered in between and continued “in those days these (ST) people did not have education. Old people when they get fever and other health issues, would sell their land for 20-30 rupees per acre as they thought land is not as important as their life. That is what those old people did. But now people (new generations) have become aware, they do not sell their lands. Naxalites used to say, tribals should take their lands back from the people who grabbed it illegally or at a very low cost. But these old people with so much self-respect say that ‘how can we chew what was once spit out.’ Tribals know that Reddys purchased their lands illegally for a very less price. But they never made it an issue because once they sold it, they could not ask back for it.

Some say that they sold their lands because they were scared of upper castes. She explains, “my uncle had two acres of land near Dumpilla Gudem. The neighboring landlord (Kamma) threatened to kill him as he thought he is hindering the access to the water for irrigation into the Kamma landlords’ field. My uncle got really scared that this Kamma fellow can kill him at any time and sold his land away”.

“As far as I recall there was only one Reddy house in the village in my childhood. He had seven sons and one daughter. He registered himself as a tribal in the government records. He did not claim his Reddy caste. His sons got lands equal to the tribes. Lachireddy was called Lachaiah and his son Rajireddy educated as Rajanna only. After completing SSC, he got a job under the tribal quota. Now he gets 40-45 thousand salary. Even though Rajireddy’s grandfather time they claimed tribal status, they are the first Reddy family in the village. After this many Reddys and Gouds have migrated from Suryapet and Nallagonda. “This village is located in a more interior part.

For all kinds of people, ones who married or the ones who eloped, good people or thieves, for everyone this village became a shelter.

The village doesn't completely fall in the forest, nor on the roadside it's in between. That's why for all kinds of people this village became a shelter zone. When they had first come, they had nothing but a small hut. Now they are building big big houses. They sold off their properties, they purchased tribal lands here." Tribals do not have much lands here. Who were patient enough not to sell their lands are left with just two acres of land! If they cultivate it, they get food otherwise there is no food. After Laknavaram tourism developed here land rates suddenly increased a lot. "land that didn't even sell for 15,000 rupees, are now being sold for 6-7 lakhs." There is a chance to build restaurants for the tourists. Madhavareddy who was business landlord has now entered the tourism business. He built a house with six rooms and is renting it out for tourists. One thousand rupees for just one day, but they do not even stay for an entire day.

6.3.3 Lands from Pal sab family:

After Palsab's death due to ill health and the killing of the police patel by the Naxalites, their lands were purchased by Reddys, who migrated into the village. Some lands are given to tenancy to Reddys, Gouds and other BC castes. Their entire family stays in Hyderabad but comes to the village to collect rent. Now the entire village economy is controlled by four Reddy families. Since the migration of the Reddys to other places, Gouds are trying to get hold of the village.

6.3.4 Reddy migrant farmers becoming input traders:

Here the main crop is paddy. And in the dry podu land people grow cotton, maize and other millets. Reddys are purchasing dry podu lands of STs and using motors from the canal to irrigate those lands. When the STs were cultivating this land they would grow cotton, maize and other dry crops. But Reddys used motors to get water from the canals and cultivated paddy in those lands. Niraanjan reddy, Madhavareddy, Venkatreddy and Rajireddy gave loans and fertilizers to the farmers and collected the

paddy from them and take all the expenses spent by them and give back whatever small amounts remains. Every farmer in this village is a 'Khatadar' of these investors. These business landlords have economic transactions with all the families in the village.

Rich farmers who get surplus in agriculture give money to these investors for input in the market business. Some people call it advance, where they would not get any interest rate but fertilizers, seeds and harvesters and purchase of their paddy. These businessmen have the responsibility of selling the paddy in the market. These investors don't pay any interest rate on these advances. Rich Reddy farmers give advances like this. If at any instance they had the debt to investors, they will not be charged any interest. There is a symbolic relationship between the rich farmers and landlord businessmen. These Reddy investors project that they are doing a favor to rich farmers who are also Reddys by caste by not taking any interest on the advance. They say that they are doing service to the rich farmers. Investor landlords do not harass rich farmers for debts or high interest rate. These rich farmers can decide how much interest to pay, whether to pay or not, or who to sell their produce among those from investor landlords only. Not to any trader from outside.

6.3.5 Rich farmers' solidarity to the investing landlords:

Avula Somireddy is a rich land farmer in the village. He explains his relationship with the investor landlords, "in my village three, four people started fertilizer shops. We purchase fertilizers here only. Even the Paddy we produce we sell to them only. If there is any difficulty, we give the paddy to these investors they get them to IKP centers. It depends on our feasibility. They do not force us to sell the paddy to them. They do not do that. If we are comfortable, we give it to them. Otherwise we take it to Warangal. In investment and interest on it also we have the same understanding with them. Big farmers keep some amount with the investors as an advance in the beginning of cultivation, when it comes to investment, we give some money for the fertilizers in the beginning. And the remaining transactions and accounts we settle in the end. We do not pay any interest on fertilizers. Why should I lie". Somireddy has caste, class solidarity with the investing landlords. That's why he speaks in support of their exploitation and extractions. So, he continues, "but if anyone could

not give advance, they have to pay rs.2 as interest. Even they (investors) must get it from somewhere, no! they get it from outside and invest here. Will they keep that much money in their homes!?” explains Somireddy. “This business works like that only we can’t say anything to them. They get lakhs of rupees from outside and invest here. Where would they get it? After-all, aren’t they investing it on us only, no! If we don’t pay back, how would they survive their business” he explains the investors ‘kindnesses’ to the farmers.

6.3.6 Poor Madiga tenant and Poor Reddy rentier:

Some people have committed suicide due to family problems. Dinga Savitramma’s son was habituated to alcohol and died because his wife left him and went to stay with her parents. She lost her son, and her daughter-in-law sold off all the land. Now Dinga Savitramma stays alone in the house. She has seven brothers who are well settled in the village. Still she lives on the rent collected from the two acres of land. This year she did not get her rent because the person who has taken her land for rent fled the village without paying her any money, is what she narrated. In order to make ends meet she has taken a loan from her nephew under the pretext of leasing her land to him in the next year. Her nephew gave her one quintal rice on which she would survive for the next six months. “My son has died due to alcohol when his wife did not turn up. My daughter-in-law sold away two acres of land and I am left with two more acres of land.” She had three acres of land at stream-side. Almost one acre is covered by sand. No one is there to clean the sand and prepare it for cultivation. That’s why she says she has only two acres of land. Even these two acres of land, she had it leased out to one landless Dalit man who could not make any profit out of it. So, he fled to Hyderabad for non-farm work without paying her any rent. “I leased out two acres of land, for which I would get six bags of paddy. Even that the Madiga fellow (Erra Venkateshu) did not pay me and fled the village. When will he come back and when will he pay me?

This is how people are cultivating lands getting benefits and running away from the village without paying any rent” she says. In this kind of situation business landlords play a key role. If Reddy businessmen purchase the paddy first, they would

cut the rent on behalf of the landowner and then pay the remaining amount. “Madhavareddy was a nice person. He would cut the rent first and give the remaining amount to the farmer. But this Madiga Venkateshu sold his paddy to Goundla Sambaiah. That fellow did not think to pay my rent first then give remaining amount to Venkateshu. He did not even think how this old woman will survive without rent”. She also says that she could not pay the house tax because she did not get the rent.

6.3.7 Caste solidarity of investment landlords to poor rentier:

Here it is important to observe the class character of Business landlords like Madhavareddy. Apart from their investments and high interests that they charge, they also collect landowners rent from tenants. After that only they pay the remaining amount back. This way they reveal their caste, class interest with the big landlords, and upper caste landowners who give their lands for tenancy. That’s why lower caste farmers especially tenants would face high indebtedness and are stuck in a vicious circle of the debt. Madiga Venkateshu who realized this, without selling his paddy to Reddy business landlords he sold it to Goundla Sambaiah and paid off his debts without paying the rent. This way he pretended to pay his rent postponed it every time and fled the village without paying it. This is a story of a poor landless Madiga tenant Venkateshu who had so many expectations from agriculture but failed to get good surplus due to illegal extractions from the landlords. Let’s hope he would get enough money in non-farm sector to pay his rent in the village. So, Dinga Savitramma says “I asked him to sell the paddy to Madhavareddy, he did not. Then I asked him to sell it to Rajireddy, my nephew, he did not. But he sold it to Goundla Sambaiah and paid off all his debt”. Now this old woman has taken a loan from her nephew, Rajireddy, for survival. “My brother’s son, Rajireddy, gave me quintal rice. I will give my land to him for Kharif season. After taking his debt he will give me the remains”.

This is her mother’s village. Dinga Savitramma was married off to Pedda Vangara (Charlapalem) village near Thorrur. Her in-laws sent them here because her husband was not working there. She has seven brothers in this village. They are all well settled, but she is in a poor condition. She is living off the rent of two acres of land. Initially, they used to stay in front of Narsimha Swami temple in the middle of the

village. But they later shifted to her mothers' street in the end of the village because they thought that the earlier place is not giving them good fortunes. They do not have a proper house even today. She is staying alone here because she would get the support of her brothers. One of her brothers went to Hyderabad, another brother had died. His children also stay in Hanamakonda. She shows another house on the roadside and told that in that house also one old woman stays alone like me. Now, that old woman has gone to her daughters' house. Her son, who lives in Hyderabad, came to the village recently to get the land pattta. The house is now lying abandoned.

6.3.8 Lease-out in the times of special occasions:

At the time of special occasions like marriages landowners lease out their lands to reach the increased expenses. Yedaveli Sammireddy leased out his land to meet his son's marriage expenses and he also thought he would not get enough time to look after the field. So, he says, "I leased out my land because of my son's marriage. I cultivate every year, both Kharif and Rabi. This year I had no option but to lease it out as I was occupied with the wedding and I needed the extra money as well. I leased it out to my cousin." Business landlord will not show any sympathy in the name of relationships, they collect their interest. Madhavareddy collected 2 rupees at Vasantha Daniel Pal who is the father of his daughter-in-law. Vasanthra Daniel Pal talks of increased cost of production. He says it would cost 20 thousand investment per acre. We have to use expensive pesticides that would cost at least a thousand rupees each time.

6.3.9 Difference between rich farming and tenant farming in the same caste group:

Like everyone else Yedavelli Sammireddy also gets investment, pesticides and fertilizers from his cousin Rajireddy. He narrates his experience, "I used to sell paddy to my cousin only. He would calculate the interest also. Two rupees per hundred rupees per month. Nobody cares for relationships, you can eat in my house, I will eat in your house, but business is treated as business." If you own any land and invest on your own, you can expect some surplus in farming, otherwise your entire surplus will be spent in paying the interest and the rent of the land. When I was talking Yedavelli

Sammireddy's (farmer) neighbor Pinninti Shyamsunder Reddy (tenant) also joined us. I started asking them about the benefits in agriculture;

Tenant farmer: After cutting everything they invest; they give us whatever little is the remaining amount. If it's not enough to cover their accounts that's it. Salute them and come back.

Landowning farmer, interjects in between and says

Landowning farmer: nothing like that! We have own land, no! I would easily get a minimum 40 thousand in return.

Tenant farmer: Farmer who owns the lands gets a surplus. What does the tenant farmer get!? Nothing.

These two farmers have different perspective on agriculture and business landlords. Sometimes it contradicts. Pinninti Shamsunder Reddy talks about difference between new business landlord who is a BC and the old Reddy business landlords, "he (Sambaih) gives investment, fertilizers and pesticides but will not give money for other non-economical purposes. Reddys' would give money whenever it was needed, even for personal problems". But there is no difference in exploitation, "he also collects two rupees interest for total five months. He also calculates the interest from beginning to end. We got fertilizers recently, just before harvesting, on top of that we had to pay the interest for the entire five months. That's how they are becoming big and wealthy" he elaborates upon the landlord's exploitation. "The account for five months, total the amount just to confuse the farmer. They do not give any detailed accounts of the cost. They total everything into one amount and deduct their amount. If you get any surplus remaining amount they give. Otherwise you will be indebted to them. That's it! They have been doing this to me for thirty years" he says.

When Pinninti Shaymsunder Reddy questioned this exploitation he narrates that, "they simply say 'you don't come!'. He continued to insist for an answer, "why are you charging so much interest. In the recent harvest also, you have charged interest from the beginning that is for five months. And their reply was a plain, what! Are we not charging everyone the same? Then you don't come, go! Get your money from

somewhere else, if anyone is ready to buy from you.” He had no other way to get money, “that’s the *strablem* (problem)” he says. “we have no one from outside to give money. What is there in the village, nothing? Nothing will come from outside. No one else come from outside to the village. Not even to purchase the paddy. These Reddy businessmen only threaten them not to come. That’s’ it! They stop everything outside the village and go away” he explains. There is exploitation in deciding the price of the produce as well. “Whatever we produce they are the ones who decide the rate.

The four families have the monopoly over the rates. no one can change that”. If anyone knows the market rate and questions them, they retort by saying that “then you take your product to the market only. How much do you think you will spend in transportation?”. “This is how they shut us up. To Chalcvai, which is three kilometers away, to village they reduce 50 rupees price. Will it cost 50 rupees per bag for three km? If I produce 30 quintals, I must lose total 15 thousand rupees. And this interest, even to pesticides they charge a high interest rate. Outside the village the rate is something else, here it is something else. If you question them, they ask you to go out and purchase. Are we getting it for free? Are we not paying them the cash beforehand? They say many things; they found all the possibilities to extract money from farmers. So that farmers would not get anything back” he expressed helplessly.

“In addition, if you have to pay the rent as well, the only thing you earn in the end is debt. Farmers work so hard to produce a good harvest, and these businessmen thrive on that. We have ended up working for them only. That is what our life has come to. That is why we are not getting any benefit from agriculture”. Shamsunder Reddy explains the real reason for farmer’s distress in the village. He points at his old house and says that they have been staying in that shed for the past thirty years. This hut is the only thing that they own. We couldn’t remove and build some new house. he says, “That’s why farming is the most unfruitful work. Everyone else is better off than the farmer.”

Six-seven harvesters have come to the village. They charge 1800 rupees per hour. These harvesters have to pay commission to businessmen for allowing them to

cut the paddy and on the other hand even the farmers have to pay the commission to the businessmen, for the service of arranging for these harvesters. Technically, both the commissions farmer has to pay. In Kharif ten harvesters come to the village. “If not agriculture, we cannot do any other work that’s why we are still doing it. Even my children cannot do the agriculture. I only tell them agriculture work can be an alternative source of income along with whatever you are doing now. So, better learn this. My son keeps his auto at house and goes to the paddy field. If you only depend on auto how it will work. I’m slowly habituating them to agriculture. Now they know all the work in the field” he explains about how he is teaching agriculture to his children.

6.3.10 Problems in agriculture:

When this interview was going on with Arigela Pedda Sammaiah, one Goud (Chintha Bixapathy) and a home guard (Raju) come in and join the discussion. Chintha Bixapathy started talking about migration and agriculture. “It is when people face some difficulties, they move out of the village in a hope they would earn some money to get out of difficulties.” on the issue of agriculture he says, “agriculture has all kinds of difficulties. You will face highs and lows. Only someone who is stubborn enough to face anything can do agriculture. Agriculture will not work for people who cannot survive without going to *coolis*. It needs a lot of time and monetary investment. All kinds of investments are needed. If you do not have proper pesticides, all the work can go waste. But the reward of all this hard work in farming is that you will get all the income at once. Though the money appears and disappears in the same way, in one go. Because you can get a big amount of money in one go after the harvest, people feel some assurance about pursuing agriculture. Farmers who do not waste so much money on unnecessary things only can see some profit.” He continued to explain his situation, “I have seven acres. I have to work every day. I earn to survive. I always think, why should I go and work in someone else’s field where I will have to take all kinds of humiliation and abuses. It’s better to depend on yourself.”

Avula Somireddy explains who would benefit from agriculture and how. “The thing about getting any profit in farming is that only those who do not have other expenses they do well in agriculture! And whose income is less, expenses are high and

who have less land they will face difficult. If someone owns 5-6 acres of land, and if they manage to produce 30-35 quintals, he will get good profit. At least 15 thousand for acre, but not more than that”.

6.3.11 Family conflicts and economic consequences:

Family conflicts, especially between fathers and sons, has many economic consequences. Home guard Raju asked Bixapathy Goud why Raju (Gouds Son) isn't to be seen anywhere these days. Goud says, “I sent him to Hanamakonda, if he is here, he drinks too much and roams around with women”. Immediately the two of the others asked him, with whose money does he do all this. Goud replies “Where else would he get the money; I am the one who puts food in his mouth and he beats me up. He hit me on my hand, it's been paining too much to work.” His son got married recently. Goud feels sorry for that girl who loves him and married him but is still not happy with his attitude that hasn't changed. “It was fine that he was roaming around freely before marriage but now I got him married and built a new house for him as well, the house is already costing me too much. He doesn't even care for the girl he married; he doesn't even meet her. She keeps crying every day. I'm going mad with worry. Who should I tell all this?” Home guard poked him again and asked if his son is sleeping with his wife or not? The Goud gets angry and says, “where is he sleeping that's the problem. He is sleeping with all the bitches in the village by spending a lot of money on them but not with the girl who married him. First you should make a happy life with your wife and then go wherever you want. He is sleeping with her whenever he wants. That's not fair, no!”.

Arigela Pedda Sammaiah intervenes and says, “he has ruined the girl's life by marrying her”. Goud catches it and explains, “him!? It doesn't matter anymore that he is my son. I will make him pay for his misconduct with the girl. I will complain to the Naxalites. I ask them to break all his bones. And marry off the girl to someone else. It should be in the history that a father got his son killed and married off his daughter-in-law to someone else. People should remember it forever. Pedda Sammaiah rebukes him in an angry tone and says that for the sake of saying we can say anything but then again, we must think of our own son. He was recounting the situation with his own son.

Pedda Sammaih also had a fight with his son and broke his leg in the fight. That very same day his son was being discharged from the hospital and it had cost him a lot of money. Knowing that his son had come back from the hospital people had gathered over there where the conversation was going on. With Bixapthy Goud's discussion he gets disturbed again and is lost into deep thought. He tells his story a bit later on.

As Goud's discussion is coming to an end, the home guard Raju asked the Goud about his plans of purchasing a tractor. "I will buy it. It's not a big thing to purchase, we should be able to maintain it properly and also be able to pay the finances back. Home guard again mentions of his son's duty to maintain the tractor. Goud recounts another story of his son, "he!? He is sleeping idle in the house. I purchased a TATA a/c believing that he would run it properly and earn money. He kept it at home and continues roaming around. I paid three lakhs for it. We could not even pay the interest of the finances yet. Finally, in six months I had to sell it away for one lakh fifty thousand. If we had run it properly, we could have made a good profit. He never ran the vehicle when I asked him to he just kept taking it where he likes. You should run it where you get a profit, not where you are interested. If your earning money which is just enough to get diesel price what is the benefit. He earned 30,000 rupees in six months on the vehicle which was not even sufficient to pay its interest. Moreover, if he works on the vehicle the entire day, he would make me do all the work at home. Whenever he has work on vehicle, he assigns me with lot of other work. As early as I get up, he asks me to clean the cow dung in the shed and chase me to paddy field. I must spray the pesticides myself. It's a heavy pump I must raise it alone and spray it. I myself have to graze the cattle. I must climb the toddy trees. It's me who must pay all the expenses for household purpose. What not!? I must do everything myself. I do all the work. At the end his mother gives him boiled eggs every day. I get angry at my wife and scold her, "bitch, your giving plain rice to me, who is working all day under the sun. And you are feeding eggs to your son who is doing nothing but roaming idle." There is no justice in the society he says. The people who work hard get nothing, but who doesn't do anything gets everything. He gives the example of his son. That's the moral of the life he claims. I'm staying calm because, people should not think that I do

not love my son. Amidst all this if I get any leisure time I stich ‘pardhas’, which are used for drying paddy after harvesting.

Later he started explaining a quarrel with his son, “It was just 12noon. Ten people were sitting to drink alcohol and to play cards. I went there to ask him whether this is the time to drink. Aren’t you supposed to be at work at this time instead of gambling and drinking? He reached me in anger and twisted my hand. It’s paining a lot now. I have applied all kinds of medicines but could not get away with the pain. I have tried even *jeedi* (the local medicinal seeds) also. I can’t climb the toddy trees now. My hand is shivering and paining a lot.” After hearing this, Arigela Pedda Sammaiah started explaining the fight with his son, as a result of which he was hospitalized for 16 days, costing him almost 20,000 rupees.

In fact, he was discharged on that particular day only. He was still on the bed. He started explaining to the people who have come to see him, “my granddaughter got fever and talking in the sleep. I went to local sorcerer in anticipation that she was occupied by evil spirit. I worked in the Madhavareddy’s field till the evening. Came home and took bath as early as possible. In my mind I was only thinking of the sorcerer’s words that my granddaughter was occupied by evil spirit. I went to throw an enchanted egg to the evil spirit which was given by sorcerer. It was 7.30 at night. On Bommarevy side there is Rajendra Kirana shop and Srinu’s kirana shop. Many people were sitting there. So, I took 90ml alcohol, kept the egg in my pocket and went to the other side. Secretly, I went out of the village, threw them there and came back.” SO, he was apparently drunk on the day when fight took place with his son. And started explaining the chronology of incidents on the day of the fight. “Day before yesterday my son and some other guy went for hunting. They got two comodo dragons. They sold one of them and shared the other. Origela Sammaiah gave me a tortoise to eat. I have boiled that tortoise, cut it into pieces and my wife cooked it. Comodo dragons and tortoise curry both were ready. In the morning when I searched for tortoise curry, I did not find it. The Comodo’s curry was cooked first. So, there was not enough oil in the tortoise curry. By the evening it got spoiled when I found it. I sat in front the oven and

started scolding my wife for not putting enough oil in the curry and keeping it in a place where I could not find it.

My son got angry for blaming and scolding his mother for everything. He came from the back and kicked me. My wife also supported him and instigated him to beat me up. He hit me on my ear, the blood flowed down. I hit him with a stick. My wife took another stick and hit me on the back. Then mother and son both attacked me at once and beat me up like hell.” He says it was an unnecessary issue to be fought over. And it cost him a so much of his working days and money. “First she cooked Comodo curry and put all the oil in it. For tortoise curry there is no oil at all, water content increased at a bad level. It was spoiled by the evening. All day I worked in the field, got drunk a bit. And sat at oven by scolding my wife. My house is not even two portions. In the morning I searched for the curry a lot, I could not find it only. Now because of this fight I cannot wake up for two months.

Almost twelve thousand rupees I spent for hospital. What is it for!? Unnecessary issue. Nothing has come out of it. I knew the fight could not fill my stomach.” So, the Goud asked him before he says anything, “how much is the debt now. Go and work for someone whom you trust and pay your debts. Eat good food. Don’t depend on others. Don’t go to your son and get beaten up and blamed for it. You earned nothing; neither did they earn anything. With unnecessary family issues you lost so much.” Then he says, “we only feed them. We only get beaten up by them. That is the fate of our life”. Again, he asks, “you are working for Madhavareddy, no!? you spent a lot on your health, did he help you with anything”? Sammaiah answers in a low tone, “no, he did not. I only ask for help when it is necessary. If we have money in our hand, we spent unnecessarily”. As the Goud was not convinced with the answer, he got irritated and asked him again, “did he help you or not?” But Sammaiah replied the same, “no, he did not, but I also did not ask for anything.”

6.3.12 Superstitions and economic consequences:

He explains how toddy fruits got wasted in the village. “palmyra fruits are overripened. People in the village did not give fruits to god this year. They should be

given to god first when they are ripened. Then only people can eat. As they have not given it to god nobody asked the villagers for palmyra fruits, to eat. The fruits got overripened. It was matter of five coconuts which might cost hundred rupees. Everyone could eat after the ritual. Once people know that toddy fruits are not given to god, no one asked for it.”

6.4 The New Businessman in the Village:

Kanne Sambaiah, who belongs to Goud community, entered this paddy business. He is the only ‘other’ person to the Reddy’s who also had family history of doing of this business. He explains how and why he entered this business. “We have to attract farmers, buy their paddy and sell it in the market. That is business,” he says. Others (Reddy’s) used to sell pesticides and fertilizers without any license. “As I’m going against them, I thought I will be harassed by the government officials. That’s why I got the license for my shop. If you have a shop, that means you have big business. Farmers can directly come home,” he explains. As of now he had 12 farmers with 50 acres of land under his business. For this he provides capital, pesticides, fertilizers everything. There are 5 shops like this one. He started this business recently. Pasham Niranjan Reddy has 300 acres of farming land like this.

Jeevan Reddy started this business 3 years back. This Goud started it in this year only. He explains kind of struggle/pressure he is going through, because he is new to this business against them and he is not Reddy. “I’m feeling too much pressure. They already sent one load each and they have so much paddy to send to the market. Mine is just four loads in total. They are sending their second loads. They are not letting my grain (paddy) go to the market. I asked the *hamali* men to put my load, but they are working for Jeevan Reddy now. He (Jeevan Reddy) is not helping me. I’m begging him every day. Ohh! Lot of pressure. Anyway, they are here from the beginning. That too they are from the same family. Pasham Madhavareddy, Srinivasareddy, Jeevanreddy are three brothers and Yedavelly Rajireddy is their brother-in-law. They are all family. I’m the only outsider and that too from Goud community.

When you ask him whether he could withstand this pressure and sustain in the business, he says, “I will run this for sure. If I cannot deal with the things, I will call my son-in-law into this. But I won’t give it up. How can I survive if I cannot face this pressure! I entered this business as a competition for them. So, I won’t run away in fear of them.” In order to understand more deeply, why he wanted to enter this business as a competition to them and where it started, I asked him whether it is profit which pulled him into this business or he just wanted to challenge their family monopoly in the business. He started the story, “I used to lease the pardhas to farmers and I would earn 20-30 thousand for season with that. Those pardhas are my own. They started getting pardhas from somewhere else for 2 rupees commission and started doing business with pardhas also. I asked them not to ruin my business. I gave each of them my pardhas cost 5000 rupees for free of cost. I requested them not to get pardhas from outside. I begged every one of them not to get into business. When you request one, the other would get pardhas from outside. I was tired of these people. This went on for two-three years.

Finally, I have concluded that Pardhas is small business comparing with theirs. As I’m from the same village they could leave me with my own business. But why they are getting pardhas from outside that too for 2 rupees commission. It was farmers who had to pay that 2 rupees also. If they got their own pardhas into business that is fine, but they are getting it from outside for commission just to ruin my business. Then I decided to enter their business. I knew the business is not like the old days. There were days where these Reddys purchased a bag of paddy for 100 rupees and sold it for 500 rupees in the market. Now everyone knows the government rate, and seed rate. Now a days no one can deceive farmers. Even a small kid can tell you the IKP rate of 1001 type paddy as 1550 rupees. And anyone can tell you the rate of sonamasoori paddy as 1990 rupees. Seed rate is 1800. So, we have to purchase as per the market rate. There is nothing to deceive now. I was ready for everything and started this”.

He also explains the difference between the old Reddy landlord businessmen and him, “we got harvesters for the commission. They are cutting the paddy for 1800. I’m charging the farmers only 1700, hundred rupees less than them. Harvesters give

200 commission for acre to the businessmen. In the beginning itself I told them 100 rupees is enough for me. If the Reddys cut the paddy for 500 rupees I can charge the farmers only 400 rupees. I don't want to become big with the farmers money. My two daughters got married. I have enough money to survive. I'm not doing this business for profit. They altogether worked against me, why shouldn't I. I also have money to do business like them. I know many people who can lend me money for the business. Can't I invest some money for this business? with this idea only I got into this business.

It's not the profit motive which lead me into this." Even though he is charging lesser than the Reddys, the farmers could not come out from them. Because they could not pay their earlier debts. "Not even ten farmers are coming to me. It's becoming difficult for them. This year three-four farmers will come. Farmers are tired of them. They are rooted in for thirty years. It's not that easy to face them." This Goud businessman also used to sell his paddy to these Reddy businessmen only. "I'm also a client for him. I'm also a farmer with ten acres of land, they used to get benefited from me and turned against me. Suppose, if they rent 5 thousand pardhas, they would get ten thousand rupees as per the two rupees commission. I'm a ten-acre land farmer. Even if they get 2000 rupees per acre, they would get 20 thousand from me. Which one is better, pardhas or farmer!? When they decided to oppose me, they did not even consider their profit. That infuriated me a lot. So, I started the business against them."

When we ask him, why he hasn't questioned the exploitation of the Reddy businessmen while he was a farmer. "They used to charge too much. But we wouldn't question them. Am I the only one in the village? Why doesn't anyone else question them. So, we did not ask anything. Now if they charge thousand, I made it 900 rupees. Some works have same rates. We can compromise on commissions, but tractor rates are similar. We are facing difficulty due to high diesel rates. I got one for the harvester on rent. They got five. If they use it for 50 hours, I can use it for ten hours. If I charge 100 rupees less, I just lost 1000 rupees only but they lose 5000 rupees."

They are in the business for the thirty years, they will have more network in the market than him, who just entered market this year only. He says, "if they know one *seth* (Adthishop owner), I'm acquainted with five. They could not pass their seed to the

mills. But I'm sending 400 bags to the seed mills. For ten years they are with single person, but in one year I worked with ten people. It's enough if you can wish them, namaste sir, and sit with them to talk for five minutes". He digs out the feudal character of Reddy's in the market. He says that these Reddy's feel that they are above all. They expect everyone to come to them, that's why they could not get introduced to a lot of businessmen (*seths*) in their thirty years. But this Goud who was also a farmer and has seen much humiliation and exploitation do not hesitate to wish the *seths* in the market. That made his entry easy into bigger networking groups. He further says, "I feel farmers benefit at least hundred rupees, due to this competition. The Reddys should not benefit, neither I, farmers should get the benefit of our competition. They have exploited farmers for so many years. At least now they should serve them", he curses the Reddys.

He says they cannot face him but try to hit him from the back, "they cannot do anything to me. I don't listen to them at all. They charge 150-200 rupees extra per liter pesticides, I take only 10 rupees. I will get 200 rupees if I sell 10 liters, that's enough for me. We are just sitting and selling, compared to a farmer's work its nothing. I will do my agriculture and I will do my own work. I expect profit out of my own farm not others."

He shows difference in interest rates also, "they charge five months for everything. I'm charging only for three months. Total crop period is six months, on an average I charge for three months. That also they charge 2.50-3 rupees, while I charge only 2 rupees interest. Many farmers are scared to come out of their hands. Otherwise my business would have grown much more. For thirty years farmers have been stuck in there. Some farmers are stuck because they could not pay their debts. But some rich farmers (*Asamis*) also are stuck because they have given them loans for the business. They could not get their money back from these business landlords. These Reddy businessmen had done so many mistakes. They are in lot of debts now. They have exploited farmers so much, but they are in debt now. Even after one year of my business, I had what I had earlier, I'm not in debts. But they had so many bad habits.

They had spent a lot on food, drinking and on women. They spent a lot on luxury and lost so much in unproductive activities.”

Meanwhile he got a call from someone. The conversation goes like this.

Goud: Yes, Munnu!

Munnu: Uncle ji! What happened?

Goud: These hamali people asked me 1000 rupees for drinking. I gave them, but they are still working for Rajireddy sir only.

Munnu: Didn't I tell you!? Only powerful people get things done, not the weaker one's like us.

Goud: What to do... he has the power what to do. Wait today, we will do it tomorrow.

Munnu: I'm warning you from the beginning; No, uncle they are making up stories with you. I don't think it will happen tomorrow also.

Goud: If they don't get it done even tomorrow, we will try for something else.

Munnu: Didn't I say that they are conspiring against you.

Goud: Jeevan Reddy is saying that, “my batch (*hamali*) is working now. Your batch is not there.” I said that “if I knew my batch is different, I could have got my own batch to weigh my paddy and load it. You should have told me in the beginning itself that you will not send *hamali* to weigh my paddy. From the beginning you told me that you will send *hamali* for me also, now you are behaving indifferent. The *mestri* Kandela Ramaiah is there. I asked him that he is also a *mestri* why can't he get some men and work for me. He was saying, he is alone now, he has no men with him to work.” It's okay. It's about one day work. We will do it tomorrow. What to do!?

Munnu: They are conspiring to do this from the monsoon itself. I'm getting to know in bits and pieces. After completing their work only, they want to send *hamali* for your work. Even the labors are also supporting them it seems.

Goud: That's what! They have power they rule the kingdom now.

Munnu: When asked you in the morning, you said that they are doing it in the evening.

Goud: I asked them in the morning only. That's what they also told me. I gave them 1000 rupees also, when they asked me. I thought they will do it in the evening as they have promised. That's why I asked you to get ready by the evening.

Munnu: We are giving money whenever they ask. What happened then!?

Goud: Now, they are saying sweetly that "mama, except you no one give money properly". It's okay we will see. We will wait for today. If they do not weigh tomorrow, we will think of alternatives. Okay!?

Munnu: Okay!

The Goud continues, "four hundred bags of seeds, two hundred bags of grain has to be sent to IKP for the market. They are postponing it for last four days. These Reddy businessmen says, there are no *hamali* to weigh my seed and paddy bags and to load it the lorries. These *hamali* asked me for money and I gave. Now they are saying that they are busy, and they want me to arrange lights so that they will do it at night. At night no one can see anything. How can a farmer agree to weigh and load his paddy at night?" He gives a big sigh. He is finding it difficult to load his bag and send it to the market. These Reddys are creating hurdles to him. He explains the same, "I'm facing some issues in with these businessmen. Whatever it is, I don't go to them and beg for help. They also need me somewhere and they know it. I don't want to fall in front of them, I will stand like this. Let's see." He continues, "in this village all the rich farmers belong to Reddys, they have some caste feeling and I'm a lower caste to them. They don't want to come to me for any help. They are hesitant to come to Goud and ask for investment, or for help in any need. They don't want to open their hands to a lower caste fellow like me." He also explains how it is beneficial/comfortable to big farmers and Reddy farmers if they come to him- "if they go to these Reddys the rate is fixed for everyone. No one bargains with them. They will be scared to alter the rate. I told many big farmers that if they get difference in rates, they can ask me without fear and hesitation. I'm a lower caste and a small farmer to you, you can ask me even if there is a ten rupees difference. I'm smaller than you, you can ask me. He is bigger than you, you will not dare to question him," he explained this to many rich Reddy farmers.

He gives examples of incidents of utter exploitation, “morning one Reddy woman came to me. She said, her 110 quintals of paddy are sent to IKP center. I asked her whether they are small bags or big ones. She replied that they are big bags. So, I asked her who will send the big bags to IKP center. Who told you this? I questioned her. She replied that the Reddy said they are sending it to rice mill. Who will take *rabi* paddy in mills? As it is too tender, the rice will be broken. Who told you this, I enquired? They sent for seed for sure. Per quintal they will get 120 rupees extra for seeds. It’s very clear. Only small bags will go to IKP center. Big bags, no one buys in the mills. So, they sent it to seed. Farmer already paying 30 rupees commission for sending their paddy to the market. Isn’t that enough. Do you need to steal hundred more rupees from the farmer? They get total 130 rupees commission from the farmer. I explained it to her clearly. This is how business happens. They stole her 11,000 rupees,” he calculated it. When we asked him, what If the businessmen come to know that he is telling farmers about the exploitation? He replied- “let them know,” he says. Would they come to me and ask? If they ask, I will accept it. I will also ask them whether they are deceiving farmers or not. They should come to me and ask me if there is no fault from their side. If they ask me, I will also ask them whether that is true or not. Does anyone send their *rabi* paddy to the rice mills? We both know that; you send them for seeds. I will reveal it in front of everyone.

Paddy, cotton, maize and ground nuts are the main crops in the village. Till now no one got the license for the fertilizer shops. This Goud has taken it for the first time. He explains the reasons, “no one has license in the village to sell the fertilizers. Why I took the license is because they are big people. For ages they have been rooted in this business. Now I’m going against their will. We don’t know from which side they can attack me and hit me to the ground. That’s why I wanted my business to be official. Even before I entered the business, I got the license. Once I got the license, I have advertised it on the roads with big open boards. They can see ‘Krupa’ fertilizer boards openly everywhere. They never had guts to advertise their shops or business because they did not have license. One year after me they got their licenses. To take license you need to show a B.Sc. (agriculture) certificate. I managed to get it from a Goud student” he proudly says it. He also had another plan to take fertilizer dealership. If one person

takes this dealership no one else should run another fertilizer. They all should come to him. But he needed 10 lakhs for that.

He thought if he gets the dealership, then all the Reddys should come to him for the fertilizers and pesticides. This village needed 5-6 fertilizer shops. They are trading almost 60-70 lakhs fertilizers for the year. So, taking a dealership would not be a bad idea. If you pay ten lakhs first, for the remaining, they give it on loan. He explains another kind of exploitation in this business. After purchasing the paddy from the farmers these Reddy businessmen delay the final payment to the farmers. “They get the paddy. Within one week they get the money from the IKP center. But these businessmen use this money for their own needs and pay the farmers after months. I pay the farmers on the tenth day itself. Few farmers did not even get their money for the *Kharif* also. Two-three farmers, who used to give them paddy came to me this time, as they were not paying money in time.

6. 5 Bonded Labor

There is bonded labor in the village. Bairi Devender belongs to Goud community is one of them. He explains what kind of work he does every day, “I cut the unnecessary grown grass and keep the paddy field clean. Apply the fertilizers and pesticides to the paddy. I do all the agriculture work.” He is tired of doing this bonded labor for years. And fears that he will die soon if he continues to do this kind of work for few more years. “I will do my own agriculture. I don’t want to work for him anymore. If I work for him, I will die. If I work like this in this kind of hot weather. (He was eating his breakfast in the noon) I have come just now for the morning breakfast. I have no other way. It’s compulsory now to work for him. They give a lot of work; you would cry and die in this hot weather. Just now I got permission to eat my breakfast, at noon. Even before he gave me permission to eat, he was warning me to come back soon as the tractor with paddy might reach soon.” So, he must run back now. His landlord will leave him at 6-6.30 pm in the evening. If it rains, they must put the grain into bags, and it becomes ten o’ clock.

There are almost 10-15 people like this, who work for landlords as bonded labors. They get six thousand per month. Bairi Devender explains the conditions which led him to work as a bonded labor, “I thought of doing agriculture and entered. These Reddys plough the fields with their own tractors, provide investments, fertilizers, pesticides everything, what not! I gave my entire paddy to him, but he said I am at loss. To repay that loan I became bonded labor to him only. All of us have the similar story to tell. Nothing more than that. My old house is a down to the road. I wanted to build a new house as I expected to get a KCR’s double bedroom house. My house was in the down to the road, so I had to level it. Srinivasa Reddy supplied the mud with his own tractor to earthen the flat. To pay that debt only I have become bonded labor now. I have to work for two more months (He already worked for one month).” But he cannot work for them as the harvesting season is over there will not be agricultural work. And there won’t be any labor scarcity. These labors will be used when there is a scarcity of labors and then the bonded labors will be paid lesser and forced to work double than a daily wage labor. So, whenever their work is high, in those months only they ask us to work.

He says, “this month there will not be much work in the field. Now they don’t want me to work for them. They will inform me when I can get back to work, may be in the monsoon season again. Again, the paddy season will start in the monsoon. Then, they will ask me to come for agriculture work. after their debt is repaid, they will give money day by day, but the work is same as the earlier. Earlier I used to climb the toddy trees, now I can’t do that anymore as I’m stuck here as a bonded labor.” He gives some more names of the people who also work as bonded labors in the village. “Me, Thashir, Polepaka Sampath continuously work as bonded labors. Sampath works for Yerra Sammireddy, Thasir works for his own brother.”

“They stop us after this harvesting is done. Again, they ask us to work is the monsoon season to start paddy cultivation again. My father’s health was not good, he got bumps in his stomach. He got operated. We pawned our land for the hospital expenditure. At the end we surrendered our land as we could not pay the debt. We lost all the land. We used some of that money for our sister’s marriage.”

He also reported that Sampath and Thashir are working as bonded labors since their childhood. They cannot repay their debts even if they die. We are working for them on a debt we have already made. To survive we must get the money from them only. To pay that debt we must work for more days, and this continues as a circle. Like this we are ending up as bonded labors only. I don't think we can ever get out of this cycle. They charge huge interest on our debts. We have to pay 2.50-3 rupees monthly interest per hundred rupees. If you want to take the money from outside, they are asking 5 rupees per hundred. On the day *chitti* also they are asking 10 rupees interest. So, we are getting money from landlords and getting 500-1000 rupees for survival from them only. As we could not repay them, we are stuck here as bonded labors. Very pathetic situation. I'm losing my bones in this work."

He is completely depressed by the village's situation, "what is there in the village?" he continues, Once I pay my debt I'm planning to go to Hyderabad. I don't know anyone there. But I will ask people who are going there for the work. the people who goes to city says that they could earn a little. And they only say that we can't do that work and cannot pay those room rents. We cannot survive there, they say. People who are not married can manage to earn there. If you have children where will you send them for school. Here, at least we have government school."

The roadside flats are given to STs by the government. They sold their flats to the non-tribal as they are alcoholic. Here in this village Gouds, Golla (two families are rich), SC and STs they have nothing in the village. Devender says, he gets averted to see this village. The rich only made another rich, richer. And nothing is there for the poor in this village. "Now we are doing agriculture. Reddy businessmen/ landlords provide investment, they only give rice for the families to eat. They get all the paddy in the end; we barely get anything back if not the debt. At the end if you are indebted to them, you will become bonded labor to them (the Reddy business landlords). Initially, we get excited to do agriculture by thinking that we could manage to get something in return. But at the end they can make us indebted to them, the landlords. We cannot go to anyone else to get money. They don't allow you. They will threaten you not to go anywhere else for money. It's all shit. Instead of agriculture if you go to *coolli* you

would get 300 rupees per day. You work anywhere else you get 300 rupees at least. On the Lakhnawar tank work they are giving 350 rupees per day for men. But we are stuck in this bonded labor. We cannot leave this and go for some other work. they don't let you go anywhere else but work for them. This reminds me of my grandfather's time of Nizam, where they had to work for *vetti*. Still the people in this area are mindless sheep. If the you assert against them, they ask you to pay the money immediately. Pay my money and get out of my place, they say. "I have work for you, so do it for me only, why do you have to go somewhere else?" They threaten you like this. It won't end like this; you have to work for them for the lifetime.

Sometimes we tried to bargain for the wage increase. We asked them that outside people are getting 350 rupees per day at least you give us 250 rupees per day. Their logic is that they gave money much before we worked for them, but others will give you money after work. We are dying in this work. I worked for two months, I will work for one more month then I can leave this work", he says as if it was his choice work or leave. He still anticipates that he could get out of this bonding with the landlords.

Many youths in the village who used to work as bonded labors, now learned to drive tractors. Now there are 10-15 tractors in the village. There is a scarcity of drivers here. Drivers would get 10-15 thousand per month in the peak seasons. Now these landlords don't teach driving to anyone else in the village. Bairi Devender explains this, "if I wanted to learn driving, they don't teach us now. The people who learned to drive are not caring these landlords. They are in demand now. That's why they are not teaching driving to anyone else. They are driving their own tractors; they are not depending on anyone else. That's how lives became." When govt said they are giving double bedroom houses, I have leveled my flat to the road, as it was down to the road. Till now we did not get anything.

Now I'm regretting that I have unnecessarily did this. I thought that when the government is coming forward to build a house it's our moral responsibly to ready the flat for it. Forget of getting any house from the government, I became a bonded labor.

And I am dying in this to pay my debts.” He got up to work as it was getting late, “I will go now. Otherwise he will jump on me again. He will scold me that I have taken so much time to eat. He would say, “look! We ate long back and waiting for you.” Aren’t we different than them? They get everything ready to eat. But that’s not my life. Sometimes I would not even get anything to eat at home. When you are weak that’s how they behave. They will exploit you to the death.”

Arigela Peddasammaih (STs) is working as an attached labor to Madhavareddy. When Madhavareddy migrated to village Pedda Sammaih’s father had given them the land for free to not just stay in the village but also for farming. Now his son working as an attached labor to Madhavareddy. He is cleaning tourists’ cars every day, apart from all the other work. He is so happy that tourists give him hundred rupees to clean their car. “I do not feel like taking that money. In half an hour I would clean two cars, they give two hundred. If I do not take, they force me to take it. I feel hundred is enough for my work and think of giving back hundred rupees to them” says Pedda Sammaih. He has to do all kinds of work for Madhavareddy “I don’t have any work at home. I look after the paddy field, the motor, I check the water for the field and get the fodder for the buffaloes. In this village my situation is better than any other attached labor. I earn six thousand rupees. He does not allow me into his home. I get two meals and tea that they serve me there. If I had any extra work Madhavareddy offers me alcohol (ninety) as well. If rice and chicken is cooked for the tourists, and anything is leftover, I get to take it home” he explains how he thinks his life is better than others. When asked about his salary, he is hesitant to reveal and murmurs that its just 2-3 thousand, then continues insisting that he is better than the other workers. He is satisfied by comparing his life to other workers, but he is actually not happy and satisfied with his work.

6.6 Naxalite movement in the village:

Pushpakka worked as an MPTC in this village. She says this is all scheduled tribe area. That time, when I contested, that post came under general category. I contested as an independent candidate. There were four people in the competition. Wherever there was problem I would take initiative to solve it. That’s why people voted me and elected me as MPTC. I did not even spend a single rupee. The people

who had contested against me belonged to all the mainstream political parties and spent a lot on election. For election campaign they would go in big numbers with a celebration like environment. I have campaigned alone, but people elected me only. I could have won the next election also. But police filed case against me, so that I could not file nomination. What do you think!? Whoever gets the power and rule can do anything. They stopped me from filing my nomination. I used to work for a Naxalite party, Pratighatana. So, police detained me, so that I can't file nomination for the election. Otherwise people would have elected me even if I did not go for campaign, as they knew what I'm. I used to penetrate government office like a hero to solve issues, to solve problems. MRO, Patwary, everyone would listen to me and solve the issues.

Here, Naxalite parties were there at that time so, officers would fear them. Naxalite organizations like Janashakti, Prathighatana and Praja Prathighatana were there. Ravanna, Pratighatana, was my boss. Prasadanna, Ravanna and Bhupathi were all Naxalite leaders here. They were good people. If they gave me one work, I would take initiative and do four others. I was so active and daring. If you go to MRO office, they would harass you for small signatures. The students had to roam around for small certificates. If I go there, I would sit with MRO and made him sign on hundred papers. Though, Naxalites are not there now I behave in the same manner. Still people would come to me with complaints such as, someone is not giving signature or someone else is not putting stamp. I would threaten them to sign. Because of my radical mind Naxalites liked me a lot. I would leave my house for days. I would not sit like this. If I'm at house police would come immediately in search of me. I was never scared. They harassed my daughter to make me suffer and distance me from the Naxalites. Police thought that I would leave movement if they harass my children (daughter). But still I did not leave this movement. They detained my son-in-law, he told them that, "she doesn't listen to us, sir. I do not have any links with the party. My mother-in-law will not listen and quit the movement even if I force her.

She was there with the movement, even before I married her daughter." But police did not give up. They even tried to take my daughters into custody and harass them. Still, I did not back off. I used to tell my daughters that I do not have any relation

with them as they are already married to someone else. I was so stubborn at that time. That stubbornness only attracted party. I went to jail, I had cases until recent past. Whenever Naxalites kill someone, police would file case on me. I was imprisoned for 24 days. Judge was away for his summer holidays so I could not manage to get the bail. I wasn't this peaceful at home. Whenever police come home in search of me, they would destroy all the materials. They would even mix chilli powder in rice. They thought that I would stop working with the party in fear of all these."

She explains the situation now, "now everyone got the mobile phone. We do not know, from whom or which side the information would reach the police. If you hold meeting on the knoll, beneath somewhere, someone will call the police. See, recently how many Naxalites have died in Malkangiri. What is it for!? Here, we cut the thousands of acres of forest for the people. All these fields are distributed by party (she shows the lands on the other side of the village). My party (Praatighatana) only did *podu* of all these lands. It was a thick forest. There was forest even beside my house. Whenever party comes to village we would cook in massive scale. Even if police come to village with information, Naxalites would be in the forest in a minute, forest was that near to the village. Unless there was serious situation they used to eat here only, in the village. If situation was bad, we would get food to the forest. Those were the golden days, which would never return. Those were the days of poor people. Mohananna split from the party. Ramu (ALT), Chalamanna everyone was from this party only. When I entered this movement there was only one party Janashakti, which later got split into many groups like Pratighatana, Prajapratighatan etc.

There were two splits in the party, but we (Pratighatana) were the bigger group. Pratighatana is Prasadanna group. We cut the forest and distributed lands, but we never touched the landlord's lands. That was done by People's War group, they planted red flags in landlord's lands, and they gave call for the distribution of those lands." She says distribution of landlord's lands would perturb the normalcy of the village as there were people from both the sides. Her understanding of class struggle is without disturbing landlord class, but there has to be plenty of land for everyone, so cut the forest and distribute it, and the problem is solved. So, she says, "some poor people want

to distribute the lands and landlords will oppose it stubbornly. There will be unnecessary ruckus in the village. Why we should drag people out of their houses. As we thought it would disturb the situation in the village, we never touched the lands of landlords. We simply cut the forest and distributed it to all. But did not allow the cadre to possess so much lands. Every house gets the equal share. Even when some people had not come out in fear of police, we dragged them out of their houses to cut the forest. Party did not let me take four acres of land when I wanted. Five hundred shares for the village. That's how they distributed the lands. If forest officers come, we would escape into the forest. These are all injuries of that time only," she shows her hands with injuries and lashes.

Whenever police used to come to the guesthouse (there is a forest guest house in the village), they would send people for me. I had to go. I used to stay in the village only, where will I go by leaving my family, children and agriculture. We sold our livestock; we removed our cowshed also. I had to go whenever police come to guesthouse and asked me to appear in front of them. And they would beat me up like hell. What can we do? There were good days and bad days. But with them (Naxalites) everyone got benefited, especially the poor. No police, no forest officials had come to file cases even if we cut that much forest. Now government want to remove all the forest to make way to Laknavaram lake. They are taking farmers lands also for that. They want to build a way and quarters for the tourists. They also want to build zoo park there. So many farmers are going lose their lands in it. But if the Naxalites were there, people would have got the *pattas* for their lands. They would have fought for it. We ruled this place. We have cut so much of forest and distributed it. We cut thousands of acres of forest in Chennapuam, Thadvai to distribute to the people. Thadvai is our border. Wherever our party (Pratighatamna) spread, till Bayyaram, we did *podu* for the people.

People also do not have ethics. There are days where people give information to the police about Naxalites. Recently, some people gave intoxicated food to the Naxalites and got them killed in Malkangiri. Naxalites kill this kind of people only. They do not touch any innocent." And she explains her experience with this sort of

people who deceived and gave information to the police, “in Puredupally village one Muslim guy informed us that he would arrange food for us and asked us to send people to get it. Party sent two people. That fellow gave information to the police and they were caught. Police tied them to the back of the tractor and dragged them thorough the village road. Somehow, we got them released. After sixteen years he came home, thinking that Naxalites had forgotten him. Party attacked him in Chinnaboinapally village and beat him. By thinking that he was dead they left him on the road. On his final hours police admitted him in the MGM hospital. Party people went there to MGM, killed him and snatched away six guns of police who were guarding him. That’s the revenge of Naxalites. If anyone betray them, they will not forget them. You can be beaten up by police, but you should not antagonize Naxalites.”

She gave another incident of that sort, “Once there was an attack on party in Bollepally forest. They found out that the postman had given the information. Once they attacked his house and fired at him, another time they beat him up severely, but somehow, he managed to escape. Police filed a case against me on this issue. The people who had beaten him up were Naxalites, but police filed case against me. So, that case did not stand in the court. The postman got his wife to the court and she came to me and cried for his life. I asked her to speak the truth in front of the court and tell the judge who had come to kill her husband. I was one among the sixteen people in the case. She accepted the truth with judge that it wasn’t me nor anyone one of the sixteen who tried to kill her husband. She told the court that the people who had come to the kill her husband were Naxalites with long shorts and guns. So, the judge dismissed the case. That is what happened to the people who betrays them. These landlords, capitalists and politicians are bad people.

Naxalites are Naxalites! They are good people, but due to easy communication we could not save the movement. In this village Naxalites did not say anything to anyone. They touched only the people who betrayed them. Only those People’s War Group Naxalites touched the lands of landlords. Even People’s War people did not beat anyone up unnecessarily. Pratighatana people, only cut the forest and gave the lands. They would even talk to the forest officials if they harassed farmers in the forest. Our

Sitakka (Now MLA of Mulugu) is also the wife of Ramu (ALT). They also got split from the Janashakti party. After splitting up there is enmity among us. If we come across each other in the forest Sitakka and me would fight verbally. Whenever she comes for the campaign now, she teases me “will you vote for me or not”. Even the opposition candidate Chandulal (TRS party candidate) also comes home. At the time of my also he had come to my house. Party was behind him to kill him. He would come home to request not to target him. Now what is there, nothing! Even the members of strong parties like PWG also are being killed, forget about other parties. Nothing is there,” says she with a big sigh.

After a lot of discussion whether the Naxalites or police killed Ilamma’s younger brother, she concluded that it was the Naxalites, “yes, Naxalites only killed him. Janashakti people, I think. There were issues between Naxalite groups the opposition party which got him killed. First, they searched for me to kill. After that they only killed him. I was committed to my politics. Those (Opposition which was Janashakti) people were like gangs of thieves and liars. They would collect money from people promising some work or the other to be done. Our party and me used to work for people, honestly. That’s why they tried to kill me, and I could escape them somehow, while he could not. But I questioned them, that till yesterday you ate my food and now you are coming to kill me. Tell me, what is my fault, I asked them. My children fought them like falcons. They had come to my house with weapons. They have surrounded my house. But me and my daughters argued with them. They all ate my food; how could they kill me.

People’s War group killed police patel in the village. That was injustice to kill him, as he was an innocent fellow. They had killed him for nothing. PWG demanded to distribute his lands, he nether denied nor accepted it. He kept quiet for himself. So, some people misinformed the PWG that he had approached police regarding the issue of land distribution. By knowing this they had come and killed him. He was not a person who would approach the police against Naxalites. It was a mistake to kill him. He never interfered in any other’s issues and was a nice person. My relatives were scared to come to my house. They had feared that police would mistake them for

Naxalites and take them into custody. All our relatives are in service. No one wanted to come here and get stuck with the Naxalite issues.

“Anthireddy’s native place is Dumpillagudem. They were honest people in the movement. It was Anthireddanna’s leadership which attracted me to the Naxalite party. He was a nice person. Police caught him in Hyderabad when he was there on some party work. Some known person only gave his information to the police. Instead of going alone he got another person with him without knowing that he was informer, he informed police of whereabouts of Anthireddy. Otherwise he was a very tough person to be caught. If it was in forest it was very difficult for police to get him. They killed him in fake encounter and buried him. After fifteen days of search people found his shirt with local tailors’ name, chappal and spectacles. It was with the tailors’ name that party and family found him,” she gives the glimpses of Anthireddy’s leadership.

“Those days have changed. Now it’s not possible to run the movement. I worked for thirty years as a courier for underground people. My entire youth had gone into the movement. I would not fear the police, one day they would arrest me, take me to the station and the other day I would come back from the station and start working for the party. I had solved every issue that I had come across. As I feared harm to my daughters from the police, I got them married at the early age. That was the worst thing that have done in my life. The time and situations were like that. They got married at a very early age. Now, they are cursing me for that. They say that “you had escaped your pain and fear by getting us married. But what about our problems. I could not afford to marry them to job holders. I gave my land to them both and send them off from my house. I got knee pains now because I walked a lot in the forest at that time.

When the movement was alive in the forest cunning people earned so much money by using their name. The people who were committed to their party principles and believed in justice got nothing. Prasadanna has no village, no house and no land, nothing. He has no one to look after him. He was married to a Koya woman when he was in forest. Prasadanna got married inside the party. But Anthireddanna went underground after getting married. Pulakka and Anthireddanna decided not to have

children. They were inspiration to many people. Anthiredanna was a man of justice. Anthireddy and Pulakka, both husband and wife died for the people.

6.6.1 Exploitation of tribals by non-tribals:

Everyone else in this village thinks that as this is a scheduled village, only STs are benefitting. Only STs have all the opportunities and government funds. But Arigela Pedda Sammaiah denies this claim, “people say government is doing so much for the tribals, but they have hardly benefited at all. People who migrated 4-5 years back to the village are constructing big houses and have purchased 15-20 acres of land. But people (STs) who stayed here from the beginning did not earn much. Neither my grandfather nor my father had the attitude and the sense to accumulate. They do not have, and we also did not get it. The land we have are all in the mountains. All good lands are owned by migrated OCs and BCs only” he recalls the past.

Sigam Peddakka says “they sold the lod land for cheap prices”. Reddy Sammakka explains how non-tribals expropriated tribal lands in this village, and how STs are exploited. “the people who have migrated into village became wealthy, they purchased lands. They are living in a good condition. The people who are staying in this village from the beginning have so much difficulty in even sustaining themselves. No other castes, but only STs. Nayakapodu and Dorla are left with nothing. They sold their lands for 20-30 rupees per acre. If anyone asked them to sell their lands for money they simply said ‘yes’. They lost all their lands like that. Now they are left with nothing.

She continues “my husband had died; my husband’s younger brother had also died. They died because they had no work to do and used to drink (alcohol) too much without any proper diet. Their livers all got damaged because of too much drinking and they died an untimely death. Now another cousin also drinking in the same way. All these STs are like this. Due to this alcoholism many people have simply died. They die an untimely death, we (wives) live like this our entire life. They die leaving two children behind them and no source of income or land. What can we do? How much can one woman earn. How can we educate our children? When my husband was alive,

we used to run a Kirana shop. We used to sell some eatables like mirchi, pakodi and also cheap liquor. After his death we are now in debt. Then, to pay chitti amount, to get household expenses was also very difficult. So we have closed the Kiranashop and started going for cooli work.

Because of the Laknavaram lake tourism also many Kiranashops have come up and are running well. If I want to start a Kiranashop now I have no money. Everyone says you STs have so much opportunities in the government sector, but our children do not have the education for it. Even in all the constable job openings it's all Lambadis that are getting jobs. They are used to all illegal ways to get jobs. If anyone complains against them they threaten them. All the officers are from Lambada community only. All the facilities are in our name but the Lambadas are the real beneficiaries.

Even our ST political leaders also do not bother about ST community's development. In this village the sarpanch is ST. This ST sarpranch does not even think about helping the poor STs and develop them by showing some opportunities. These Reddys and Gouds bribe him and ask him for favors, and he works for them. When we ask for help, he neglects and postpones things. We STs are going backwards and the non-tribes are prospering. Now you (interviewer) are going for a survey, everyone (STs) says they do not have lands. You will know that no one has any land. People who have come here (non-tribes) they have come for land. They purchased our land and prosper at our cost. STs are just pushed lower (backward). Now if you want to purchase an acre of land it costs five lakhs. They had purchased these from us at 50-100 rupees from STs. Recently when govt distributed 'pettubadi sayam' checks, people found out that the pattas are in their forefathers and father's name, whereas lands are owned by Reddys. Notices are also coming in the old people's name but who will go and enquire. Government is not giving houses to STs, but others are getting houses. All the others are building concrete houses. When they say Indiramma houses are coming, I just got the money for interest and built a small shed. Everyone said money will come. Someone said, 'give me a thousand rupees, immediately I will release the bill', I paid that also but I did not get the bill. I lost the two thousand rupees. When I questioned them, they just raise their hands helplessly.

Congress lost the government, now TRS is in power. Again, people are saying that TRS is giving double bedroom houses that also especially for STs. Where these double bedroom houses are, no one knows? They have not even started those double bedroom houses. STs have not got anything from the Sarkar (government). Non-tribes are enjoying everything in the name of tribal facilities. And then they add that they are losing opportunities because of STs. Reddys says 'STs only getting all opportunities, you are government's elder children. That's why you get everything. We are not getting anything'. But in reality STs are not getting anything.

Anyway, it is important that the Sarpanch should be a good person. The Sarpanch should also have the concern for his own caste people. He should not be trapped by non-tribes. He should realize that the non-tribes are using him against his own people. He should be a person who could work without any bribe. Only then the STs will benefit. But the people who are in power are now helping the non-tribes and undermining our benefits. Only one family has been holding the Sarpanch seat for many years. First it was his father, then he became the sarpanch and now his wife is the sarpanch. Everyone came to an opinion that; he only works for non-tribal people who give money. We want some other person to be the sarpanch but no one else has the capability for that. Elders are not educated; children have not crossed reached the age. They (non-tribe) take him on their bikes and get their work done and then reward him with money. All these people have migrated here only STs used to stay in this village. Now it has become a big village with all the migrants. Everyone who came here purchased STs lands.

Palsab's family, and then STs were the residents of this village from the beginning. Reddy purchased all of Palsab's land. All this land on the roadside is Palsab's land. They also sold their land for cheap price in the fear of Naxals. On other hand STs sold their lands which are far away from village. These STs sold because of poverty Reddys got it for cheap. Now government has started the 4000 rupees per acre as 'investment help scheme'. You tell me, in your survey did you find any ST family having any land ? Poor people do not get anything from the government. Reddy have 10-20 acres of land; they are the only ones who get money. We feel really sad that the

STs sold their lands, and now others are getting benefits out of it. We have pattas, and they are getting money. Every Reddy has 10-20 acres of land. Even Gouds have 5-6 acres of lands. Only STs do not have any lands in the village. Everyone (STs) works for the landed families. We take whatever they give and do cooli for them. Even in that work we get only 150-160 rupees. If we work in piece wage rate, we get 200-300 rupees. Not more than that.

Another tribal person whose lands were enjoyed by Reddys is sharing his experience. “In recent survey there is land under my father’s name. We even got it checked. They are not letting us check, we are not even getting access to that book also. I asked Village Revenue Officer (VRO) for it, saying that the patta is on my fathers’ name then why are you not giving it to me. He asked me to go to Mandal Revenue Officer (MRO). He was also saying my father sold the land to the Reddys. I do not know whether my father sold it, or they illegally grabbed it. It’s on my fathers’ name, we were children then, but we do not know how Reddys got those lands. since we did not know we thought that we don’t have any land. Now I got to know that there is land under my father’s name which should belong to me. Patwary (VRO) says my father sold it. I’m confident that I will get my land back, so I did not say anything to him”.

6.6.2 What in-migrant Reddys’ feel now:

Pushpakka was one of the main over ground leaders of the Pratighatana Party. She explains, how this village evolved over time. “We had land, where we used to grow maize, bajra in those days. Those lands could grow nice crops. We had come here to become rich (satirically, she smiles), but became beggars now. We sold all the land there and came here to purchase 15-17 acres of promontory. Only 5 acres of that land is useful, remaining all is full of rocks. Only a mad person can buy that kind of lands. That time they wouldn’t listen to me. My father-in-law had bought it. My husband was also a grownup man by that time but all of them were innocent people. Now we are struggling with these lands. Nothing will grow in that. This year only we have applied for saplings (Teak) under the ‘hundred days work guarantee program’. We have planted 300 saplings in three acres. We don’t know whether it will grow or not. We had come here with lots of hope, but here we got nothing. Now, after all these years how can we go back there. Now we cannot buy a single *gunta* land there, even if we sell all these

lands here. Our land was there from Fathepur road to Khammam road, all roadside lands only. Now, it's costing crores of rupees due to real estate. I feel so bad whenever I go there. We sold 6-7 acres of land just for 16 thousand rupees. Now one *gunta* land costs one crore rupee. We can't see those lands again; it would have been a lot of money (sighing). That old fellow (father-in-law) wouldn't listen to anyone. He sold all the lands there and got us here to jungle. My mother-in-law's sister was here, married to Pasupuleti Sampath Reddy, with their link we had also come here. They are from Kadari Gudem near Warangal. I don't remember why exactly they had come here. Then she recalls it and says, his (Sampathreddy's) aunt was here. They have come through their aunt; we had come through them. Like sheep, one through another, everyone had come here. We got nothing here. It's useless to think of all these now, but just saying. Further she adds, "by caste we are Reddys, even if you don't have anything to eat you are a Reddy, that's enough. By looking at that tail (Reddy) even government is ignoring us.

Laxma reddy family was one among them, he says that they had come here when he was a child from Stn. Ghanpur. "We had very less assets there. Here in this village there is a big lake water for irrigation, so my father got us here.". They came here for irrigated water. Earned 5-6 acres of land, but their children migrated to Hyderabad and have given away the land for tenancy and if there are no tenants then the land is left uncultivated. "Our children thought there is nothing in agriculture, so they went to work in companies in Hyderabad." One son studied MSc and is doing a good job in a company. Another son has studied till class 10 and is working as *hamali* in a company. He faced some health issues there, so now he is back in the village. "As we can't cultivate due to our age, we are giving it on lease, but no one is taking lands for lease. People are migrating into cities, so no one is ready for lease. The land is uncultivated presently. I purchased it 53 years back. My children grew up, we became old, so we are not cultivating it" says Laxma reddy. In their home place rains were not good and there were no irrigation facilities.

Madhusudan Reddy says, "We saw the big lake here and left everything to come here, but we hardly benefited here". And his wife says that, "we are not so wise that's why we are still here. All the other people sold their land off and went to

Hyderabad. My husband's relatives are all settled there now; they had the better sense to leave the village. We are fools, still staying here for nothing." Madhusudhan Reddy's uncles and cousins stayed here for 16 years and then left for Hyderabad.

6.7 Conclusion:

When Naxalite movement killed a landlord, or raised struggle for land in the village, the Dora's and landlords sold their lands at cheaper prices or left their lands in the village and fled to the cities. But to replace those landlords and Dora's in the village, second generation landlords had migrated to villages, purchased or leased out their lands and replaced their position in the village. Sometimes these landlords are small and middle farmers from the plain areas of Telangana and most of the times they are from Coastal Andhra. Due to Naxalite movement Dora's were chased out of the village but the alternative work opportunities were not created for the people who were depended on landlords and Dora's traditionally. So, these downtrodden agricultural labors, who were traditionally dependent on landlords, never had any means of production. That's why they needed another landlord class to offer them work.

The migrated farmers who were basically middle peasants at their native places had to replace the social position of landlords in Telangana villages where they had migrated. These middle farmers had come to villages in search of livelihood, but it was these landless agricultural labor castes who gave them landlord character. Urged them to fulfill the role of Dora's in the village, surrendered all the power to them. It was the small and middle farmers, who could not afford to the cost of cultivation in Coastal Andhra, who migrated here in search of cheap labor and lands. And in the plain areas of Telangana it was small and middle farmers who were tortured and exploited by Local big landlords and Dora's had migrated to interior forest areas of Telangana especially where rich irrigation sources were there. But it was the local village's agrarian relations which needed a new class to replace the old landlords, it was Dalits and other lower castes who pulled these new migrant farmers into local feudal structure and pushed them to the upper strata of the village. Then the old feudal agrarian relations were recreated in the village, though the old Dora's and landlords fled to the cities.

The hierarchical caste structure, where the lower castes with no means of production had to depend on the upper castes recreated the feudal agrarian relations again and again. Naxalite movement could eradicate landlords physically. Some landlords were killed, some left the villages, but their lands are there in the villages. Some lands were distributed, and some lands were sold at cheaper rates to the migrant farmers. When movement was at its peak, the agricultural castes such as BCs had tilled those lands. The poor lower castes, in the fear of cases, did not take the lands. The middle farmers in the village, especially upper caste farmers purchased the lands of Dora's and the small farmers in the village tilled the lands of Dora's which were distributed by the Naxalites. But the agricultural labor castes searched for some other landlord class which could give them work. The farmers who migrated from outside started calling them as Dora's and worked for them. Because, in hierarchical caste structure, only landlords are the source of work for the landless. That's why wherever these landless castes migrated, or wherever some upper caste farmers entered village, they searched a landlord in them. These second-generation landlords were created in this way.

The landlords had fled the villages not to invest their agricultural surplus in industries to become capitalists, but to save their lives. Though these landlords left villages, they are still dependent on their lands in the villages. So, they could not become a capitalist class but landlords of some different kind. The Andhra farmers who were benefited by the green revolution could become the capitalist class in the state, but the Dora's who arrived in cities in fear of red revolution could not become the capitalist class. The landlords and Dora's who were settled in the cities wanted political power, but the Andhra capitalists are on their way to political power. So, they took the separate Telangana demand forward. The people of Telangana had already suffered lot of feudal oppression even after the Nizam period. And they had been fighting it through armed struggle. This time they thought separate Telangana could solve some of their survival issues like jobs, irrigation, agriculture and to get rid of the feudal oppression.

CHAPTER-7

CONCLUDING THE FINAL SITUATION

7.1 Agrarian Conflicts

Salar Jung – I revenue reforms which came in to existence in 1870s created and strengthened feudal agrarian structure by giving thousands of acres to local landlords called Deshmukhs, Jagirdars who are also predominantly called as Doras. Through the constant periodic surveys the landlords grabbed many lands from the actual tiller, peasants. Often these landlords used violent methods to occupy the land of the farmers who could not pay taxes, and fines imposed by landlords for refusing vetti, 'the feudal labour'. Most of the lands which were grabbed by the landlords were kept uncultivated. After the Salar Jung revenue reforms there was an influx of outsiders into forest areas as landlords and other rich farmers got lands at cheaper prices, that displaced local Adivasi communities. By the 1930s the struggles for the land became major issue and grew support from wider political movements. The Salar Jung – I administrative reforms in the revenue policy shrunk peasants to the tenants by surrendering most of the lands to the landlords, Deshmukhs, Deshpandeys, Zamindars and Jagirdars.

The landlords who were also called in different areas with different names such as Deshmukh, Deshpandey, Zamindar and Jagirdar, exploited tenants, artisans, and labourers with violent practices, the vetti or feudal labour. The landlords in the name of vetti they practiced various kinds of forced labour and illegal actions. The land and irrigation tax in the Jagir areas was ten times higher than the Diwani areas. The Nizams revenue policies helped Reddy and Kamma migrant farmers to get hold of the major chunk of lands which are primarily belonged to the traditionally cultivating communities such as Munnur Kapu, Tenuga, and Mutrasi. Landlords did not tolerate any sign of independence and wellbeing. The vetti system in Telangana affected all sections of people in varying degrees. Second World War helped landlords to make money and tighten their authority over the people. Initial struggles against Nizam

started in the form of dacoity. The laborers were the first that challenged the Doras domination.

The vetti labor castes converted to Islam as they thought as a way out of the exploitation and as a protest against the upper caste landlords. Conversions questioned the dominance of upper caste landlords and increased class tensions and intensified struggles in the villages.

As Communist Party was banned in Hyderabad state, they joined Andhra Maha Sabha (AMS) gave programme against vetti and tenancy problem. Communist lead AMS challenged the landlords dominance and Nizam government by winning the support of the Telangana masses. The communist agrarian program declared Nizam representing the landlords, village officials, and jagirdhars as feudal, hence, an obstacle for the progress of agrarian relations. The agitations against landlords and self-assertions on lands united the vetti workers, small peasants, and cultivators of malk lands and jagirs.

The peasants and laborers had to face the Nizam police and also the razakars. Occupying and distributing the landlords and rich peasants lands elevated the peasants who lost their lands and became tenants. Communists organized village sangams, these Sangams imposed land ceiling which gave hope for the landless to get the lands. These Sangams progressed very soon into most of the villages, became a strong political force to challenge the Doras. Many villages were liberated from landlords' domination. The people of these villages set up people's courts and government and organized armed volunteer squads. The village Sangams seized landlords properties, lands and imposed fines according to their crimes against people.

With the increase of ruthless razakar raids on the villages, the people from wealthy and landlord families also participated in the Sangams, leading to a change in leadership. When it appeared that the Sangam rajyam had finally come, the rural rich jumped into the fray to grapple the opportunity to gain leading status and become village leaders, posing as champions of the peoples' cause. Due to their superior position from caste, wealth, and knowledge, they naturally occupied the village committees and squads' leadership positions. The Sangams passed into the hands of

wealthy sahumars, village oppressors' and 'landlords.' The entire party structure, including squads, also depended on rich for food and other needs. The rich peasantry, who had joined the movement during the anti-Razakar struggle, established their hold over village sangams and stalled the party's program not only of land distribution but also those centered on wage and debt issues.

7.2 Institutionalization of Agrarian Conflicts

Communists claimed to have distributed about two lakh acres of illegally occupied land and lands over and above the party's level. For the other eight lakh, the tenants had stopped paying rent for the land taken. Party protected all anti-Nizam activists irrespective of their class background. Therefore, the lands of the anti-Nizam landlords were not distributed. There is no specific policy behind land distribution; only lands of anti-communists have been distributed. Land of Sangam activists was not distributed despite rights over such lands claimed by others who lost unjustly due to debt or owning the land above the ceiling. The lands on which nobody had a claim were given to the landless. The government lands, poramboke, bancharai and common resource lands were offered to them. However, even such distribution was resented by the asamis and Kapus as they wanted enough waste land around their fields to graze their cattle. The rich peasant who joined party to protect their own lands got full control on Sangams, violated all the organization commitments and used them to protect their own interests. Such peasant leadership of the committees was reluctant to increase the agricultural laborer's wage.

Under the guidance of Sangams and village committees, the people seized about a million acres of land. The gram rajya committees survived for one to three years and seized lands of the landlords and drove them from the villages.

The Hyderabad state which was infamous for the violent atrocities on farmers and laborers turned into the hub of the revolution by giving hopes to the Indian peasantry. The peasant armed rebellion was suppressed brutally by Indian army which came to replace the Nizam. Armed forces of the Indian government backed the landlords whose lands were earlier seized by armed struggle. For three years peasants fought to the

death to defend their lands which were seized from the landlords. Almost four thousand peasants who were part of the struggle were killed, and more than ten thousand people were kept in detention camps by the Indian army. Villages were terrorized, people were tortured and their properties were destroyed.

By the time of independence, Indian agrarian society was too stratified, characterized by an exploitative intermediary land tenure system, under tenancy. And in the agriculture 'extra-economic coercion' of poor peasants, tenants and share cropping continued to exist. With Hyderabad's disintegration, Telangana's congress position would have to be re-assessed both in terms of party politics and caste dominance. As Andhra Pradesh was formed in 1956, the Telangana landlords did not get much time to develop. Vinobha Bhave started 'Bhoodhan' movement to appease the peasants and turn them away from the armed struggle. In India, Ford Foundation closely worked with the Nehruvian regime to quell peasant uprising in Telangana and other places.

Naxalite movement which was so aggressive in the 1980s and 90s has faced brutal violence from the state. Movement divided into too many ideological and strategic splits. By 2005, especially after the peace talks with AP government, most of the M-L parties are disappeared. Many of the activists were killed in fake encounters and some had joined the main stream by surrendering. With so many reasons movement had set back to the deeper forest areas of Chattisgarh. This caused the institutionalization of radical agrarian struggle in Telangana.

7.3 State failure and agrarian crisis

Kammas and Reddis are the two dominant agricultural castes. Kammas are concentrated in Delta districts, sometimes called Kamma rashtra and Reddis are concentrated in Rayalseema and Telangana. After the Indian government successfully integrated Hyderabad state and cultivating community, especially Reddy and Kamma, they moved in to fill the power vacuum at the state level. Previously, it was Reddys and Velamas who dominated the economic and political sphere of Telangana. Although, there were representative assemblies in Hyderabad state, democracy was not developed.

The farmers migrated from Delta to Telangana, bought lands cheaply, developed it, and prospered. The green revolution in the 1960s in the Krishna – Godavari anicut created a new surplus in the coastal region which moved to backward Telangana created new tensions. The industrialization has happened in Telangana and has been concentrated only in twin cities, scarcely touched any of Telangana's rural areas. Nizam ruling and policies kept Telangana in feudal backward situation. The jagirdari system was the biggest hurdle for the progress of agrarian classes in Telangana.

The state government of Andhra Pradesh gave real estate incentives to the film industry dominated by coastal Andhra investments to move from Chennai to Hyderabad. Till 2002-03, in total plan expenditure Andhra Pradesh had lowest share in agriculture expenditure. The state withdrew the institutional support for activities that are essential to agriculture. Due to a lack of institutional credit, peasants in Telangana had depended on money-lenders for credit needs. The market for credit, land, and inputs are getting more integrated, implying a more significant squeeze on the peasantry. Due to heavy losses in cotton cultivation the peasants of Telangana have committed suicides in the thousands. Farmers could not survive the crop failures, because cost of cultivation has increased, productivity has decreased and they would get very marginal returns. After the liberalization, government withdrew from providing facilities for the agriculture which gave space for the input traders and private agents. Government also stopped spending on the public irrigation and credit facilities that would decrease the cost of cultivation. Land allocation scams, land price increase and the influx of settlers, only intensified the crisis in Telangana agriculture.

The green revolution of 1980s benefited the upper caste landed gentry and deepen the inequalities which lead to the unrest in the rural areas. The agricultural labourer's real income has declined in a significant level in Telangana.

It was in the NTR period the political discourse shifted from land reforms to populist policies. He has emerged as a leader against land reforms that were targeted at Kammas by the congress government. His cinematic charisma was used successfully to undermine the land reform agenda. Telugu Desham Party manifesto promised more abstract things like self-respect to Telugu people, honor to women, and civilization to

tribal but did not promise any land. In Telangana, peasant movements have emerged as reformative and institutionalized. The radical movements helped the peasantry to demolish the feudal structures. Institutionalization of the peasant movements established another form of domination in agrarian relations.

Lands that are distributed by the government are mostly uncultivable, abandoned by beneficiaries, and re-occupied by landlords. Government land distribution became mere political rhetoric. Most of the time, landlords surrendered their least cultivable lands to the government. In some regions the landlords were more powerful and violent, hence, the beneficiaries themselves surrendered the lands back to the landlords. So, the government land distribution was on the paper only.

Social groups such as Kapu and Velama have emerged as new dominant groups in economic and political spheres that upset the old established order of Reddys and Kammas. New dominant social groups have tried to move upward in the political power, however, could not succeed. These social groups became more vocal in separate Telangana movement. Post-independent period, many landholders from Reddy, Kamma, Velama, and Kapu castes emerged as the dominant peasantry. Most of the village population from backward castes and scheduled castes do not own much land. Since credit was linked to landed property, the rural rich not only cornered a more considerable share but also exercised control over financial institutions.

Government programs appear to have been far less successful in redistributing wealth. While there has been an evident commitment to greater equality in government rhetoric, land reform has not radically altered land distribution. Tenancy legislation often resulted in many tenants losing their rights when owners resumed their land cultivation using manager and hired labor. Agricultural wealth was not effectively redistributed by reform legislation. In low-inequality high resource villages, consumption mattered much less, and wealth influenced innovation somewhat more. People felt that land-ceiling did not come even to towns like Karimnagar (Balagopal K. , 1982).

The state does not have sincere political will to implement land reforms due to landlords' domination in the state and inadequate efforts by political groups to mobilize

people. Success rate of land reforms in Andhra Pradesh is very negligible. In the agrarian society, peasantry has to be looked from the perspective of rural poverty and agricultural growth. Even the government boast of the land reforms there is not much progress in the peasantry and rural labours economic status. (Singha Roy & Debal, 2005).

Withdrawal of the Telangana peasant armed struggle in 1951 was a betrayal of the revolutionary movement. The 1969 separate Telangana movement and Srikakulam tribal movements was result of the economic policy failure. Occupation of land and distributing it to the poor is the main agenda of the Naxalite movement. Thousands of acres of land Naxalites distributed to the poor, however, in the fear of police torture and legal actions they did not cultivate those lands. In the other hand even landlords who were fearing the Naxalites could not take their lands back, so many acres of land in Telangana remained fallow.

After the Zamindari system was abolished, Reddy affluent cultivating peasants managed to grab old Dora's lands. The Telangana peasant uprising took care of the Vetti but could not disturb the patels' authority. The unquestioned right of arbitration has always been among the most potent weapons in Telangana. Against this kind of exploitation, the 'Radical Party' (CPI-ML-People's War) entered the village to organize farm servants for higher wages.

The state with a deliberate strategy pushed the demand for land distribution to the back and brought up the welfare schemes to the fore front. Most of the agrarian rich are absentee landlords who have other occupations as main income source and maintain lands in the rural as well. Tenants and attached laborers were exploited in the extra-economic form of caste and debt bondage and social and traditional domination.

Even after independence, the vetti is the main form of exploitation in Telangana. Against the feudal exploitation of vetti, Raitu-Cooli Sangham (RCS) started organizing in 1978 not only for economic concerns but also on caste and other extra-economic coercion. The people forcibly occupied wastelands around the village, illegally grabbed by landlords and distributed among landless. During the struggle, people demanded 'fees and fines' back, collected by landlords to settle the disputes between them. When the state government started giving abkari contracts, Sangham

demanding commendation from the contractors and used that money to build schools, lay roads, pay teachers, and get tank bunded. These acts demonstrated to the people that Sanghams are constructively different from the ruling class parties.

Because of these left-led land movements, "most landlords sold their lands to the potential farmers and migrated to the urban areas. Feudalism and consequent inequalities in the rural areas is the main reason for the Naxalite movement. The Naxalite movement influenced, directly or indirectly, all walks of life in Andhra Pradesh. The Naxalite movement acknowledged driving feudal lords out of the villages, ensuring freedom of peasants from the blatant feudal exploitation that existed earlier and rising wages for landless labor. The movement also succeeded in redistributing some lands.

7.4 Radical agrarian movement as a solution

In Telangana, there is a revolutionary movement to bring drastic changes in feudal agrarian relations each time. However, it was successfully institutionalized by the state through co-option and repression. So, only a successful agrarian revolution can bring feudalism down in Telangana.

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Appendix-I
QUESTIONNAIRE
(Bussapur Village, Warangal District, Telangana)

I. Basic Information

H.No:

Living: Yes/No

1. Name of the Household :

2. Caste:..... Gender:..... Religion:.....

3. Social Status: SC ST BC OC

4. Type of Family

a) Nuclear Family b) Joint Family

5. Since how long you have been staying in this place (in years).....

6. Have you migrated recently (a) Yes (b) No

If Yes, from which place you hailed.....

And Reasons for migration.....

7. Are you a member of any organization?

a) Cooperative Society, b) Farmer's Organisation, c) Panchayat, d) Mahila Sangham, e) Caste Organisation, f) Other

8. Did any of your family member(S) left the village in search of work Yes/No

9. Family's traditional (caste based) occupation _____

10. Is this occupation still continued by family/any member? 1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

Do not know (DK)/not applicable (NA) ☐

11. If not, who first gave up? 1. Father ☐ 2. Grandfather ☐ 3. Grandfather's father ☐

9. DK/NA ☐

12. How are you paid?

a) Cash b) kind c) Debt settlement

i. If cash how much per day?

ii. If kind what sort?

a) Food grains

b) two ends meet & others

II. Family size and Composition

S.No	Name (Relation with head)	Gender	Age	Edu.	Marital Status	Profession	Income	Migration (Months)	Purpose	Receive/Send Money
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)

Codes:

Col.2 Relation with head: 1) Head 2) wife/husband 3) Son/daughter 4) Son/daughter-in-law 5) Grandchild 6) Father/Mother

Col.7 Profession: 1) Agriculture 2) Agri. Labor 3) Tenant 4) Non-Farm Labor 5) Money Lender 6) Business 7) Traditional Occupation 8) Write full details: Govt. Job, Private Job, Self-Employment, Pensioner, Commission Agent, Contractor etc.

Col.8 Migration: 0) Not Migrated 1) Migrated to other village 2) Other cities in the state 3) Other states 4) Other Countries 5) Migrated into village (If they are married write 'M' after the number)

III. Land Particulars (in acres)

S.No.	Type	owned	Leased – in					Leased-out					Crops Grown
			Name	Caste	Locality	Reason	Rent	Name	Caste	Locality	Reason	Rent	
1	Dryland												
2	Irrigated												
3	Garden land												
4	Waste land												
5	Total												

How you got the land 1) Hereditary 2) Purchased 3) Govt. assigned 4) Podu

Do you sold your land Yes/No

If Yes why.....

S.No	Area (in acres)		Details			
	Dry	Wet	Name	Locality	Caste	Reason
Purchased						
Sold						

IV. Other Assets/Facilities

Possession of Assets		
Household Assets	Number	Value
1. Auto		
2. Bicycle/Moped		
3. Radio		
4. TV		
5. Gas Stove		
6. Sewing machine		
7. Electric items/Mobiles		
8. Fans		
Facilities		
Electricity		
Toilet		
Drinking Water		
Ration Card		
NREGA Card		
Other Items (Write Them)		

V. Livestock particulars

S.No.	Particulars	When purchased	If sold, why?
1	Bullocks		
2	Cows		
3	Buffalo		
4	Sheep / Goat		
5	Poultry		
6	Others (Specify)		



Social category and gender wise employment and unemployment analysis of all India and Telangana

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Abstract: This paper discusses the employment situation of persons aged 15 and above in rural India and Telangana in particular. It is evident that India and Telangana faces a challenge to create enough employment in the state. The rural areas plays an important role in creating employment for the people. Most of the landless households opted to work in non-farm sector. Land concentration is the reason for declining labour absorption in agriculture. Construction sector has observed more workers than any other sector. Below primary educated male joining the agriculture labour and informal sector jobs. Because of that the unemployment rate is very less among low educated and illiterates. Due to lack of jobs in formal sector, skilled labour who are studied diploma, graduated and postgraduates are not getting opportunity to work anywhere. Despite education levels has increased, the unemployment in youth is still a big challenge to the country. In urban areas the situation is more verse than the rural. The educated unemployment is very high in rural areas of Telangana and all India level. Clear inequalities in Indian labour market are exist in work force participation rates of men and women. Looking at gender, the workforce participation rate female lower than the male; gender gap persists. Further, women workers are ending up in marginal employment. Rural labors are taking up multiple jobs. Marginal and small farmers are also taking up farm and non-farm wage work. At the macro level women work force has declined in rural areas.

Keywords: Telangana, Labour force participation, Employment, Non-farm sector, Education, Social Category

1.Introduction:

The labour force participation rate among all social groups dropped between 2004-05 and 2011-12 (Andres, Dasgupta, Joseph, Abraham, & Correia, 2017). The rural area plays an important role in magnifying other socioeconomic and demographic deterrents (Andres, Dasgupta, Joseph, Abraham, & Correia, 2017). Productive, decent and secure employment is what people wants. One of the major challenges of the economy today is employment generation. While agriculture is the main sector in rural areas the jobs seekers and opportunities in agriculture has increased (Saha & Verick, 2016). This paper has focused on employment of the persons aged 15 and above. Most of the landless households opted to work in non-farm sector. Land concentration and fragmentation of land is the reason for declining labor absorption in agriculture. Lack of access to land is also one reason for increase in non-farm activities in rural side. And the lack of land access is high among the lower castes (Saha & Verick, 2016). Majority of the work force in India are in informal sector. Construction sector has observed more workers than any other sector in India (Organisation, 2016). The rural transformation in India is different than that of southeast Asian countries. Informal jobs in non-farm sector played greater role in Indian rural transformation. Most of the non-agricultural jobs are created in construction jobs (Organisation, 2016).

In Telangana 31 percent of the working population is daily wage labour. Agriculture labour and self-employed in agriculture are 23 and 11 percent respectively. Beedi workers and drivers together constitute of 4 and 3 percent respectively. Migrated labor and small business are 2 percent each. Seven percent of the working age people are not participating in any labour. Most of the working population, almost 34 percent, in Telangana are illiterates. At the same time only 18 percent of the working age people are graduation and above educated. There is a huge gap in the skill and unskilled labour. Required skilled labour is 29.1 but only 2 percent are available in the labour market. Further, the required unskilled labour are 10 percent but available are 26.8 percent. So, there is a need to improve the skilled labour in Telangana (Satyanarayana, 2018).

2.Population details:

Table1: Census population as on 1st March 2011, percentage decadal change in population of aged 15 years and above between census 2001 and 2011 and projected population as on March 1st, 2014 in rural areas for Telangana and All-India

Particulars		Telangana		All-India	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Population	Rural	78.76	79.72	2838.98	2733.39
	Urban	51.70	50.54	1426.48	1340.36
Decadal Change (in percent)	Rural	10.0	11.7	19.8	20.1
	Urban	40.9	46.0	37.0	43.4
Projected Population	Rural	81.05	82.41	2996.95	2887.62
	Urban	57.30	56.62	1567.62	1493.50

Source: Report on youth employment - unemployment scenario, 2013-14, Volume-2, Ministry of labour and employment, Labour Bureau, Chandigarh, Government of India.

Rural male population of Telangana is 78.76 lakh and the female population is 79.72 lakh. Urban population in Telangana is much lower than the rural. Urban male population is 51.70 lakh and female population is 50.54 lakh. There is almost 40 percent increase in urban male population and 46 percent in the urban female population in the decade. Rural side the population growth is only 10 percent and 11 percent for male and female respectively. Urban population growth in Telangana is higher than the All India population growth. However, rural population growth is much lower than that of the all India.

Household distribution:

Table2: Distribution of Households by Social Group for Telangana and All-India in Percentage

Particulars	Telangana			India		
	Rural	Urban	Both	Rural	Urban	Both
SC	23.5	12.4	19.3	21.3	13.0	18.8
ST	09.1	03.0	0.68	11.8	0.45	0.96
OBC	56.4	44.7	52.0	41.6	40.0	41.1
Others	11.0	39.9	21.9	25.3	42.4	30.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Report on youth employment - unemployment scenario, 2013-14, Volume-2, Ministry of labour and employment, Labour Bureau, Chandigarh, Government of India.

In Telangana SC households consists of 19.3 percent. Rural SC households are much higher than the urban, that is 23.5 and 12.4 percent respectively. Overall ST households in Telangana are just 0.68 percent as they stay only in the rural areas. However, the rural ST households are 9.1 percent of the total households. More than half of the households, 52 percent, in Telangana are

OBC's. It is much higher than the all India OBC households, 41.1 percent of the total households. Households of 'Others' category comprises of 21.9 percent of the total Telangana households. Other household category is 40 percent in the urban households and only 11 percent in the rural area. Their urban presence is much higher than the rural households. In all-India level 'other' household category dominates in the urban areas.

Level of education and labour force participation:

Table3: Distribution for persons aged 15 years and above by main activity and education classification according to UPS Approach for rural (Male)

Particulars		Employed				Unemployed				Not in labor force			
		SC	ST	OB C	Othe rs	SC	ST	OB C	Othe rs	SC	ST	OB C	Othe rs
1.Not literate	Telanga na	88.5	90.5	89.4	83.8	0.1	-	0.3	-	11.4	9.5	10.2	16.2
	All- India	73.1	86.5	71.1	73.6	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.4	26.1	12.7	28.1	26.0
2.Below Primary	Telanga na	93.4	95.2	96.8	81.4	-	-	-	-	6.6	4.8	3.2	18.6
	All- India	86.1	91.5	83.8	80.3	1.1	0.9	0.9	0.5	12.8	7.6	15.4	19.2
3.Primary	Telanga na	95.9	100.0	93.1	85.2	-	-	-	-	4.1	-	6.9	14.8
	All- India	87.8	89.1	87.9	85.7	1.3	2.2	0.9	1.0	10.9	8.7	11.3	13.3
4.Middle, Secondary & Higher Secondary	Telanga na	68.9	65.4	77.7	85.3	0.1	-	1.3	-	31.0	34.6	21.5	14.7
	All- India	63.3	66.4	65.5	66.5	3.4	4.6	3.2	2.9	33.4	29.0	31.3	30.6
7.Diploma/Certif icate	Telanga na	62.1	44.0	37.1	77.0	12.4	-	6.9	-	25.5	56.0	56.0	23.0
	All- India	46.9	50.1	50.7	46.5	10.4	8.6	7.9	10.6	42.6	41.4	41.3	43.0
8.Graduate & Above	Telanga na	68.7	75.8	61.6	78.0	8.5	7.0	11.2	6.0	22.8	20.7	27.2	16.0
	All- India	69.2	73.0	72.3	72.2	11.2	11.5	10.2	10.5	19.7	15.5	17.6	17.3
10.Overall	Telanga na	80.4	81.6	80.9	82.9	0.9	0.4	1.6	1.3	18.7	18.0	17.4	15.8
	All- India	71.5	78.1	70.6	70.5	2.9	3.2	3.0	3.3	25.6	18.7	26.3	26.2

Source: Report on education, skill development and labour force, 2013-14, Volume-3, Ministry of labour and employment, Labour Bureau, Chandigarh, Government of India.

In Telangana 88.5 percent of the SC illiterates are employed. Only 0.1 percent of the SC illiterates are unemployed, and the remaining 11.4 percent are not there in the labour force. At all India level SC's who are not in the labour force are much higher than Telangana, 26.1 and 11.4 percent respectively. In all the social categories more than 80 percent of the people who studied till primary level had employed. Moreover, the unemployment rate is very less, 0 to 1 percent.

People who are educated above primary levels, i.e., secondary, higher secondary, diploma, graduate and above are employed up to 60 percent only. The unemployment rate and not in labour force rate is high among the high educated people than the below primary educated

male. Among SC male diploma educated people are unemployed most, 12.4 percent of them did not get any work to do. At all India level SC male, it is graduate and above educated people who are unemployed the most, 11.2 percent. Among ST male lowest employed are diploma students, 44 percent. More than Fifty percent (56 percent) of the diploma educated male in Telangana did not join the labour force. All the diploma studied male across all the social category are employed very less and most of them not in the labour force. They must be opting for higher education. Graduate and above educated male in Telangana and India are the most unemployed people in all the social categories. Below primary educated male must be joining the agriculture labour and informal sector jobs. Because of that the unemployment rate is very less among low educated and illiterates. Due to lack of jobs in formal sector, skilled labour who are studied diploma, graduated and postgraduates are not getting opportunity to work anywhere.

The illiterate workers in the rural non-farm sector. Most of the illiterate workers are employed in a casual wage with little or no job security at all (Saha & Verick, 2016). This is a big challenge to create good job opportunities. In rural areas poor and illiterates had lower reservation wages and were likely to incline towards non-farm sector (Saha & Verick, 2016). Other caste people who are well educated chose not to continue in agriculture and opted for non-farm activities. Illiterate SC, ST's got low end non-farm activities, while upper castes (Others) accessed the remunerative non-farm opportunity. Across all the social groups there is an increase in employment of rural non-farm sector (Saha & Verick, 2016). Most of the SC workers moved into non-farm sector, especially construction work. Despite education levels has increased, the unemployment in youth is still a big challenge to the country. In urban areas the situation is more verse than the rural (Organisation, 2016). The educated unemployment is very high in rural areas of Telangana and all India level (Revathi & Aneesh).

Table4: Distribution for persons aged 15 years and above by main activity and education classification according to UPS Approach for rural (Female)

Particulars		Employed				Unemployed				Not in labor force			
		SC	ST	OBC	Other s	SC	ST	OBC	Other s	SC	ST	OBC	Other s
1. Not literate	Telangana	83.6	85.8	77.1	66.3	-	0	0.3	-	16.4	14.2	22.6	33.7
	All-India	36.3	48.7	34.9	21.9	1.0	1.2	0.8	0.3	62.7	50.1	64.3	77.8
2. Below Primary	Telangana	90.8	48.6	85.0	86.4	-	-	-	-	9.2	51.4	15.0	13.6
	All-India	29.7	40.7	28.9	21.5	0.9	1.1	0.6	0.3	69.4	58.2	70.4	78.2
3. Primary	Telangana	98.2	96.0	84.7	61.7	-	-	-	-	1.8	4.0	15.3	38.3
	All-India	31.9	41.5	30.9	21.4	0.6	1.9	0.9	0.2	67.5	56.6	68.2	78.4
4. Middle/Secondary/ Higher Secondary	Telangana	43.7	37.7	46.0	41.5	1.0	5.2	1.0	-	55.2	62.3	53.1	58.5
	All-India	20.6	25.8	20.2	15.4	2.8	3.9	2.4	1.8	76.6	70.4	77.5	82.8
7. Diploma/Certificate	Telangana	77.4	-	24.3	45.8	-	-	1.4	-	22.6	84.5	74.4	54.2
	All-India	18.7	19.2	18.2	20.8	5.1	3.7	9.1	8.7	76.2	77.1	72.7	70.5
8. Graduate & Above	Telangana	34.2	43.0	40.3	42.4	4.5	-	8.5	18.0	61.4	57.0	51.2	39.7
	All-India	29.4	36.4	30.2	28.7	15.6	13.4	16.0	16.0	55.0	50.3	53.8	55.2
10. Overall	Telangana	73.4	74.6	66.9	56.4	0.5	0.3	1.1	0.3	26.1	25.1	31.9	40.1

	All-India	29.3	39.3	27.9	19.1	1.8	2.1	1.9	1.7	69.0	58.5	70.2	79.2
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Source: Report on education, skill development and labour force, 2013-14, Volume-3, Ministry of labour and employment, Labour Bureau, Chandigarh, Government of India.

In female employment Telangana is far ahead to all India female employment. In Telangana women who are not literate but employed is almost 80 percent for all the social group. But in all India level the women employment percentage for not iterated is nearly 30 percent for all the groups. There is huge difference in illiterate women employment in Telangana and all India. Female employment for all the social groups and all the levels of education is averaged to 30 percent for all the social groups in all India. Women in 'Other' social category are employed lesser than the other social categories. And the women who are not in labour force is high for 'Other' social category. Very less SC women who are educated above graduation are employed, 34.2 percent. SC and ST women who are educated below primary are employed more than the OBC and Other category women. Women who are educated below primary and not in labour force are high in among OBC and 'Others' comparatively with SC and ST women.

Unemployment rate is also high for higher educated women than below primary educated women. Among women who are higher educated, OBC and 'Others' are more employed than the SC and ST women. As the education level increases the OBC and Other women participate more in labour force. Percentage of women who do not participate in labour force equal for all the categories for higher educated. Chances of OBC and Other category women who do not join the labour force high when they are less educated. OBC and other women labor participation increases as their education increases. For SC and ST women this work in the inverse as they more educate their labour participation decreases. At the end labor participation women for higher education becomes equal for all the categories. Almost 50 percent of the women who are educated secondary, graduation and above are not participating in labour force.

Clear inequalities in Indian labour market are exist in work force participation rates of men and women (Organisation, 2016). Looking at gender, the workforce participation rate female lower than the male; gender gap persists. Further, women workers are ending up in marginal employment.

Social groups and labour force participation:

Table5: Distribution of households by number of employed persons aged 15 years & above for Telangana and All-India

Particulars		None		1 Person		2 Person		3 Person		4 Person & Above	
		Telangana	India	Telangana	India	Telangana	India	Telangana	India	Telangana	India
SC	Rural	2.1	3.6	13.7	42.7	55.2	34.6	16.1	12.5	13.0	6.6
	Urban	4.6	4.0	55.5	54.6	27.4	27.3	10.0	9.8	2.5	4.3
ST	Rural	2.0	3.3	16.7	32.6	49.5	39.4	16.4	14.0	15.4	10.6
	Urban	2.8	4.1	55.8	52.2	37.9	28.7	2.4	11.0	1.1	4.0
OBC	Rural	4.9	3.9	16.1	42.3	48.9	33.4	15.8	13.3	14.4	7.2
	Urban	6.3	5.4	52.0	53.6	31.9	28.1	6.2	9.5	3.6	3.5
Others	Rural	6.1	5.1	16.6	47.9	45.2	29.5	11.7	11.2	20.3	6.3
	Urban	6.6	6.7	65.8	56.4	20.3	25.9	5.4	8.3	1.9	2.8

Source: Report on employment in informal sector and conditions of informal employment, 2013-14, Volume-4, Ministry of labour and employment, Labour Bureau, Chandigarh, Government of India.

Above table shows that for all the categories households who have more than two persons employed are high in rural area. In urban all the households have one person employed in a family. In rural areas for all the social categories two persons are employed in a family. in Rural side there are very less households for SC and ST who are not at all employed. Households with no employment is high in OBC and others than the SC and ST households. Almost 20 percent of the Other category households are employed with more than four persons in rural side. For SC, ST and OBC households are employed more than four persons is same, 13, 15.4 and 14.4 percent respectively. In the urban area there are very smaller number of households have more than four persons employment.

Table6: Labor force parameters for persons aged 15 years & above according to UPSA for Rural

	Labor Force Participation Ratio				Working Population Ratio				Unemployment Rate				Proportionately Unemployed			
	Telangana		India		Telangana		India		Telangana		India		Telangana		India	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
SC	82.5	74.4	74.4	31.0	81.6	74.0	71.5	29.3	1.1	0.5	3.9	5.7	0.9	0.4	2.9	1.8
ST	82.0	77.0	81.3	41.5	81.6	76.7	78.1	39.3	0.5	0.4	4.0	5.1	0.4	0.3	3.2	2.1
OBC	83.6	68.9	73.7	29.8	82.1	67.8	70.6	27.9	1.7	1.6	4.1	6.4	1.5	1.1	3.0	1.9
Others	85.1	62.3	73.8	20.8	83.8	58.8	70.5	19.1	1.4	5.6	4.5	8.3	1.2	3.5	3.3	1.7
Overall	83.4	70.0	74.7	29.1	82.2	68.9	71.6	27.2	1.4	1.6	4.2	6.4	1.2	1.2	3.1	1.9

Source: Report on employment and unemployment scenario among different social groups, 2013-14, Volume-5, Ministry of labour and employment, Labour Bureau, Chandigarh, Government of India.

In Telangna 82.5 percent of the male who are above the age15 are participating in the labour force. Even female SC labour participation ratio is high for Telangana, 74.4 percent which is much higher than the all India, 31 percent. ST, OBC and Other population labour participation trends very much similar to that of SC's for Telangana as well as all India. Unemployment rate is much lower Telangana than the all-India level. Overall unemployment in Telangana is 1.4 and 1.6 percent for male and female respectively. In all India the unemployment rate is 4.2 and 6.4 for male and female population above age 15. Unemployment rate of among Others category female, 5.6 percent, is much higher than any social category female workforce. In Telangana proportionate unemployment is higher among the OBC and Other category then SC and ST labour force.

Table7: Percentage distribution of workers aged 15 years and above by social group available for 12 months but actually worked according to Usual Principal & Subsidiary Status Approach for Telangana and All India for rural

Particulars		12 Months		6-11months		1-5months		Did not get any work	
		Telangana	India	Telangana	India	Telangana	India	Telangana	India
SC	Male	40.4	48.3	58.4	47.6	-	1.2	1.2	2.9
	Female	35.6	42.3	63.7	51.9	-	2.1	0.7	3.7
ST	Male	48.5	46.5	51.4	49.6	-	1.9	0.1	2
	Female	44.2	40.4	55.7	54.3	-	3.1	0	2.2
OBC	Male	40.6	56	57.1	39.8	0.2	1.3	2.1	2.9
	Female	28.4	44.2	69.9	49.2	-	1.9	1.8	4.8
Others	Male	63	63.3	34.9	32.4	0.1	1.1	2	3.2
	Female	53.7	56.2	38.3	35.7	-	1.3	8	6.8

Source: Report on employment in informal sector and conditions of informal employment, 2013-14, Volume-4, Ministry of labour and employment, Labour Bureau, Chandigarh, Government of India.

The above table shows that workers who gets 12 months' work in Telangana are higher in the social category 'Others', 63 percent. Even in all India level the number is almost same for Other category workers. Among female workforce also Other category workers are getting more work under the 12 months category. OBC women gets more work between 6-11 months, 70 percent. Comparing with any other social category OBC female workers gets very less work for 12 months.

Conclusion:

The surplus labour located in informal sector and this surplus labor is need not be fully unemployed. In India economic deprivation is most pronounced in SC and ST's (Saha & Verick, 2016). The jobs created in formal sector are also informal in its nature because they cannot access to any benefits or social security (Organisation, 2016). In India still a large force of workers dependent on agriculture sector, 48.9 percent in 2011-12. The share workers in unorganized sector has decreased and the informal jobs organized sector has increased (Organisation, 2016). Women participation is high in Telangana but not at satisfactory level. Women participation in rural and urban is declining (Revathi & Aneesh). Non-farm sector dominating the rural employment. However, farm sector providing major employment in the rural side. Rural labors are taking up multiple jobs. Marginal and small farmers are also taking up farm and non-farm wage work. At the macro level women work force has declined in rural areas (ICRISAT, 2014).

In Telangana proportionate unemployment is higher among the OBC and Other category then SC and ST labour force. Unemployment rate is also high for higher educated women than below primary educated women. Among women who are higher educated, OBC and 'Others' are more employed than the SC and ST women. As the education level increases the OBC and Other women participate more in labour force.

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**We hereby confirm the participation of
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**With the presentation of a study entitled:
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**in the two days National Seminar on *The North- East India:*
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