

**CASTE, CHANGING LAND OWNERSHIP AND  
ECONOMIC MOBILITY:  
A VILLAGE CASE STUDY FROM DELTA ANDHRA.**

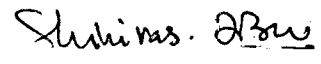
DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE  
AWARD OF DEGREE OF M PHIL  
IN APPLIED ECONOMICS OF  
THE JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY,  
NEW DELHI.

**DBN SRINIVAS**

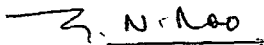
Centre for Development Studies  
Thiruvananthapuram

**1998**

I hereby affirm that the research for this dissertation titled, "*Caste, Changing Land Ownership and Economic Mobility: A Village Case Study from Delta Andhra*" being submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in Applied Economics was carried out entirely by me at the Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram.

  
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Certified that this dissertation is the bonafide work of D B N Srinivas. This has not been considered for the award of any other degree by any other university.

  
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**FOR**

**The People of Nandivada, as also**

**Late Smt. Adusumilli Sundaramma & Shri. Nagayya  
(Paternal Great Grand Parents)**

**and**

**Smt. Kanthamneni Hanumayamma & Shri. VenkatramaRao  
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*Pitru Devobhava*

*Aacharya Devobhava*

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## INTRODUCTION

### Introduction

✓ Caste has been a major socio-economic institution in India for centuries. Access to economic (land, livestock and cash), political (power) and cultural (education and arts) resources on one side and caste status on the other normally went together. Higher the status of a family in the caste hierarchy, greater was its access to one or all of these resources. Conversely, lower the status of a family in the caste hierarchy, smaller was its access to them. ✓

In pre-colonial India, with low productivity in agriculture added to the presence of rent-squeezing intermediaries coupled with the absence of an efficient road transport networks, the home market for agricultural commodities was not wide but segmented and localized. By and large agriculture remained at a subsistence stage; only in a few pockets it was commercialized. Agrarian markets were either underdeveloped or undeveloped. Land market in the modern sense of the term - land being bought / sold mortgaged and gifted - did not exist. Part of the reason was that land control as a socio-economic institution did not attain the mature stage of a land market. Relative to human resources (working peasantry), land was more in supply. In other words, for the ruling castes / classes, it was not land per se but human resources to work on the land which were found to be in relative scarcity. Hence, control over the working peasantry via political hegemony and extraction of surplus from their produce was found to be more attractive and important than control of land per se. In

controlling the peasantry for the benefit of the ruling castes/ classes, political power and cultural resources were adequately deployed. Assertion of political and cultural authority by the ruling castes / classes and internalization of these values by the subject peasantry had ensured the functioning of such an agrarian system.

However, in the peninsular India south of the Vindhyas, Kshatriya-a traditional ruling caste-was absent. Hence, besides the invading Muslims, rulers emerged from within the peasant-warrior communities, whose claim to kinship was of course legitimized by the priestly castes. Thus, the Pandya, Chera, Chola, Chalukya, Vijayanagara, Kakatiya, Maratha, Wodeyar and Reddy dynasties emerged from within the peasant-warrior communities, who in the Hindu caste hierarchy could only be slotted in the fourth 'Varna' or Sudra category. Thus, the economic domination that sections of these peasant-warrior communities (Vellalas, Marathas, Wodeyars, Velamas, Baliyas, Reddies, Kammas, Nairs etc) enjoyed is to some extent comparable with the politico-economic dominance enjoyed by the Brahmins and Kshatriyas (Thakurs) in Northern India.

Admittedly, these peasant-warrior communities of Southern India were economically differentiated and (economic) classes existed in each of them. Even so, in a caste system where even the peasant-warrior could lay claim to kingship, there exists scope for individual families to move upward economically. As a matter of fact these communities had also attained higher social status of 'Savarna Sudras' (sections of them were also active in trade and commerce). The rest of the fourth category castes remained as

"Avarna (low status) Sudras". They had less scope for upward economic and cultural mobility.

To sum up, in pre-colonial India, trade, political control over working peasantry, military control over armed men and access to the seat of power (Kings, Courts) enabled families to move up on the economic and political ladder. The advent of colonialism changed these parameters. The English East India Company began to dabble in the regional politics and rivalries, asserted its hegemony over trade and commerce and replaced factors affecting economic mobility-upward or downward. Whereas intermediaries between the state and the peasantry continued to exist and prosper under colonialism, control over arms and 'armed peons' no longer brought influential warlords close to seat of power. In fact the warlords (Poligars) were suppressed by the Company. With the advent of British colonial rule in India, slowly but steadily the agrarian scenarios had undergone changes. At the beginning of the 19th century, the introduction of law courts, Land Revenue Settlements (Permanent Zamindari and Ryotwari) and conferment of legal rights on the intermediaries in land, private property in arable land was sought to be created, thus weakening the traditional occupancy rights of the working peasantry in land. Whereas in the pre-colonial period right to collect land revenue/rent was the most sought after, during the colonial period land itself began to acquire the status of private property. Also, in the land-lease market which was gathering strength, the peasantry's bargaining position vis-a-vis the landholders was getting weakened. From mid-19th century onwards, the rising levels of monetization of the economy, development of infrastructure (irrigation, rail and



road transport and communications), extension of commodity markets both within and outside the country hastened the process of commercialization in agriculture. Whereas in the Ryotwari areas, a heavy burden of land revenue constrained agrarian expansion and an upward economic mobility of the peasantry, the peasantry under the Zamindari system had to put up with economic and extra-economic coercions exerted by the intermediaries. With the squeezing of economic surpluses from agriculture, an upward economic mobility of the Zamindari peasantry was either thwarted or slowed down. With a hierarchical caste system, India always had a reserve army of landless labourers from among the Dalit communities. In spite of the institutional infirmities, a transition from subsistence to commercial agriculture occurred during the second half of the 19th century. This was possible because of the rise in productivity and widening of the commodity markets. The agrarian markets in output, labour, credit and land got activated leading to 'commercialization in agriculture'. True, these four markets had neither developed synchronously nor autonomously. Often, they were inter-locked with each other, thus slowing down the process of transition from subsistence to commercialization and eventually to agrarian capitalism. In spite of this handicap at some places where infrastructural facilities (especially irrigation and transport) were provided by the colonial administration, agriculture could successfully overcome the institutional infirmities and register some growth.

Where the given agrarian structure was flexible enough to allow the markets to develop, where Commercialization of agriculture was not forced but voluntary and where intermediate peasant castes were

endowed with some land base, there was a possibility of sections of "peasant castes" / classes to experience an upward economic mobility. However, economic mobility of castes and classes would not occur only in one direction - either upward or downward. Mobility may be both ways. In a buoyant agrarian scenario of rising agricultural prices, expanding commodity markets and accrual of some surpluses in the hands of the peasantry, an upward economic mobility, mostly in the form of expanding land ownership was possible. This did happen in some places. A downward economic mobility seen mostly in terms of land alienation, pauperization and depeasantisation occurred due to peasants' illiteracy leading to debt traps, an intensified process of extra-economic coercion, high land rents, <sup>and</sup> violent fluctuations in prices of agricultural commodities leading to convulsions in the rural economy. The major peasant castes which experienced these economic mobilities in the country were the Yadavas, Kurmies, Koeries and Jats in the North, Patels and Marathas / Kumbies in the West, and Vokkaligas, Lingayats, Kammas, Reddies, Kapus / Telagas, Gounders, Nadars and Vanniyars in the South. True, these Communities were economically differentiated into several classes. Yet, these Communities cannot be ignored in any discussion on changing land ownership of castes and their economic mobilities.

The present study starts with the proposition that economic dominance in rural India measured mainly in terms of land ownership is a transitional phenomenon across generations and castes. Subjected to the newly emerging economic opportunities in investment and job markets, dominance through land ownership changes hands from the elite (Brahmins) to the less dominant

cultivating castes and classes. Over time this phenomenon recurs leading to a transfer of land ownership from the more dominant cultivating castes to the hitherto less dominant cultivating castes and classes. Transfer of rural wealth across castes / classes coupled with the rising political aspirations of the socially and educationally backward classes and Dalits has significant implications for future of the economy and polity of the country.

### 0.1 Economic Mobility

Economic mobility has been selected as a basic tool of analysis in the present exercise. Shanin broadly defines economic mobility as change in the wealth of the peasant households (Shanin, 1972). Although there is a good deal of literature on socio-economic mobility, most of the studies are confined to social mobility<sup>1</sup> ; many of them are concerned with occupational mobility. However, the shortcomings in the usage of occupation as an indicator of mobility for society as a whole (especially agrarian societies<sup>2</sup>) tended to limit its wide applicability. Hence, the Indian scholars followed an unorthodox way to study the social mobility, viz., caste-wise mobility. By using qualitative (historical and

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<sup>1</sup> Social mobility involves changes in the status of individuals and groups in a stratified society taking an upward or downward direction. Such a directionality may happen in three ways (i) *vertical mobility* (involving a change in social or economic rank) (ii) *horizontal mobility* (involving a change in occupation but no change in rank) and (iii) *spatial mobility* with change in location or migration with or without change in rank.

<sup>2</sup> The dilemmas of occupational mobility in agrarian societies are: the inadequacy of the concept of occupational change in the context of agriculture; the difficulties in knowing upward or downward mobility of a farmer or worker; and lack of quantitative data on shifts in occupation in agriculture (Miller, 1960; 61).

anthropological) information, this approach had concentrated mainly on the group mobility within the caste-system<sup>3</sup>. The essential tools of this approach are cultural variables such as the adoption of high status rituals, customs and marriages of 'high' castes by 'low' status groups, generally after an improvement in their economic position<sup>4</sup>. Since these were concerned mainly with the upward mobility of a particular group, the downward mobility of members within a social group is not always given adequate attention.

The studies on peasant mobility in South Asia are few in number. This is probably due to the difficulties involved in the collection of quantitative information on economic position of peasant households at various time points. These studies, drawing their inspiration from the historical debate between the Marxists and Populists in the early twentieth century Russia, were not always successful in capturing the 'multi-directional mobility'.

### *1 The Russian Debate*

Between the late 19th century and early 1930s, an intense debate took place in the erstwhile Soviet Union on the origins of peasant mobility. The main point in the debate was whether for modernization process, penetration of capital into agriculture was required. The Marxists had argued that it was indeed necessary.

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<sup>3</sup> See for instance, Srinivas (1952), Betille (1965), Rajasekhar (1988), Athreya (1985), Guhan and Mencher (1982).

<sup>4</sup> Education is also cited as an important reason for the upward mobility of lower caste groups. Besides, the shifting of cultural value takes place through contact and communication of members of different strata; the flow of cultural values is generally from city to country (Sorokin, 1954).

But Neo-Populists led by Chayanov argued that there was an alternative path of economic development which can be more effective than large scale industrialization in eliminating mass poverty (Kitching, 1982, p.21).

### *ii The Marxist View*

The Marxists had argued that a continuous cumulation of economic advantages and disadvantages led to a differentiation of the peasantry resulting in the emergence of two prominent social classes viz., the capitalists and proletarians. As the traditional relations between the peasant and land owner had come to be based purely on cash and contract the peasantry were increasingly depending on market. The Marxists felt that the only way out to this problem was the appropriation of the means of production and organization of farming on a collective basis.

### **Ø.2 Chayanov's Model of Demographic Differentiation**

The Chayanov (1966) model was based upon the pure family farm which was a production-cum-consumption unit, without employing wage labour. Cultivation for the farming family was not a business but a source of subsistence which was socially accepted and the minimum that peasants will accept (Miller, 1970, p.220).

Chayanov had argued that the size and consumption of the family will determine the output of the peasant farm. The peasant families will work for as long and hard as is required to obtain their

minimum level of subsistence. Chayanov used consumer/worker (C/W) ratio as a key variable in explaining that the changes in economic activities of a peasant household would depend upon endogenous factors. When a young family comes into existence, the consumption pressure would be low and so also other factors of production. The biological growth of young family would cause a rise in C/W. This would lead to an increase in the intensity of labour i.e., self-exploitation among its working members and pulling in the other factors of production (such as labour, land and credit). As children become working members C/W eases. Slowly the degree of self exploitation decreases. Beyond this, no more children are born into the household and the C/W falls rapidly as children grow up. Though the grown up children would begin leaving the household, the work capacity of the household remains constant as other children keep reaching an adult's work capacity. Subsequently the C/W drops to one and slowly the farm size decreases as children leave the household, the demographic cycle is completed and the farm size returns to its initial stage. Thus, according to Chayanov a peasant household in its life cycle experiences both an upward and downward mobility. Chayanov called this process as one of 'demographic differentiation'.

### **Ø.3 Shanin's Model of Peasant Mobility**

Teodar Shanin made an attempt to synthesize these two divergent views on peasant mobility. He felt that peasant mobility in any society with growing market relations ought to be complex. According to Shanin (1972) peasant mobility is of two types: (1) centrifugal mobility or polarization i.e., further impoverishment

of poorer families and further enrichment of rich families (ii)  
centripetal mobility or levelling tendencies i.e., relative  
impoverishment of richer families and relative enrichment of poorer  
families.

Shanin noted that peasant mobility was multi-directional in character i.e., it consists to a large extent, mutually opposing movements of individual households which cancel themselves out when the analysis is confined to the study of the mobility as a whole. Shanin argued that both centrifugal and centripetal tendencies had contributed to the differentiation process in Russian peasant society. A peasant household, would for some time, rise in socio-economic terms within the peasant community and then after reaching the peak it undergoes a decline. At a later stage, the same household having reached its lowest ebb, might again start to move upward and the whole cycle would commence once again (Shanin, 1972, p.76). He calls it as cyclical mobility. Shanin's peasant mobility can be explained in the following way:

#### SHANIN'S MODEL

| Centrifugal Mobility                                   | Centripetal Mobility        |
|--|-----------------------------|
| a) Cumulation of economic advantages and disadvantages | b) Land Re-division         |
| d) Biological life cycle(?)                            | c) Substantive Changes      |
| e) Random factors                                      | i) partitioning             |
|  | ii) merger                  |
|  | iii) extinction             |
|  | iv) emigration              |
|  | d) Biological life cycle(?) |
|  | e) Random factors           |

Shanin's model was criticised by a number of thinkers. A common criticism is that the model is essentially a catalogue of determinants of mobility not linked to each other (Cox,1979; Miller,1973; Brower,1973). Secondly, Shanin's recognition that the model, which is essentially based on Russian experience still needs to be reformulated in accordance with the historical and regional specificities.

Rajasekhar (1992) in studying the economic mobility of rural households in Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh for the period c. 1860- c. 1989 had modified Shanin's model. His modifications are as follows.

#### *i Cumulation of Economic Advantages and Disadvantages*

The Marxist concept of "cumulation of economic advantages and disadvantages" is formulated after an analysis of cross sectional data on the ownership of principal productive forces in a specific society<sup>5</sup>. Recent works on class analysis and mode of production in India also generally compare the distribution of owned / operated land and extent of market involvement among small, medium and big farmers at a point of time and assert on the basis of high inequality in the distribution of land usually shown by the data that large farmers have been gaining land at the expense of small farmers. Such an approach is deficient because, firstly, "it draws conclusions about the past dynamics of farm size distribution from the current static picture of it" (Shergill, 1985; A-23). As

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<sup>5</sup> Lenin's (1972) analysis pertains to Russian Society of late 19th century; Kautsky's (1980) work relates to German society.



Chayanov shows such inequality could be due to different stages in life cycle. Moreover, the empirical studies on peasant mobility in India do not support the view that it is the initial area owned by a family that matters in economic competition and in determining its chances of gaining or losing the land. If cumulation of economic advantages and disadvantages was the dominant historical phenomenon, today we would not have seen the predominance of small and marginal farmers.

### *ii Partitioning*

Both Chayanov and Shanin postulated that rich peasants would experience higher rates of partitioning leading eventually to downward economic mobility (Harrison, 1977, p.137). On the other hand Lenin testified to the existence of large families among the rich farmers. Lenin felt that there was a lesser desire of well-to-do peasantry to divide up the land (Lenin, 1972, p.94). Krishnaji argued that rates of partitioning were higher among the poor peasants as compared to the rich farmers. He argued that there are no economic forces which assert partitioning among the poor peasant families. With a low level of expectation of life, marriages among them are early and average time of reproduction faster. On the other hand, the rich peasant households do not find any incentive to split their properties (Krishnaji, 1980, p.38). Rajasekhar (1988) tested these propositions with reference to data obtained in dry village from Rayalaseema in Andhra. He found that during the period 1948-84, partitioning was more associated with the rich farmers. However, when he carried out a sub-period wise analysis an inverse relation was found between partitioning and the

size class of land holdings in the first two sub-periods i.e., 1948-56 and 1956-61. In the period 1956-74 partitioning was associated with rich farmers a process encouraged by land reforms. This, was not in accordance with Chayanov's life cycle theory.

### *iii Random Factors*

According to Shanin, random factors such as nature, market and state would work for both centrifugal and centripetal tendencies. While factors such as nature and market may appear random to the peasant, it is not clear why an observer should assume them to be random in their impact. In general, it seems more likely that the rich would be able to cope up better both with natural disasters and vagaries of the market even though these phenomena might affect all farmers equally. Moreover, the patterns of their influence and inter-relationship are not fully explained in the model (Cox, 1976, p.76). According to Rajasekhar (1992) state policies were biased in favour of rich sections of agricultural population. In addition to the above, Rajasekhar added the following as determinants of economic mobility.

### *iv Land Reforms*

Land reforms by way of tenancy reforms gave rise to centripetal mobility because of large scale evictions of tenants. On the other hand, ceiling laws by creating fear among the landed gentry led to a wide spread partitioning, benami transfers and checks on acquisition of landed assets which in turn led to centripetal mobility (Rajasekhar, 1988).

### *v Cultivable Wastes*

In the irrigated regions, which experienced agrarian dynamism, cultivable wastes were not available in great supply. Hence, there could have been an intense competition amongst the peasants to occupy them wherever they were available. On the other hand, in the dry areas considerable tracts of cultivable wastes were available till recently. Since they were virgin lands, only the households with sufficient family labour with a hard working ethos were in an advantageous position to bring them under plough (Rajasekhar, 1988, pp.18-20). Hence, the impact of the availability of cultivable wastes on economic mobility depends on the specificities of a region for it can lead to either centrifugal or centripetal mobilities.

### *vi Population Growth*

Yet another determinant of economic mobility is population growth. In a densely populated contemporary India it assumes added importance. As Lenski pointed out "in societies where there are no important frontiers, either geographical or economic, surplus manpower is usually driven downward in the class system in the direction of expendable class which perform the function of redressing the demographic balance" (Lenski, 1966, p.260 cited in Schendel, 1982).

#### 0.4 Objectives of the Study

The present study attempts to analyze the changing pattern of land ownership in a delta village which had the benefit of canal irrigation for well over 130 years. Nandivada village from Krishna district of Coastal Andhra has been selected for the present study. A multi-caste village, Nandivada has Kammas and Reddies as the numerically and economically dominant cultivating castes. The village has four category of 'social classes'. They are: Forward Classes (FCs), Other Backward Classes (OBCs), Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs). Originally an Agraharam, (Brahmin Settlement) Nandivada witnessed dramatic changes in the land ownership patterns during the 20th Century.

The following are the Objectives of the Study:

- i. To analyze changes in land ownership pattern across social classes and castes in an irrigated village over six decades.
- ii. To analyze the functioning of land market amongst the social classes and castes in the village during the post-1970 period.
- iii. To analyze the socio-economic reasons for the economic mobility of social classes and castes in the village.

The emphasis in the study is on the economic mobility of social classes (FCs, OBCs, SCs and STs) as also the individual castes among them. An analysis of partitioning and family formation was hampered by the fact, <sup>that</sup> in the survey village out-migration and in-

migrations were predominant. In that limited sense households of the village were not 'stable'. However, to the extent possible information on economic mobility of some of the out-migrant households was also gathered and analyzed. Insights were sought to be obtained by presenting case studies on economic mobility of households across castes. The case studies include both upward and downward economic mobility.

### **0.5 Methodology and Data**

The dynamics of a rural society cannot be captured through an exclusive reliance on published and unpublished data. Hence, there is a need for undertaking an extensive field survey. As our interest is to explain the dynamics of a rural society in a deltaic region, a multi-caste village from the delta region of Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh was selected.

#### *i Selection of the Study Village*

The study village was selected in two stages. First, Krishna district from Delta Andhra was selected for the following reasons:

- a. Krishna district had a long history of commercialization of agriculture since an anicut on river Krishna was built in 1855.
- b. In terms of agricultural production and productivity the district's dynamism became particularly evident in 1970s and 1980s.

- c. ✓ The landlords of the district especially the Kammas showed a high degree of enterprise both in agricultural and non-agricultural activities.
- d. ✓ The district recorded a higher literacy rate among districts in the state next only to Hyderabad.
- e. ✓ It is one among the top five districts in Andhra where non-farm employment is highly concentrated.

In the second stage, the Nandivada Panchayat comprising two revenue villages i.e., Nandivada and Srinivasapuram (hereafter Nandivada Village or Nandivada) was selected. The village is located in the delta (irrigated) region of the district. Also, the village has a wide range of castes numbering in all 24. A pucca road connecting the village with the delta town of Gudivada, facilitated transport and trade. All the indicators (basic characteristics, demography, agricultural etc.) are almost in tune with the district delta averages (see Chapter-I). The specific reasons for selecting this village are:

- a. ✓ There have been significant shifts in the extent of lands owned by different caste groups during the last 65 years.
- b. ✓ Nandivada has been exposed to several agents of change, the most important among them are commercialization of agriculture, land reforms, new technology and state's role

### *ii Household Census Survey*

To start with a Census of households in the village was conducted to collect basic information on the number and size of households and their basic characteristics like occupations (primary and secondary), age, sex, education, and household information like caste status, landholding status, migration, house type and so on. A simple 'Census Schedule' was canvassed among all the households for this purpose. The information thus collected also served as a frame for selecting sample households for a more intensive survey.

### *iii Household Sample Survey*

It was observed from the census frame referred to above, that all those involved in capital intensive non-farm activities (rice mill, commission business etc.) did own more than 10 acres of land each. Hence, households were selected by a stratified random sampling method without replacement, the strata being (a) size of land ownership and (b) Caste.

**Table 0.1**  
**Number of Households in the Population and Sample, Nandivada, 1997**

| Social Class | Landless Class  |                    |                    |                     |                      |                 |              | Total            |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|
|              | <1.00<br>acre   | 1.00<br>to<br>2.00 | 2.00<br>to<br>5.00 | 5.00<br>to<br>10.00 | 10.00<br>to<br>20.00 | >20.00<br>acres |              |                  |
| FCs          | 63 (9)          | 9 (1)              | 32 (5)             | 38 (6)              | 21 (3)               | 15 (2)          | 6 (2)        | 184 (28)         |
| OBCs         | 139 (20)        | 21 (4)             | 42 (6)             | 40 (6)              | 17 (3)               | 6 (1)           | 1 (0)        | 266 (40)         |
| SCs          | 105 (15)        | 37 (5)             | 24 (3)             | 24 (3)              | 3 (2)                | 1 (0)           | - (0)        | 194 (28)         |
| STs          | 42 (5)          | 3 (1)              | 1 (1)              | - (0)               | - (0)                | - (0)           | - (0)        | 46 (7)           |
| <b>ALL</b>   | <b>349 (49)</b> | <b>70 (11)</b>     | <b>99 (15)</b>     | <b>102 (15)</b>     | <b>41 (8)</b>        | <b>22 (3)</b>   | <b>7 (2)</b> | <b>690 (103)</b> |

Source: Census (complete enumeration) of the village and Survey Data.  
Note: Given in the parenthesis are Sample Households.

From these households, retrospective data on land transfers, lease-in, lease-out, labour market, the credit market, rural non-farm activities and enterprises, cost of cultivation etc were collected. Even though we had land transfer data from the Sub-Registrar's Office, the information like reasons for selling and purchase as recorded in the registration documents cannot be relied upon. Hence, in order to know the exact reasons of sale and purchase the data are collected from the field and cross checked for their reliability. Information about the brothers and sisters of the head of the household was collected to know about migration and occupational diversification of the members of the sample households. Data on dowry or *streedhanam*, were collected for both brides and bridegrooms. For this purpose an intensive survey among a sample of households was conducted with the help of an exhaustive schedule-cum-questionnaire.

#### *iv Period of Survey*

The entire field work comprising household census and sample survey in the study village, field observation and collection of secondary data (published and unpublished) at various levels (village, mandal, district, state) was completed within a period of five months, from July 1997 to October 1997 and in the month of February 1998.

#### *v Source and Procedures of Data Collection (Un-Published)*

Village land records constitute the major source of data on land-ownership pattern. The data relating to land-ownership pattern in



1932 are obtained from Fair Adangal maintained by Village Administrative Officer and Re-Settlement Register maintained by the Sub-Registrar's Office at Gudivada. In this record, land under different survey numbers, owner's name with his surname is given without any reference to caste. Later land owned by every individual is added and thus the total extent of land owned by each individual is obtained. Then the author went to the concerned village and consulted village Karanam<sup>6</sup> and some other elderly people to know the caste of various land-owners noted from Fair Adangal and Re-settlement Register by invoking their past memories through surname and name. The problem of joint ownership was overcome by consulting the successors and elderly people of such owners, and apportioning the land to the individuals among such joint land-owners. A similar kind of data with regard to land-ownership in 1997, which accounts for total geographical area is available from Number 3 Register maintained by the Village Administrative Officer. Same procedure as in 1932 was followed to arrive at each individual's land ownership in 1997.

Land transfer data (1971-1997) for Nandivada village is obtained from the Sub-Registrar's office, Gudivada and castes are identified from the surnames and names of the buyers and sellers.

The methods followed to overcome some of the drawbacks of the above data are discussed in detail in the respective chapters, where they are analyzed.

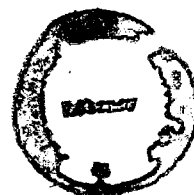
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<sup>6</sup> Karanam is the Administrative Officer of the village, who maintains all revenue records pertaining to the village.

## 0.6 Chapter Outline

The thesis is organized into six chapters-one introductory and five substantive. Chapter I familiarizes the reader with the study region and village with some socio-economic indicators. Chapter II gives a changing ownership scenario of the cultivable land in the village between 1932 and 1997. In this chapter changing land ownership across castes, size classes and gender are looked into. Chapter III titled Operation of Land Market is devoted to analyze the land transfers between 1971 and 1997, in terms of caste, period, gender etc. Thus Chapters II & III, reveal some dynamics in changing land ownership in the village. The reasons for economic mobility of different social classes and castes are explained in Chapter IV. Chapter V gives the summary and conclusions of the study.

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## Chapter I

### THE STUDY VILLAGE IN A WIDER CONTEXT

#### 1.0 Introduction

Nandivada, the village selected for an intensive field survey for the present study is located in Nandivada Mandal<sup>1</sup> in the Delta region of Krishna district in Southern Coastal Andhra<sup>2</sup>. Benefited as it was, from the assured canal waters under the Godavari, Krishna and Pennar irrigation systems, the Southern Coastal Andhra region, especially its delta segments registered agricultural expansion and growth for nearly one and half centuries, from mid-19th century onwards. Assured canal waters not only facilitated crop stability and generation of agricultural surpluses and their reinvestment back in cultivation, the commercialization process in the delta agriculture took a novel turn in as much as paddy acquired a dual character-of being both a subsistence and commercial crop. Activation of agrarian markets in land, labour, credit and output greatly facilitated the process of commercialization of agriculture in Southern Coastal Andhra in general and the Delta regions in particular<sup>3</sup>.

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✓ <sup>1</sup> 'Mandal' is a revenue-cum-developmental administrative unit of a district, comprising on an average about 25 villages. There are 50 mandals in Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh. In the present study seven Mandals where the net sown area was below 30 percent are excluded from the analysis. For details see the Appendix 1.1.

<sup>2</sup> Southern Coastal Andhra consists of six districts viz., East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Prakasam and Nellore.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of the impact of irrigation on agrarian expansion and growth in the erstwhile greater Godavari and Krishna districts, see G.Niranjana Rao, 'Changing Conditions and Growth of Agricultural Economy in the Krishna and Godavari Districts, 1840-1890', Ph.D Thesis, Andhra University, Waltair, 1973. Also see G.N.Rao.

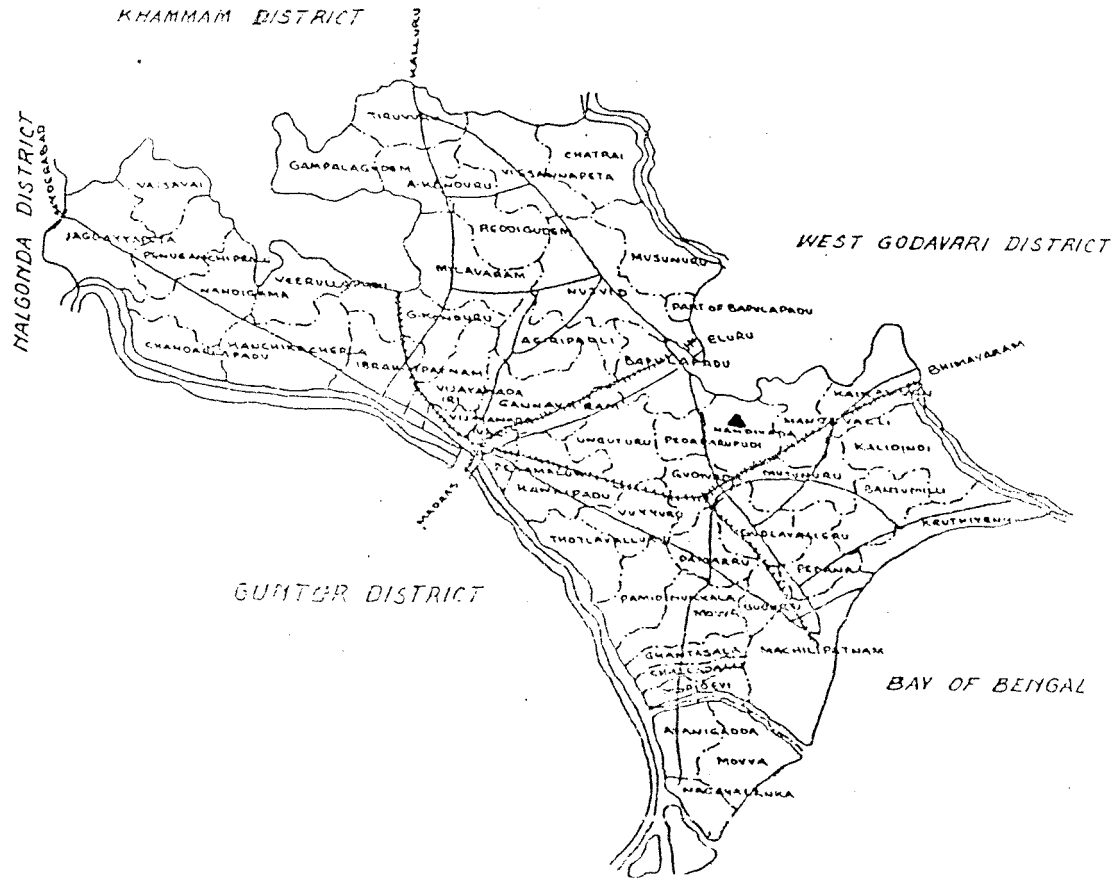
## 1.1 Agriculture in Krishna District

Krishna district comprised 50 Mandals covering four revenue divisions viz., (i) Bandar, (ii) Vijayawada, (iii) Gudivada and (iv) Nuzvid. The district is divided into Delta and Upland (dry) zones. Of the 50 Mandals, 16 are in the Delta zone, 27 in Uplands; 7 are excluded for purpose of the present analysis as net sown area in these Mandals formed less than 30 per cent of the geographical area (Appendix 1.1). All the Mandals in Bandar and Gudivada divisions and a few from the Vijayawada division (Penamaluru, Kankipadu, Thotlavalluru, part of Vijayawada (rural) constitute the Delta zone and all the Mandals of Nuzvid division and the remaining Mandals of Vijayawada division form the Upland (dry) zone. The Delta lands are irrigated by the canal waters of the river Krishna and tanks form the main source of irrigation for lands in the Upland zone (see Map 1.1 for more insights).

There are three types of soils in Krishna district. They are (i) black cotton soils which form 57.6 per cent of the total geographical area, (ii) sandy-clay loams constituting 22.3 per cent and (iii) red-loamy lands which form about 19.4 percentage points. A small belt of sandy soils near the sea coast form about 0.7 per cent of the total geographical area of the district.

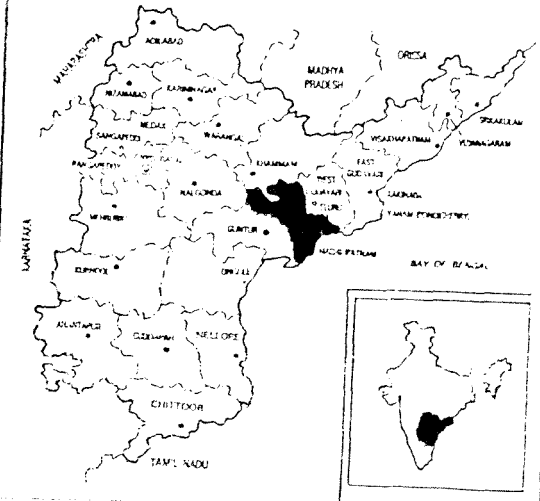
The total geographical area of the district is 17,92,520 acres, of which 6.19 lakh acres or a little over one-third is in the Delta zone and the rest of two-thirds in the Uplands zone.

Map 1.1  
 The Study Village in Krishna District  
 scale 1 inch = 16 miles



- Road Line
- ++++ Railway Line
- ~~~~~ River Krishna
- ▲ Nandivada Village

Andhra Pradesh



As for the particulars in land use pattern in the district in the year 1993-94 a little over two-thirds of the delta lands and 54 per cent of the uplands were under cultivation. Whereas nearly one-tenth of the upland were under forests, there were no forests in the delta lands. It is interesting to see that nearly one-fourth of the geographical area of the Delta zone was put to non-agricultural purposes; lands under this category formed only 12 per cent of the total area in the Dry zone. Lands under (i) cultivable wastes (ii) other fallow lands and (iii) current fallows hardly constitute 2 per cent of the total geographical area in the Delta zone. But they formed more than 15 per cent in the Uplands. The land use pattern in Nandivada Mandal closely resembles that of the Delta zone of the district. As much as 69 per cent of the total area of this Mandal was under crops in 1993-94. And over one-fourth of area was put to non-agricultural purposes (Table 1.1).

**Table 1.1**  
**Land Utilization Pattern in Delta, Upland and Nandivada**  
**Mandals of Krishna District, 1993-94 (in per cent).**

| Sl.No.Classification of<br>Geographical Area                           | Delta         | Uplands        | Nandivada<br>Mandal |
|--|---------------|----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Forests   | -             | 9.76           | -                   |
| 2. Barren and<br>Uncultivable Land                                     | 3.53          | 5.65           | 0.25                |
| 3. Land put to<br>Non-agricultural Use                                 | 23.86         | 12.28          | 25.13               |
| 4. Cultivable Waste  | 0.21          | 2.38           | -                   |
| 5. Permanent Pastures<br>and Grazing Land                              | 0.13          | 0.28           | -                   |
| 6. Miscellaneous Trees<br>and Grooves not included<br>in Net Area Sown | 4.13          | 2.60           | -                   |
| 7. Other Follow Lands  | 1.12          | 5.61           | 4.76                |
| 8. Current Fallows   | 0.50          | 7.30           | 0.86                |
| 9. Net Area Sown   | 66.51         | 54.14          | 69.00               |
| <b>10. Total Geographical Area</b>                                     | <b>100.00</b> | <b>100.00</b>  | <b>100.00</b>       |
| <b>10A. (in Acres)</b>   | <b>618718</b> | <b>1173802</b> | <b>41139</b>        |

Source: Handbook of Statistics, Krishna District, 1992-93 & 1993-94.

The cropping pattern in the dry lands is more diversified compared to the delta lands. Whereas as much as 70 per cent of the gross cropped area in the Delta zone was under paddy in 1993-94, pulses claimed more than 22 per cent. In the Uplands, area under paddy formed less than one-third of the total gross cropped area. Whereas on more than one-fourth of the dry lands raised pulses, fruits and vegetables claimed over 16 per cent of the total gross cropped area. As for the cropping pattern in Nandivada Mandal, over 78 per cent of the area was under paddy, leaving a little over 21 per cent for pulses. This has close resemblance to cropping pattern of the Delta zone. In the Delta zone paddy and pulses together claimed over 92.5 per cent of the gross cropped area, in Nandivada Mandal this share was as high as 99.7 Per cent. This suggests that as in the Delta zone crop specialization (in terms of raising paddy and pulses) was much more intense in Nandivada Mandal (Table 1.2).

**Table 1.2**  
**Percentage Distribution of Gross Cropped Area by Crop in**  
**Delta, Upland and Nandivada Mandals of Krishna District,**  
**1993-94, (per cent)**

| Sl. No.                      | Name of the Crop  | Delta         | Uplands       | Nandivada Mandal |
|------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|
| 1                            | Paddy             | 70.30         | 31.92         | 78.24            |
| 2                            | Coarse cereals    | -             | 0.39          | -                |
| 3                            | Pulses            | 22.24         | 25.33         | 21.52            |
| 4                            | Condiments&spices | 0.42          | 4.51          | -                |
| 5                            | Sugarcane         | 4.74          | 3.46          | 0.04             |
| 6                            | Fruits&Vegetables | 1.03          | 16.22         | -                |
| 7                            | Cotton            | -             | 4.93          | -                |
| 8                            | Groundnut         | 0.25          | 7.66          | -                |
| 9                            | Others            | 1.02          | 5.57          | 0.20             |
| <b>10 Total Cropped Area</b> |                   | <b>100.00</b> | <b>100.00</b> | <b>100.00</b>    |
| <b>10A</b>                   | <b>(in acres)</b> | <b>802926</b> | <b>799428</b> | <b>58302</b>     |

Source: Handbook of Statistics, Krishna District, 1992-93 & 1993-94, pp.33-37.

## 1.2 Population Pressure, Land Holdings and Work-Force

In Krishna district population density rose sharply from 286 (persons/Km<sup>2</sup>) in 1971 to 349 in 1981 and 424 in 1991. A higher district density (424) as compared to that of the Delta zone (351) suggests growth of urbanization. Interestingly the density level of Nandivada Mandal in 1991 was lower than the densities of both the Delta and Upland zones (Table 1.3).

According to the 1991 census, around 71 per cent of the operational holdings in the delta mandals have a size below one hectare. Expectedly, the size distribution of land-holdings in the uplands is less skewed with about 58 per cent of them falling under the lowest size category and 12 per cent in the upper size class (Table 1.3).

In all there are 595 villages in Krishna district-262 in Delta and 333 in Upland regions (Table 1.3). The district has a total of 4,07,442 landholdings of which 1,62,918 or about 40 per cent are in the Delta region. Nearly 72 per cent of the landholdings in Delta and about 59 per cent in Upland regions belong to the less than one-hectare size-class. This suggests a greater degree of fragmentation of landholdings in the Delta region. The details of size distribution of landholdings in Nandivada Mandal closely resemble those of the Delta region (Table 1.6).

The uplands recorded relatively higher proportion (58 per cent) of agricultural labour and smaller portion (22 per cent) of non-farm & others, reflecting generally smaller degree of diversification of



livelihood in the sub-region. But, on the other hand in Nandivda Mandal the number of cultivators form a handsome 23 per cent, which is higher than that of the Delta Mandals. Generally, a sizeable number of cultivators are involved in some non-farm activities as their secondary occupations, which the Census could not capture. This gap was sought to be filled in the field survey of the village (next section). The lower proportion of cultivating class in Uplands becomes a dis-incentive for them to diversify to non-farm activities as their secondary activities, as it is the case in the Delta Mandals.

**Table 1.3**  
**Selected Indicators of Demography and Workforce in Delta, Upland and Nandivada Mandals of Krishna District, 1990-91.**

| Sl.  | Indicator                                      | Delta  | Uplands | Nandivada<br>Mandal |
|------|--|--------|---------|---------------------|
| 1.   | Rural Population Density                       | 351    | 264     | 241                 |
| 2.   | Number of Villages                             | 262    | 333     | 22                  |
| 3.   | Average area per Village (Km <sup>2</sup> )    | 6.30   | 9.62    | 7.55                |
| 4.   | Workforce (1991)                               |        |         |                     |
| 4.1  | Total workers as % of population               | 46.99  | 47.49   | 53.57               |
| 4.1A | Total Population                               | 871906 | 1603288 | 39940               |
| 4.2  | Occupational Distribution of total workers (%) |        |         |                     |
|      | -Cultivators                                   | 19.18  | 16.73   | 23.41               |
|      | -Agriculture Labour                            | 50.72  | 58.30   | 55.00               |
|      | -Livestock etc                                 | 1.61   | 1.47    | 0.78                |
|      | -Non-agriculture & others                      | 28.49  | 22.50   | 20.81               |

Source: **Handbook of Statistics, Krishna District, 1992-93 & 1993-94.**

### *1 Trends in Landholdings*

The district level published data on landholdings refer to operational holdings. They are drawn from Agricultural Census of

1970-71 and 1986-97. Commenting on these data Omkarnath (1993) observed:

"First, the basic unit of enumeration is the 'operational holding' which consists of all lands held by the operator, whether or not owned, and without regard to (its) title, legal form, size or location. Within the operational holding, the land must be operated as one 'technical unit,' i.e., 'under the same management and has the same means of production such as labour force, machinery and animals'. Secondly, the census methodology consists of re-tabulation of cultivator-wise information available in the village records by village officers. Important problems of interpretation arise here. By treating the operational holding, rather than the cultivator household as the unit of enumeration and analysis, the censuses abstract completely from the gamut of agrarian relations under which land is actually held and operated. The very attributes that are discounted, such as 'title'/legal form, size or location' are important in understanding the structure and dynamics of agrarian economy" (Omkarnath. 1993, p.86).

Hence, a sincere attempt was made in this direction by analyzing the data from unpublished sources such as Re-settlement Register (1932) and Number 3 Register of 1997 (Chapter-II). The dynamics of the agrarian economy with respect to land ownership can be traced by analyzing the land transactions for a reasonably long period. In order to capture such dynamics land transactions from 1971-97, were analyzed based on caste and size class of land holdings (Chapter-III).

### *ii Landholdings in Krishna District*

Before going into the details of land ownership, the trends from published sources enlighten us with certain trends. Table 1.4 presents the size distribution of operational holdings and area operated in Krishna district for the years 1970-71 and 1986-87. Judging by the marginal but successive declines in the Gini coefficient, the distribution may have improved over roughly two decades.

Between 1970-71 and 1986-87 there was a rise in the number of landholding and to a limited extent operated area in the district. In 1970-71, more than one-fifth of the total operated area in the district belonged to the size-class of 10 hectares and above. This proportion had come down to a little over 8 per cent by 1986-87. As for the lowest size class of operated area (less than a hectare) both the shares in the total number of holdings and area showed a rise. As for the size classes between these two extremes, whereas the proportions in the number of holdings have declined over this period, their shares in the operated areas had gone up (Table 1.4). Between 1986-87 and 1990-91, there was a rise both in the number of operated holdings and the area (Table 1.5).

**Table 1.4**  
**Percentage Distribution of Number and Area of Operational**  
**Holdings by Size-class in Krishna District, 1970-71 & 1986-87.**

| Size-class              | 1970-71                   |                           |                         | 1986-87                   |                           |                         |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
|                         | Holdings                  | Area                      | Avg size of Holding(ha) | Holdings                  | Area                      | Avg size of Holding(ha) |
| <1 ha                   | 55.58                     | 12.20                     | 0.25                    | 64.08                     | 22.43                     | 0.45                    |
| 1-2 ha                  | 19.93                     | 15.53                     | 0.78                    | 18.72                     | 20.61                     | 1.40                    |
| 2-4 ha                  | 13.63                     | 21.00                     | 1.54                    | 11.10                     | 24.08                     | 2.77                    |
| 4-10 ha                 | 8.63                      | 28.53                     | 3.31                    | 5.40                      | 24.48                     | 5.78                    |
| 10 ha & above           | 2.23                      | 21.04                     | 9.45                    | 0.70                      | 8.41                      | 15.36                   |
| <b>Total</b>            | <b>100.00</b><br>(304387) | <b>100.00</b><br>(553016) |                         | <b>100.00</b><br>(439944) | <b>100.00</b><br>(560749) |                         |
| <b>Gini-coefficient</b> | <b>0.57601</b>            |                           |                         | <b>0.5124</b>             |                           |                         |

Source: GOAP, Report on Agricultural Census, 1970-71 & 1986-87, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Hyderabad.

**Table 1.5**  
**Growth in Number and Area of Operational Holdings in Krishna District: 1970-71, 1986-87 and 1990-91.**

|                    | 1970-71 | 1986-87 | 1990-91 |
|--------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| Number of Holdings | 304387  | 439994  | 466421  |
| Area (in hectares) | 1371480 | 1383868 | 1397528 |

Source: GOAP, Report on Agricultural Census, 1970-71 & 1986-87, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Hyderabad.

Handbook of Statistics, Krishna District 1992-93 & 1993-94, for Number and Area of Operational Holdings, 1990-91, p.45.

**Table 1.6**  
**Size Distribution of Operational Holdings in Delta, Upland and Nandivada Mandals of Krishna District, 1991, (in Percent).**

| Size Class               | Delta  | Uplands | Nandivada Mandal |
|--------------------------|--------|---------|------------------|
| < hectare                | 71.71  | 58.85   | 68.06            |
| 1.00-3.00 hectares       | 22.88  | 29.09   | 25.57            |
| 3.00 hectares and above  | 5.41   | 12.06   | 6.37             |
| ALL                      | 100    | 100     | 100              |
| Total Number of Holdings | 162918 | 244524  | 12620            |

Source: Handbook of Statistics, Krishna District, 1992-93 & 1993-94, pp.45-47.

### 1.3 The Study Village

Nandivada, the village under study is situated 10 Kms away from Gudivada a major municipality in Krishna District of Coastal Andhra. The village is a Panchayat comprising of two revenue villages, Nandivada and Srinivasapuram. The latter is a hamlet of the village. The underlying logic in taking the panchayat village rather than the revenue village is that when the panchayat is taken for the study, one can cover all the castes including Yanadis, a scheduled tribe. Also, it will be easier to analyze changing political conditions when panchayat is considered as a unit of

analysis. The economic and contingent reasoning for doing so is that landholdings of the people belonging to the two revenue villages are spread across both the revenue villages. Also, there is geographical contiguity between the two revenue villages.

The village is supported by canal irrigation since the mid-nineteenth century. The main crop grown in the village is paddy with a very small area under black gram. The village witnessed a stable agriculture since mid-Nineteenth century. Soon after the advent of Green Revolution in late 1960s, the land productivity increased dramatically. The village underwent economic and social changes with an assured canal irrigation and yields. Such changes were faster after the Green Revolution. This is visible ofcourse in almost all the deltaic villages in the Coastal Andhra districts of Krishna, East Godavari, West Godavari, Guntur and Nellore.

Peasant communities are differentiated in terms of asset holdings. Nandivada is a multi-caste village with Brahmins, Vaisyas, Kshatriyas, Viswa- Brahmins, Kammas, Reddies, Kapus, Turpu Kapus, Koppula Velama (here after K.Velama), Gowdas, Yadavas, Agnikula Kshatriyas (here after A.Kshatriya), Rajakas, Padmasaleelu, Uppara, Mutrasulu, Nayi Brahmins, Hari Dasulu, Malas, Madigas and Yanadis. In 1950s at one end of the economic spectrum, there were Kamma families some of which having land holdings above 100 acres and landless labour families from different castes (including Kammas) at the other. In between there were families with varying sizes of landholdings. There were also some Reddy families having land holding above 50 acres. However, from among the Reddies there were also some landless families.

In the post-independence period, especially from late 1960s onwards, economic balance across castes had been changing. The pre-eminent position that the Kamma Community enjoyed has been giving way to a situation where the other communities started acquiring land and other assets. The rich landholding Kamma families started disposing of their assets, out-migrating to urban centres in search of 'greener pastures'. Both out-migration from the village and in-migration into the village (from the neighbouring villages as also from the North-eastern parts of Coastal Andhra) have been taking place simultaneously.

About one-fourth of the population in Nandivada are children below 15 years. A little over 63 per cent of males and two-thirds of the females in Nandivada are in the age-group 15 to 55 years (Table 1.7).

**Table 1.7**  
**Age and Sex Distribution of Population in Nandivada, 1997,**  
**(in per cent).**

| Age Group    | Males                       | Females                     | Total                       |
|--------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Less than 15 | 24.93                       | 24.17                       | 24.51                       |
| 15-55        | 63.17                       | 65.68                       | 64.42                       |
| 55 and Above | 11.90                       | 10.15                       | 11.07                       |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>100</b><br><b>(1352)</b> | <b>100</b><br><b>(1349)</b> | <b>100</b><br><b>(2701)</b> |

Source: Census (complete enumeration) of the village, 1997.

Note: Figures in parenthesis are the respective column populations.

*i A Brief Description of the Castes in Nandivada*

The Kammas, Reddies and Kapus whose traditional occupation has been cultivation fall under Forward (peasant) Castes or Classes<sup>4</sup>. Brahmins are the priestly people who fall at the top in the social hierarchy. They are considered as forward caste or class. The Vaisyas locally known as 'Komaties' are traditionally a business caste dealing with sale of domestic requirements such as food provisions, cosmetics, condiments as also wholesale & commission business. They are yet another forward caste or class.

OBCs are the other Backward Classes as per the classification by the Government of Andhra Pradesh. Among the OBCs, Yadavas and Upparis were once agricultural labourers turned into cultivating castes. Like wise, the Turpu Kapus (equivalent to Gowdas in social status) and the Koppula Velamas who migrated from northern part of Coastal Andhra, started as agricultural labour and now turned into cultivating castes. They fall under the OBC category.

Artisanal castes such as Kummari (pot makers), Padmasali (weaver) Viswa Brahmins (sub-divided basing on occupations such as Goldsmith, Blacksmith, Carpenter etc) fall under OBCs. It should however be noted OBCs castes like Viswa Brahmins and Padmasali actually belong to the upper slots in the caste hierarchy. Rajakas

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<sup>4</sup> Thurston wrote regarding the origin of Kammas- " the Kammas, Kapus or Reddies, Velamas and Telagas, "...Of the four of these castes closely resemble one another in appearance and customs, and seems to have branched off from one and the same Dravidian stock. Originally soldiers by profession, they are now mainly agriculturists and traders and some of them in the north are Zamindars (land owners). The Rajus who claim to be Kshatriyas, were probably descended from Kapus, Kammas and Velamas" ( Francis W., cited in Thurston E., 1909, pp.95-96).

(Chakali) whose traditional occupation is washing clothes and Nayi Brahmins (Mangali or barber) also fall under OBC category.

The Malas who were once treated as 'Panchamas' were traditionally agricultural labourers now turned into cultivation. They fall under Scheduled Castes<sup>5</sup>. The Malas are also called 'Harijans'. Madigas or 'Arundhatis' another Scheduled caste are traditionally leather workers. The Yanadis whose traditional occupation is catching rats, snakes etc fall under Scheduled Tribes.

Castes and classes are used in the study interchangeably. Here after, Forward castes, Backward Castes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes will be termed as FCs, BCs, SCs and STs respectively. It should once again be emphasized that all Forward Classes are forward castes, not all Other Backward Classes belong to the backward castes. For example, in Andhra Viswa Brahmins and Padmasalies are taken as socially and educationally backward classes. But in the Hindu caste hierarchy above the peasant communities such as Velamas, Reddies, Kapus and Kmmas. For they are "Dwajas", wearing the sacred thread! But as most of them are poor (although with high hierarchy) they are included in the OBC category for purposes of reservations in educational institutions and jobs.

In Nandivada Village there are 690 households with a total population of over 2700. Whereas 26.5 per cent of households belong to the Forward Castes (Classes), nearly 39 per cent of the

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<sup>5</sup> The term 'Scheduled' Caste was first used in the Government of India Act, 1935, for drawing a list of castes which suffered from social, economic and religious disabilities of statutory safeguards and benefits.



households come from the Backward Castes (classes). The Dalit (SCs and STs) households constitute well over 34 per cent of the total. It is interesting to note that whereas the average number of members per household for the entire village is 3.9, for the forward Classes (castes), backward Classes (castes), SCs and STs these averages are 3.4, 4.1, 4.2 and 4.0 respectively. The share of the Forward Classes (castes) in total population is close to 23 per cent and those of the Backward Classes and the Dalit are well over 40 and 36 percentage points respectively. Thus, all the Backward Classes (i.e., OBCs plus the Dalit) together constitute more than three-fourths of the total population of Nandivada village (Table 1.8)<sup>e</sup>.

**Table 1.8**  
**Social Class-wise Distribution of Households and Population in Nandivada, 1997.**

| Social Class | No. of Households | % to Total Households | Population  | % to Total Population |
|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| FCs          | 184               | 26.67                 | 624         | 23.10                 |
| OBCs         | 266               | 38.55                 | 1084        | 40.13                 |
| SCs          | 194               | 28.12                 | 808         | 29.92                 |
| STs          | 46                | 6.66                  | 185         | 6.85                  |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>690</b>        | <b>100.00</b>         | <b>2701</b> | <b>100.00</b>         |

Source: Census (complete enumeration) of the village, 1997.

### *ii Literacy*

Well over three-fourths of people belonging to the Forward castes are literate. Whereas the male literacy among the Forward classes is over 89 per cent, the female literacy crossed the 70 per cent

<sup>e</sup> For detailed break-up of castes see Appendix 1.2

mark. As against this the literacy rates among the OBCs and the Dalit are a little over 47 percentage points (Table 1.9).

**Table 1.9**  
**Literacy Rates Across Social Classes in Nandivada, 1997**

| Social Class | Literacy<br>Rate Males | Literacy<br>Rate Females | Total<br>Literacy Rate |
|--------------|------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| FCs          | 89.23                  | 70.82                    | 79.90                  |
| OBCs         | 58.88                  | 39.92                    | 49.42                  |
| SCs          | 71.43                  | 47.30                    | 59.71                  |
| STs (Yanadi) | 13.41                  | 9.09                     | 11.18                  |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>66.80</b><br>(1289) | <b>47.30</b><br>(1279)   | <b>57.09</b><br>(2568) |

Source: Census (complete enumeration) of the village, 1997.

Note: Census 1991 definition is followed, where children below five years are not included. Figures in the parentheses are the data on respective column population above five years of age.

The overall literacy rates among the Forward classes (castes), OBCs, SCs and STs are 79.9, 49.4, 59.9 and 11.18 percentages respectively. Brahmins from the forward caste and Goldsmith (a section of Viswabrahmins) and Haridas from the Backward Class (castes) registered 100 percent literacy. Literacy rates varied across classes (castes) among all the four classes viz., FCs, OBCs, SCs and STs. The least literate among the forward classes (castes) are the Kapus with 70 percentage points. The least literate among the OBCs are the Turpu Kapus with a little over 40 percentage. Yanadis (ST) with over 11 per cent literacy are at the lowest slab in the literacy pyramid in Nandivada Village.

Female literacy rates among the FCs, OBCs, SCs and STs classes are 70.8, 39.9, 47.3 and 9.1 percentage points respectively. The lowest female literacy rates among the three classes are: Kapus

from Forward class with 36.8 Uppari from the backward classes with 25.5 and Yanadis from SC/ST with 9.1 percentage points (Appendix 1.3).

### **111 Work Status**

A little less than half of the total population of Nandivada in the age group 15 to 60 years are workers (Table 1.10). Nearly 53 per cent of males and 44 per cent of the females of the village are workers (Table 1.10). For the large majority of village population agriculture is the primary activity (Table 1.11).

**Table 1.10  
Workers and Non-workers by Sex in Nandivada, 1997.**

| Sl. Category                     | Males                | Females              | Total                |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 Total Workers <sup>1</sup>     | 52.95                | 43.95                | 48.46                |
| 2 Total Non-workers <sup>2</sup> | 47.05                | 56.04                | 51.54                |
| <b>3 Total Population</b>        | <b>100</b><br>(1352) | <b>100</b><br>(1349) | <b>100</b><br>(2701) |

Source: Census (complete enumeration) of the Village, 1997.

- Notes: 1. Workers are those who are above 14 years age and less than 60 years and engaged in some work or service including supervision (excluding students above 14 years).
2. Non-workers include all dependents i.e., those who are less than 15 years and above 59 years including all students and housewives.
3. Figure in parenthesis indicate corresponding column populations.

**Table 1.11**  
**Percentage Distribution of Workers by Primary and Secondary**  
**Occupations, Nandivada, 1997.**

| Description     | Primary Occupation   | Secondary Occupation |
|-----------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Agriculture     | 85.68                | 54.44                |
| Non-agriculture | 14.32                | 45.56                |
| <b>Total</b>    | <b>100</b><br>(1309) | <b>100</b><br>(342)  |

Source: Census (complete enumeration) of the village, 1997.

Note: Figures in parentheses are respective workforce.

Certain interesting features emerge from Table 1.12. As already noted a large majority of the work force (close to 86 per cent) is in agriculture. Nearly 61 per cent of the work force are agricultural labourers, with owner-cultivator (12.4%), owner-tenant (6.4 %) and pure tenants (3.0 %). Non agricultural services claimed 11.7 per cent of the total work force. Among the 157 who reported non-agricultural (services) seven are reported as attached labourers (Table 1.12).

The proportion of workers in agriculture as the primary occupation decreases as one moves up the caste ladder. In Nandivada all the working STs declared agriculture as their primary occupation. Only a little over 90 per cent of the SCs have agriculture as their primary occupation. It is slightly less for the OBCs (86 per cent). And for the FCs it is still lower, a little over 70 per cent. The share of work force in the non-agricultural activities follows reverse order with close to 30 per cent for the FCs and gradually decreasing from among the OBCs, SCs and STs (Table 1.13).

**Table 1.12**  
**Distribution of Workers in Primary Occupations by Specific Occupations, Nandivada, 1997.**

| Sl. Specific Category  | Number      | %          |
|--|-------------|------------|
| A Agriculture  | 1125        | 85.9       |
| Agriculture Labour   | 797         | 60.8       |
| Owner Cultivator   | 162         | 12.4       |
| Owner Tenant   | 84          | 6.4        |
| Labour for own field   | 43          | 3.3        |
| Pure Tenant  | 39          | 3.0        |
| B1 Non-agriculture(Production)   | 31          | 2.4        |
| Welding  | 18          | 1.4        |
| Traditional work<br>(Pottery, Goldsmith etc)   | 13          | 1.0        |
| B2 Non-agricultural (Service)  | 153         | 11.7       |
| Tractor Driver   | 31          | 2.4        |
| Govt. jobholder  | 27          | 2.1        |
| Private jobholder  | 17          | 1.3        |
| Small shop   | 16          | 1.2        |
| tailor   | 11          | 0.8        |
| Hotel  | 7           | 0.5        |
| Attached Labour  | 7           | 0.5        |
| Milk Vendor  | 6           | 0.5        |
| Finance Business   | 4           | 0.3        |
| Others (laboure in Rice mill,<br>mason, watch mechanic, commission<br>agent temple priest, dairy etc.) | 27          | 2.1        |
| <b>Total (A+B1+B2)</b>   | <b>1309</b> | <b>100</b> |

Source: Census (complete enumeration) of the Village, 1997.

Notes: 1. See Notes 1 & 2 of Table 1.10

2. Figures in parenthesis Corresponding percentages to total.

**Table 1.13**  
**Distribution of Workers in Primary and Secondary Occupations by Social Classes, Nandivada, 1997.**

| Social Class | Primary Occupation |             |                   | Secondary Occupation |             |                  |
|--------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------|------------------|
|              | Agr                | Non-Agr     | Total             | Agr                  | Non-Agr     | Total            |
| FCs          | 70.1               | 29.9        | 100 (197)         | 31.9                 | 68.1        | 100 (94)         |
| OBCs         | 86.1               | 13.9        | 100 (598)         | 65.5                 | 34.5        | 100 (145)        |
| SCs          | 90.2               | 9.8         | 100 (428)         | 60.0                 | 40.0        | 100 (100)        |
| STs (Yanadi) | 100.0              | -           | 100 (86)          | 100.0                | -           | 100 (3)          |
| <b>ALL</b>   | <b>85.9</b>        | <b>14.1</b> | <b>100 (1309)</b> | <b>55.0</b>          | <b>45.0</b> | <b>100 (342)</b> |

Source: Census (complete enumeration) of the Village, 1997.

Note: Figures in parenthesis are corresponding totals to 100.

#### *iv In-Migration Across Castes*

Between 1971 and 1997 about 50 households had immigrated into Nandivada Village. Half of them belong to backward classes (castes) (Table 1.14). Of a total of 50 in-migrants who came to Nandivada between 1971 and 1997 the 3 castes which accounted for more than half of the total are Kammas (8), Turpu Kapus (9) and Malas (9) (Appendix 1.4).

Table 1.14  
Distribution of In-migrant Households in Nandivada by Period of Migration since 1971.

| Classes      | 1971-75  | 1976-80   | 1981-1985 | 1986-90   | 1990-97   | Total     |
|--------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| FCs          | 1        | 4         | 5         | 3         | 3         | 16        |
| OBCs         | 4        | 6         | 3         | 5         | 7         | 25        |
| SCs          | 1        | 1         | 1         | 3         | 3         | 9         |
| STs          | -        | -         | -         | -         | -         | -         |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>6</b> | <b>11</b> | <b>9</b>  | <b>11</b> | <b>13</b> | <b>50</b> |

Source: Census (complete enumeration) of the Village, 1997.

#### *v Land Ownership of Residents of Nandivada in 1997*

It is significant to note that of the 690 households in Nandivada as many as 349 (50.6 per cent) are reported landless in 1997. At the other end of the scale a little over 1 per cent of the households (7) own nearly 17 per cent of the total cultivable land in the village. Nearly one-fourth of the total number of resident households (24.49) own about 13 per cent of the total land owned. About 45 per cent of the total land is owned by households of two size-classes., 2.00 to 5.00 and 5.00 to 10.00 acres (Table 1.15).

**Table 1.15**  
**Number and Area of Ownership Holdings by Size Classes, Nandivada 1997**

| Sl.No        | Size of the Landholding | Holdings   |               | Area           |               |
|--------------|-------------------------|------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|
|              |                         | No         | %             | Acres          | %             |
| 1            | Landless                | 349        | 50.58         | 0.00           | 0.00          |
| 2            | 0.00- 1.00              | 70         | 10.14         | 36.18          | 3.04          |
| 3            | 1.00- 2.00              | 99         | 14.35         | 118.15         | 9.93          |
| 4            | 2.00- 5.00              | 102        | 14.78         | 283.65         | 23.84         |
| 5            | 5.00-10.00              | 41         | 5.94          | 257.50         | 21.64         |
| 6            | 10.00-15.00             | 12         | 1.74          | 139.50         | 11.72         |
| 7            | 15.00-20.00             | 10         | 1.45          | 153.00         | 12.86         |
| 8            | 20.00 & above           | 7          | 1.01          | 202.00         | 16.98         |
| <b>Total</b> |                         | <b>690</b> | <b>100.00</b> | <b>1189.98</b> | <b>100.00</b> |

Source: Census (complete enumeration) of the village, 1997.

Note: The figures refer only to land owned by the residents of Nandivada in Nandivada.

Kammas and Reddies from the FCs, Yadavas, Upparis, Koppula Velamas and Turpu Kapus from among the OBCs and Malas from the SCs are the numerically dominant castes in Nandivada. Yanadi is only Scheduled Tribe living in the village.

Between the Kammas and Reddies, landlessness is more prevalent among the former. Forty per cent of the Kamma households and 16 percent of the Reddy households are landless. Only from the Kammas and Reddies, one finds distribution of households across all land size classes i.e., from the landless to the category of 20 acres and above. From among the major OBCs, over 80 per cent of Turpu Kapus, 63 per cent of the Koppula Velamas, 42 per cent of the Upparis and 30 per cent of the Yadavas are landless. Of the four Madiga families (SC) as many as three are landless (Table 1.16).

**Table 1.16**  
**Distribution of Households by Size of Ownership Holdings across Castes, Mandivada, 1997.**

| Caste Name          | Landless          | <1.00             | 1.00-2.00        | 2.00-5.00         | 5.00-10.00       | 10.00-20.00     | >20.00         | ALL              |
|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|
| <b>FCs</b>          | <b>63 (34.2)</b>  | <b>9 (4.9)</b>    | <b>32 (17.4)</b> | <b>38 (20.7)</b>  | <b>21 (11.4)</b> | <b>15 (8.2)</b> | <b>6 (3.3)</b> | <b>184 (100)</b> |
| Brahmin             | 3 (50.0)          | - (0)             | - (0)            | - (0)             | 3 (50.0)         | - (0)           | - (0)          | 6 (100)          |
| Kamma               | 39 (40.2)         | 3 (3.1)           | 14 (14.4)        | 20 (20.6)         | 9 (9.3)          | 7 (7.2)         | 5 (5.2)        | 97 (100)         |
| Kapu                | 7 (53.8)          | 3 (23.1)          | 2 (15.4)         | 1 (7.7)           | - (0)            | - (0)           | - (0)          | 13 (100)         |
| Komati              | 5 (41.7)          | 1 (8.3)           | 1 (8.3)          | 5 (41.7)          | - (0)            | - (0)           | - (0)          | 12 (100)         |
| Reddy               | 9 (16.1)          | 2 (3.6)           | 15 (26.8)        | 12 (21.4)         | 9 (16.1)         | 8 (14.2)        | 1 (1.8)        | 56 (100)         |
| <b>OBCs</b>         | <b>139 (52.3)</b> | <b>21 (7.9)</b>   | <b>42 (15.8)</b> | <b>40 (15.0)</b>  | <b>17 (6.4)</b>  | <b>6 (2.3)</b>  | <b>1 (0.4)</b> | <b>266 (100)</b> |
| A.Kshatriya         | 1 (100)           | - (0)             | - (0)            | - (0)             | - (0)            | - (0)           | - (0)          | 1 (100)          |
| Viswa Brahmins      | 6 (100)           | - (0)             | - (0)            | - (0)             | - (0)            | - (0)           | - (0)          | 6 (100)          |
| Gowda               | 3 (37.5)          | - (0)             | 2 (25.0)         | 2 (25.0)          | 1 (12.5)         | - (0)           | - (0)          | 8 (100)          |
| Haridas             | 1 (100)           | - (0)             | - (0)            | - (0)             | - (0)            | - (0)           | - (0)          | 1 (100)          |
| Kummari             | 5 (71.4)          | 2 (28.6)          | - (0)            | - (0)             | - (0)            | - (0)           | - (0)          | 7 (100)          |
| K.Velama            | 21 (63.6)         | 2 (6.1)           | 6 (18.2)         | 4 (12.1)          | - (0)            | - (0)           | - (0)          | 33 (100)         |
| Hayi Brahmin        | 10 (43.5)         | 1 (4.3)           | 6 (26.1)         | 4 (17.4)          | - (0)            | 1 (4.3)         | 1 (4.3)        | 23 (100)         |
| Muslim              | 6 (100)           | - (0)             | - (0)            | - (0)             | - (0)            | - (0)           | - (0)          | 6 (100)          |
| Padmasali           | 1 (50.0)          | - (0)             | - (0)            | 1 (50.0)          | - (0)            | - (0)           | - (0)          | 2 (100)          |
| Rajaka              | 16 (100)          | - (0)             | - (0)            | - (0)             | - (0)            | - (0)           | - (0)          | 16 (100)         |
| Turpu Kapu          | 21 (80.8)         | 3 (11.5)          | 2 (7.7)          | - (0)             | - (0)            | - (0)           | - (0)          | 26 (100)         |
| Uppari              | 24 (42.1)         | 7 (12.3)          | 13 (22.8)        | 10 (17.5)         | 3 (5.3)          | - (0)           | - (0)          | 57 (100)         |
| Yadava              | 24 (30.0)         | 6 (7.5)           | 13 (16.3)        | 19 (23.8)         | 13 (16.3)        | 5 (6.3)         | - (0)          | 80 (100)         |
| <b>SCs</b>          | <b>105 (54.1)</b> | <b>37 (19.1)</b>  | <b>24 (12.4)</b> | <b>24 (12.4)</b>  | <b>3 (1.5)</b>   | <b>1 (0.5)</b>  | <b>- (0)</b>   | <b>194 (100)</b> |
| Nadiga              | 3 (75.0)          | 1 (25.0)          | - (0)            | - (0)             | 0.0              | - (0)           | - (0)          | 4 (100)          |
| Nala                | 102 (53.7)        | 36 (18.9)         | 24 (12.6)        | 24 (12.6)         | 3 (1.6)          | 1 (0.5)         | - (0)          | 190 (100)        |
| <b>STs (Yanadi)</b> | <b>42 (91.3)</b>  | <b>3 (6.5)</b>    | <b>1 (2.2)</b>   | <b>- (0)</b>      | <b>- (0)</b>     | <b>- (0)</b>    | <b>- (0)</b>   | <b>46 (100)</b>  |
| <b>ALL</b>          | <b>349 (50.6)</b> | <b>70 (10.14)</b> | <b>99 (14.3)</b> | <b>102 (14.8)</b> | <b>41 (5.9)</b>  | <b>22 (3.2)</b> | <b>7 (1.0)</b> | <b>690 (100)</b> |

Source: Census (complete enumeration) of the village, 1997.

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are respective percentages against row totals



**Appendix 1.1**  
**Delta and Upland Mandals, Krishna District.**

| Sl. Delta       | Sl. Uplands       |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1 Guduru        | 1 Penamaluru      |
| 2 Pedana        | 2 Kankipadu       |
| 3 Bantumilli    | 3 Mylavaram       |
| 4 Avanigadda    | 4 Ibrahimpatnam   |
| 5 Koduru        | 5 G.Konduru       |
| 6 Movva         | 6 Kanchikacherla  |
| 7 Challapalli   | 7 Veerullapadu    |
| 8 Ghantasala    | 8 Nandigama       |
| 9 Mopidevi      | 9 Penuganchiprolu |
| 10 Gudivada     | 10 Chandarlapadu  |
| 11 Nandivada    | 11 Jaggaiahpet    |
| 12 Pamarru      | 12 Vastavai       |
| 13 Pedaparupudi | 13 Thotlavalluru  |
| 14 Mudinepalli  | 14 Nuzvid         |
| 15 Gudlavalleru | 15 Musunuru       |
| 16 Mandavalli   | 16 Agiripalli     |
|                 | 17 Bapulapadu     |
|                 | 18 Gannavaram     |
|                 | 19 Unguturu       |
|                 | 20 Vuyyuru        |
|                 | 21 Pamidimukkala  |
|                 | 22 Vissannapet    |
|                 | 23 Chatrai        |
|                 | 24 Reddigudem     |
|                 | 25 A.Konduru      |
|                 | 26 Tiruvuru       |
|                 | 27 Gampalagudem   |

**Source:** Handbook of Statistics, Krishna District, 1992-93 & 1993-94.

**Note:** 1. Mandals such as Machilipatnam, Kruthivennu, Nagayalanka, Kaikalur and Kalidindi are excluded from "delta" for purposes of analysis of this study as they have net sown area less than 30% of its geographical area. While Vijayawada (Urban) is excluded from the "uplands" as its sown area is barely 12% of its geographical area. As Vijayawada (Urban) mandal comprises of both "delta" and "upland" region it is also excluded while categorizing the broad regions.

2. The village surveyed is Nandivada. It come under Nandivada Mandal which falls in "delta" region.

**Appendix 1.2**

**Caste-wise Distribution of Households and Population in Nandivada, 1997.**

| <b>Caste Name</b>   | <b>No. of Households</b> | <b>% to Total Households</b> | <b>% to Total Population</b> |
|---------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <b>FCs</b>          | <b>184</b>               | <b>26.67</b>                 | <b>624</b>                   |
| Brahmin             | 6                        | 0.87                         | 18                           |
| Kamma               | 97                       | 14.06                        | 317                          |
| Kapu                | 13                       | 1.88                         | 43                           |
| Komati              | 12                       | 1.74                         | 34                           |
| Reddy               | 56                       | 8.12                         | 212                          |
| <b>OBCs</b>         | <b>266</b>               | <b>38.55</b>                 | <b>1084</b>                  |
| Agnikula Kshatriya  | 1                        | 0.14                         | 3                            |
| Carpenter           | 3                        | 0.43                         | 13                           |
| Goldsmith           | 3                        | 0.43                         | 10                           |
| Gowda               | 8                        | 1.16                         | 31                           |
| Haridas             | 1                        | 0.14                         | 4                            |
| Kummari             | 7                        | 1.01                         | 19                           |
| Kvelama             | 33                       | 4.78                         | 123                          |
| Mangali             | 23                       | 3.33                         | 104                          |
| Muslim              | 6                        | 0.87                         | 24                           |
| Padmasali           | 2                        | 0.29                         | 7                            |
| Rajaka              | 16                       | 2.32                         | 60                           |
| Turpu Kapu          | 26                       | 3.77                         | 103                          |
| Uppari              | 57                       | 8.26                         | 229                          |
| Yadava              | 80                       | 11.59                        | 354                          |
| <b>SCs</b>          | <b>194</b>               | <b>28.12</b>                 | <b>808</b>                   |
| Madiga              | 4                        | 0.58                         | 14                           |
| Mala                | 190                      | 27.54                        | 794                          |
| <b>STs (Yanadi)</b> | <b>46</b>                | <b>6.67</b>                  | <b>185</b>                   |
| <b>Total</b>        | <b>690</b>               | <b>100.00</b>                | <b>2701</b>                  |

Source: Census (complete enumeration) of the village, 1997.

**Appendix 1.3**  
**Literacy Rates Across Castes in Nandivda, 1997**

| Caste Name          | Literacy<br>Rate Males        | Literacy<br>Rate Females      | Literacy<br>Rate              |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <b>FCs</b>          | <b>89.23</b>                  | <b>70.82</b>                  | <b>79.90</b>                  |
| Brahmin             | 100.00                        | 100.00                        | 100.00 ✓                      |
| Kamma               | 92.52                         | 84.57                         | 88.35 ✓                       |
| Kapu                | 70.00                         | 36.84                         | 53.85                         |
| Komati              | 93.75                         | 61.11                         | 76.47                         |
| Reddy               | 86.79                         | 53.61                         | 70.94                         |
| <b>OBCs</b>         | <b>58.88</b>                  | <b>39.92</b>                  | <b>49.42</b>                  |
| A. Kshatriya        | 50.00                         | 0.00                          | 33.33                         |
| Carpenter           | 85.71                         | 100.00                        | 91.67                         |
| Goldsmith           | 100.00                        | 100.00                        | 100.00                        |
| Gowda               | 88.89                         | 53.85                         | 74.19                         |
| Haridas             | 100.00                        | 100.00                        | 100.00                        |
| Kummari             | 75.00                         | 33.33                         | 52.94                         |
| K. Velama           | 80.95                         | 38.60                         | 60.83                         |
| Mangali             | 61.70                         | 59.26                         | 60.40                         |
| Muslim              | 50.00                         | 28.57                         | 42.11                         |
| Padmasali           | 75.00                         | 33.33                         | 57.14                         |
| Rajaka              | 59.26                         | 44.83                         | 51.79                         |
| Turpu Kapu          | 40.43                         | 32.65                         | 36.46                         |
| Uppari              | 44.92                         | 25.47                         | 35.71                         |
| Yadava              | 58.49                         | 41.01                         | 49.26                         |
| <b>SCs</b>          | <b>71.43</b>                  | <b>47.30</b>                  | <b>59.71</b>                  |
| Madiga              | 55.56                         | 0.00                          | 35.71                         |
| Mala                | 71.80                         | 47.95                         | 60.16                         |
| <b>STs (Yanadi)</b> | <b>13.41</b>                  | <b>9.09</b>                   | <b>11.18</b>                  |
| <b>Total</b>        | <b>66.80</b><br><b>(1289)</b> | <b>47.30</b><br><b>(1279)</b> | <b>57.09</b><br><b>(2568)</b> |

Source: Census (complete enumeration) of the village, 1997.

Note: 1. Census 1991 definition is followed, where children below five years are not considered.

2. Given in the parentheses are the data on respective column population above five years of age.

**Appendix 1.4**  
**In-migration Across Castes in Nandivada Since 1971.**

| <b>Caste Name</b> | <b>1971-75</b> | <b>1976-80</b> | <b>1981-85</b> | <b>1986-90</b> | <b>1990-97</b> | <b>Total</b> |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|
| <b>FCs</b>        | <b>1</b>       | <b>4</b>       | <b>5</b>       | <b>3</b>       | <b>3</b>       | <b>16</b>    |
| Brahmin           | -              | -              | 1              | 1              | -              | 2            |
| Kamma             | -              | 3              | 2              | 1              | 2              | 8            |
| Kapu              | -              | -              | 1              | -              | -              | 1            |
| Komati            | 1              | -              | -              | -              | -              | 1            |
| Reddy             | -              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 4            |
| <b>OBCs</b>       | <b>4</b>       | <b>6</b>       | <b>3</b>       | <b>5</b>       | <b>7</b>       | <b>25</b>    |
| Carpenter         | -              | -              | -              | 1              | -              | 1            |
| Gowda             | -              | 1              | -              | -              | -              | 1            |
| Haridas           | -              | -              | -              | 1              | -              | 1            |
| K.Velama          | 4              | -              | -              | -              | -              | 4            |
| Muslim            | -              | 1              | -              | -              | -              | 1            |
| Rajaka            | -              | -              | -              | -              | 2              | 2            |
| Turpu Kapu        | -              | 4              | 2              | 1              | 2              | 9            |
| Uppari            | -              | -              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 3            |
| Yadava            | -              | -              | -              | 1              | 2              | 3            |
| <b>SCs</b>        | <b>1</b>       | <b>1</b>       | <b>1</b>       | <b>3</b>       | <b>3</b>       | <b>9</b>     |
| Mala              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 3              | 3              | 9            |
| <b>STs</b>        | <b>-</b>       | <b>-</b>       | <b>-</b>       | <b>-</b>       | <b>-</b>       | <b>-</b>     |
| <b>Total</b>      | <b>6</b>       | <b>11</b>      | <b>9</b>       | <b>11</b>      | <b>13</b>      | <b>50</b>    |

Source: Census (complete enumeration) of the Village, 1997.

## Chapter II

### LAND AND CASTE IN THE STUDY VILLAGE

#### 2.0 Introduction

Commoditisation of output, land and labour and the emergence of active markets for them were the striking features of agrarian economy of Delta Andhra during the second half of the 19th century. Growth of commercial agriculture was in fact facilitated by developments which took place during an earlier period viz., 1800-1850. These developments, as mentioned in the introductory Chapter, were the enactment of Land Revenue Settlements (Permanent Zamindari, Ryotwari and Inamdari), establishment of courts of law, creation of private property in cultivable land, collection of land revenue in cash, growth of markets for the right to collect land revenue and land tenures, weakening of the bargaining power of the peasantry vis-a-vis the Zamindars and landlords and peasant pauperization, decay of the handloom industry leading to displaced weavers joining the ranks of agricultural labourers etc. These developments had stirred the conditions of subsistence agriculture and facilitated the initial growth in commodity and labour markets. The advent of canal irrigation under the Krishna and Godavari irrigation systems from early 1850s onwards paved the way for a vigorous expansion and growth of commercial agriculture in terms of activation of agrarian market in land, labour, output and credit in Delta Andhra in general and Krishna district in particular (Rao, 1973, 1978, 1985).

The growth and expansion of commercial agriculture in Delta Andhra anchored around paddy cultivation continued well into the 20th century. ✓ Commercialization of agriculture benefitted most those classes/castes and sections of peasantry who had access to land and other resources. In Krishna district even in the middle of the 19th century possession of arable lands was concentrated mostly in the hands three castes viz., Brahmins, Kammas and Velamas, the latter two being cultivating castes. The other major peasant castes such as Kapus, Yadavas and Gowdas constituted mostly small farmers. From among the Dalit castes the Madigas had leather work as their traditional occupation and sections of Malas were coarse cloth weavers. But majority of the Malas were agricultural labourers.

On the lands of Brahmin *Agraharams* (Settlements), tenants were by and large the Kamma farmers. In the course of time the Agraharam lands passed into the hands of the Kamma tenants. By the first quarter of the 20th century Kammas emerged as the dominant land owning farming Community in Krishna district. The Velamas, although by ritual status a non-Brahmin peasant Community, could not strengthen their grip on land control as their direct physical involvement in cultivation was, by convention considered to be a social taboo. By and large they remained a rent-seeking non-working peasant caste, who gradually lost possession of arable lands.

In the present study an attempt has been made to capture the changing profiles of land ownership of different Communities in the study village, Nandivada. Initially we tried to record, by the

method of oral history, the family tree and changing land ownership across generations. But the difficulty of following this method in Nandivada is that out-migrations and in-migrations became rather significant events. Hence, establishing the family lineage and access to land at different points of time across generations became a difficult task. Instead, we have analyzed the Re-Settlement Register of 1932, wherein land ownership data are available. The results of this analysis are compared with the land ownership details available in the village records for the year 1997. Besides, we have also collected data on land transactions during 1971-1997. With the help of this information we could also arrive at estimates of land ownership (across castes) for the year 1970. Thus, we have land ownership data for three years viz., 1932, 1970 and 1997. It should again be emphasized that whereas the landownership for the years 1932 and 1997 are based on reliable village records, the land ownership data for the year 1970 are indeed estimates being made based on data on land transactions between 1970 and 1997. In this chapter an attempt has been made to ascertain the changing profiles of land ownership across castes. However, it must be admitted that dimensions of landlessness for the years 1932 and 1970 escaped our analysis, although for the year 1997 details of landlessness are available from the village census (complete enumeration) that we conducted, before embarking on a sample survey of 103 households.

## **2.1 Land Classification in Nandivada**

Our starting point is 1932, when the Sub-Registrar's Office brought out a Re-Settlement Register for lands. Under the Ryotwari

Settlement, the colonial government conducted land surveys and settled the land revenues to be collected from the farmers once in 30 to 35 years. The first Survey and Settlement was conducted in Delta Andhra during late 1860s and 1870s. A Settlement Register gives data on land landholdings such as soil type, size of holding, access to water, productivity-based land revenue to be paid by the farmers, name(s) of the landholder(s) and so on. As Telugus have surnames (house names or 'intiperlu'), which with a few exceptions, by and large are caste specific, it is possible to identify the caste of landholder by the surname registered in the Re-Settlement Register. This enabled us to obtain details of land distribution in Nandivada village across castes for the year 1932.

As for the data on landownership in 1997, they are available in Adangal Number 3, also called Number 3 Register, maintained by the Village Administrative Officer (who was earlier designated as Karanam). This Register is similar to the Re-Settlement Register. Data on cultivable area are obtained by deducting government lands, lands under schools, Choultries (Satrams), temples, village residential area etc. from total geographical area of the village.

Between 1932 and 1997 the total geographical area of Nandivada village remained constant at 3270.30 acres. However, there were some minor changes in the land classification during the period of six and half decades. About 42.63 acres of titled land which existed in 1932 had later passed into the hands of the Endowments Department (i.e., State) as donation for the maintenance of a Choultry. At the same time 40.81 acres of the Zamindari lands passed on to the private hands. Overall, there occurs an error of



1.82 acres of land in favour of the State. This is incorporated into the total titled patta lands of the village. Thus, the total (cultivable) patta land of the Nandivada village is taken as 2797.20 acres (Appendix 2.1).

## **2.2 Land and Caste in Nandivada: 1932, 1970 & 1997**

We have data on land distribution in Nandivada village at two points in time viz., 1932 and 1997. We have estimated the land ownership figures for the year 1970. In 1932, the share of the forward castes/classes (FCs) in the total cultivable land was close to 87 per cent. The OBCs had a little over one-tenth of the total land. SCs had little less than 3 per cent and STs did not own any land. By 1970, whereas the share of the OBCs and the SCs had marginally improved their shares. It was indeed between 1970 and 1997 that there was a significant change in comparative land ownership pattern of FCs, OBCs and SCs. The share of the FC had declined to 69.52 % (i.e., by about 14 percentage points as compared to 1970) and the OBCs and SCs had increased their shares to 22.06 and 8.37 percentages respectively. The land acquisition by the STs is insignificant (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1  
Trend in Land Ownership across Social Classes in  
Nandivada, 1932, 1970 and 1997.

| Social Class | 1932                              | 1970 <sup>1</sup>                 | 1997                              |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| FCs          | 86.72                             | 83.64                             | 69.52                             |
| OBCs         | 10.43                             | 12.99                             | 22.06                             |
| SCs          | 2.86                              | 3.36                              | 8.37                              |
| STs          | -                                 | -                                 | 0.05                              |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>100.00</b><br><b>(2797.20)</b> | <b>100.00</b><br><b>(2797.20)</b> | <b>100.00</b><br><b>(2797.20)</b> |

Source: Re-Settlement Register (1932), Nandivada.  
No:3, Registers of Nandivada (1997).

- Notes: 1. Land Ownership for 1970 is derived, for details see methodology.  
2. Figures in Parentheses are total cultivable land as defined in methodology

Oral histories of the village reveal that there were about 70 big Brahmin joint families in the village during late 19th century. Some of the Brahmin families owned more than 100 acres of land. But by 1932 there was no Brahmin household owning more than 50 acres of land. Brahmin land owners must have started losing lands between late 19th century and C. 1932. A reconstruction of village history suggests that Brahmin lands had accrued to Kammas either as their tenants or fellow land-owners in Nandivada. Extravagant consumption habits, heavy expenses on rituals and ceremonies, Brahmins' non-involvement in cultivation and hence absence of proper supervision of farming should have been the reasons for the land alienation.

By 1932 close to 54 per cent of total cultivable land in Nandivada village was in the hands of the Kamma farmers (Table 2.2). The share of the Brahmins was about 14.5 percent and that of Reddies 13.6 percent.

**Table 2.2**  
**Trend in Land Ownership across Castes in Nandivada,**  
**1932, 1970 and 1997.**

| Caste Name          | 1932             | 1970             | 1997             |
|---------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| <b>FCs</b>          | <b>86.72</b>     | <b>83.64</b>     | <b>69.52</b> ✓   |
| Brahmin             | 14.48 ✓          | 7.52 ~           | 4.60 ✓           |
| Kamma               | 53.75 \          | 40.60 \          | 31.29 ✓          |
| Kapu                | 1.50             | 0.59             | 0.24             |
| Komati              | 2.73             | 3.78             | 3.52             |
| Reddy               | 13.64 ~          | 29.43 ✓          | 28.21 ✓          |
| Velama              | 0.62             | 1.71             | 1.66             |
| <b>OBCs</b>         | <b>10.43</b>     | <b>12.99</b>     | <b>22.06</b>     |
| A.Kshatriya         | 0.17             | 0.40             | 0.47             |
| Carpenter           | -                | 0.15             | -                |
| Goldsmith           | 0.09             | -                | 0.33             |
| Gowda               | -                | 0.02             | 0.02             |
| Haridasu            | -                | 0.02             | -                |
| K.Velama            | 0.09             | 0.35             | 1.29             |
| Kummari             | 0.13             | 0.11             | 0.11             |
| Mangali             | 1.32             | 2.93             | 3.25             |
| Muslim              | 0.21             | 0.24             | 0.02             |
| Mutrasulu           | 0.23             | 0.47             | 0.31             |
| Padmasaale          | -                | 0.16             | 0.21             |
| Rajaka              | 0.44             | 0.66             | 0.69             |
| Turpu Kapu          | 0.12             | -                | 0.32             |
| Uppari              | 1.78             | 0.86             | 2.43 ✓           |
| Yadava              | 5.85             | 6.63             | 12.60 ✓          |
| <b>SCs</b>          | <b>2.86</b>      | <b>3.36</b>      | <b>8.37</b>      |
| Madiga              | 0.09             | 0.34             | 0.37             |
| Mala                | 2.76             | 3.03             | 8.00 ✓           |
| <b>STs (Yenadi)</b> | <b>-</b>         | <b>-</b>         | <b>0.05</b>      |
| <b>Total</b>        | <b>100.00</b>    | <b>100.00</b>    | <b>100.00</b>    |
|                     | <b>(2797.20)</b> | <b>(2797.20)</b> | <b>(2797.20)</b> |

Source: Re-Settlement Register (1932), Nandivada and No:3, Registers of Nandivada (1997).

Note: Same as in Table 2.1

Inter-caste economic balance (seen purely in terms of land ownership) among the Forward castes/classes (FCs) had changed substantially across the three time points viz., 1932, 1970 and 1997. Whereas the big losers were the Brahmins and the Kammass, Reddies became a gaining community. As for the OBCs, their share in the total cultivable land in the village has increased. This

was especially so between 1970 and 1997. Whereas between 1932 and 1970—a forty-two year interval—their share in the land increased from 10.43 to 12.99 percentages (a mere 2.56 percentage rise), between 1970 and 1997 (a 27-year period) it rose from 12.99 to 22.06 per cent—a rise of 9.07 percentage points (Table 2.2).

In Nandivada, there are about 15 other backward classes (castes). Of the OBCs, the Yadavas were the biggest gainers of cultivable land. In 1932, the share of the Yadavas in the total cultivable land in the village was 5.85 per cent. It rose to 6.63 per cent by 1970. But by 1997 the Yadavas' share went upto 12.60 per cent of the total village land.

Madigas and Malas are the two Scheduled Castes in Nandivada. The traditional occupation of the Madigas is leather work. Malas are by tradition agricultural labourers and marginal farmers<sup>1</sup>. The share of the Malas in village land increased from 2.76 percent in 1932 to 8.00 percent in 1997.

Thus, in Nandivada over a period of six and half decades from among the FCs, Brahmins and Kammās are the big losers and Reddies, the big gainers of land. As for the OBCs, except the Yadavas, the shares of individual castes in the total village land are small. The single caste which has the biggest share among the OBC is the Yadava Community. It is the Yadavas who raised their share in the village lands and became the big gainers from among the OBCs.

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<sup>1</sup> Sections of Malas in Krishna district were coarse cloth weavers in 19th Century. However, historically a great majority of them were agricultural labourers (G.N.Rao, 1978).

Overall, Reddies, Yadavas and Malas are the gainers of land in Nandivada between 1931 and 1997 (Table 2.2).

Now let us take a closer look at land distribution across castes in 1932 and 1997. An important limitation of these data is that the 1932 Re-Settlement Register does not throw any light on the details of landless individuals and households. Thus, the present analysis is confined to only to the land owning individuals. Hence, these data do not enable us to see the occurrence of economic mobility from a state of landlessness to land owning or in the reverse order.

In order to arrive at the per capita caste-wise land ownership in 1930s, information about caste-wise village data are not available from the 1931 Census. But the residents do tell us about the composition of the population in 1932 taking into account the major demographic changes that had taken in the village. From the oral histories one learns that there were some 70 (joint) Brahmin households residing in the village in late nineteenth century. Presently (1997) there are only 7 Brahmin households which are by and large nuclear families. The Kammas started migrating-out to towns and cities from early 1970s and this movement picked up a momentum in Eighties. The Turpu Kapus and the Koppula Velamas from Northern Coastal districts started coming into the village from late 1870s onwards. But for these, there were no significant changes in the caste-composition of Nandivada village. Hence, while looking at the land ownership of 1932, it is important to keep track of the present caste-wise population of the village.

### 2.3 Land and Caste in Nandivada, 1932:

Table 2.3 gives details of land ownership across castes in 1932. The data analyzed here have been culled out from an authentic and reliable source- the Re-Settlement Register, 1932.

**Table 2.3**  
**Area of Land Owned by Different Castes in Nandivada, 1932.**

| Classes/Caste | Land<br>Ownership<br>(in acres) | % Share in<br>Total Land<br>Ownership |
|---------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <b>FCs</b>    | <b>2425.67</b>                  | <b>86.72</b>                          |
| Brahmin       | 405.03                          | 14.48                                 |
| Kamma         | 1503.63                         | 53.75                                 |
| Kapu          | 41.92                           | 1.50                                  |
| Komati        | 76.39                           | 2.73                                  |
| Reddy         | 381.43                          | 13.64                                 |
| Velama        | 17.27                           | 0.62                                  |
| <b>OBCs</b>   | <b>291.65</b>                   | <b>10.43</b>                          |
| A.Kshatriya   | 4.78                            | 0.17                                  |
| Goldsmith     | 2.38                            | 0.09                                  |
| Kummari       | 3.51                            | 0.13                                  |
| K.Velama      | 2.40                            | 0.09                                  |
| Mangali       | 37.04                           | 1.32                                  |
| Muslim        | 5.79                            | 0.21                                  |
| Rajaka        | 12.28                           | 0.44                                  |
| Turpu Kapu    | 3.43                            | 0.12                                  |
| Uppari        | 49.80                           | 1.78                                  |
| Yadava        | 163.74                          | 5.85                                  |
| Mutrasulu     | 6.50                            | 0.23                                  |
| <b>SCs</b>    | <b>79.88</b>                    | <b>2.86</b>                           |
| Madiga        | 2.55                            | 0.09                                  |
| Mala          | 77.33                           | 2.76                                  |
| <b>STs</b>    | -                               | -                                     |
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>2797.20</b>                  | <b>100.00</b>                         |

Source: Re-settlement Register (1932), Nandivada.

From among the six forward castes/classes in the village, three had covered the major chunk of cultivable land. They were: Kammas (53.75%), Brahmins (14.48%) and Reddies (13.64%). Thus, more than half of the land in Nandivada was owned by the Kamma farmers in

1932. Kammas, Brahmins and Reddies together controlled more than four-fifths (82%) of the village lands. Only a little over one-tenth of the total land was in the hands of the numerically dominant but caste-wise varied Other Backward Classes (OBCs). This demonstrates the economic clout exerted by the three forward castes/classes, especially the Kammas in 1932. It also indicates the highly iniquitous distribution of arable land in Nandivada in 1932.

#### *1 Land Ownership Across Size-Classes, 1932*

In 1932, there were 451 land owning persons in Nandivada owning 2797.20 acres. A little over one-fifth of them belonged to the less than one acre size-class, owning in all 1.94 per cent of the total cultivated land of Nandivada Village. The share of the marginal and small farmers together owning less than 5 acres was close to one-third of the total cultivated land of the village. At the other end of the spectrum there were two farmers owning more than 100 acres each (Table 2.4).

In 1932 the FC farmers numbering 299 or two-thirds of the total number of land owners, controlled over 2428 acres of land in Nandivada, accounting for more than 85 per cent of the total agricultural land. As against this the OBC farmers who formed about 22 per cent of the total number of landowners controlled only 289 acres or little over 10 per cent of the total land. The SC/ST (Dalit) farmers comprising over 11 per cent of the landowners owned a mere 3 per cent of the land in the village (Table 2.4).

Table 2.4  
Size Distribution of Land Owned in 1932 for Social Classes, Nandivada, (in per cent)

| Size-class    | Land Owning Individuals |            |            |            | Area Owned |            |            |            |
|---------------|-------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
|               | FCs                     | BCs        | SCs        | ALL        | FCs        | BCs        | SCs        | ALL        |
| <1.00 acre    | 10.03                   | 32.32      | 43.40      | 18.85      | 0.72       | 7.01       | 20.98      | 1.94       |
| 1.00-2.00     | 16.39                   | 26.26      | 33.96      | 20.62      | 2.92       | 12.27      | 27.94      | 4.6        |
| 2.00-5.00     | 36.79                   | 23.23      | 20.75      | 31.93      | 14.93      | 24.90      | 44.80      | 16.82      |
| 5.00-10.00    | 20.40                   | 12.12      | 1.89       | 16.41      | 17.59      | 27.43      | 6.27       | 18.28      |
| 10.00-20.00   | 8.03                    | 6.06       | -          | 6.65       | 14.10      | 28.38      | -          | 15.19      |
| 20.00-50.00   | 5.35                    | -          | -          | 3.55       | 19.52      | -          | -          | 16.94      |
| 50.00-100.00  | 2.34                    | -          | -          | 1.55       | 21.04      | -          | -          | 18.26      |
| 100 and Above | 0.67                    | -          | -          | 0.44       | 9.17       | -          | -          | 7.96       |
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>100</b>              | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
|               | (299)                   | (99)       | (53)       | (451)      | 2427.49    | (289.34)   | (79.88)    | (2797.20)  |

Source: Re-Settlement Register, Nandivada, 1932.

Note: Figures in parentheses are in acres in case of area owned and absolute numbers in case of land owning individuals.

### *ii Land Ownership Across Castes in 1932: The Gender Dimension*

Land ownership in favour of females across castes indirectly speaks of the level of female empowerment in these castes. Female land ownership does speak about the prevalence of "Streedhanam" to a certain extent. Also, it is hypothesized that the retaining capacity of land is higher in case of female rather than the male ownership of the land. Higher retaining capacity of land by females is substantiated with the empirical evidence in the next chapter. This analysis is based on data collected from the Sub-Registrar's office.

It is evident from the data that the land ownership in Nandivada in 1932 was highly skewed in favour of men. Females had very limited access to land as far as ownership is concerned. The female land ownership among the FCs, OBCs and SCs in 1932 were 13.47, 8.82 and



10.10 percentages respectively. It is observed that the female land ownership within the broader categories did vary to a larger extent. For instance, among the FCs, the Kammas, Brahmins and Reddies had female land ownership of 17.08, 8.58 and 6.87 percentages respectively. Hence, one can say that there is no direct relation between female land ownership and the broader socio-economic categories. Except among the Kammas, Turpu Kapus, Malas, Upparis and Agnikula Kshatriya in all other castes the percentage of female ownership is a single digit number. Among the Kammas, Malas and Upparies female land ownership within the castes are 17.08, 10.44 and 13.25 percentages of the caste totals respectively. On the other hand, among the Brahmins, Komaties, Reddies and Yadavas the females have a lesser share of land ownership with 8.58, 9.16, 6.87 and 8.15 percentage points respectively (Table 2.5).

Interestingly, the practice of Streedhanam<sup>2</sup> is more prevalent among the Kammas even in the early Twentieth century. This might be one of the reasons for Kammas having comparatively better female land ownership. In order to ascertain this we have to probe the structure and practice of Streedhanam. This is done in the subsequent chapters where the upward economic mobility of the FCs is explained. The above figures reveal that the economic position does not have any association with the level of female land ownership. For instance, the Brahmins and Reddies with reasonably

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<sup>2</sup> Dowry is different from Streedhanam, but the terms Dowry and Streedhanam are in usual parlance used inter-changeably. Dowry (land, cash etc) is the one that is demanded by the bridegroom's family, whereas Streedhanam is one which is given to the bride by her father willingly as her share in the family property. There is another simple way of distinguishing dowry from Streedhanam. When the property given is in the name of the bride then it is called Streedhanam as it gives control over economic resources, otherwise Dowry.

good economic power (405.03 and 381.43 acres of land ownership respectively) had lesser female land ownership (8.58 and 6.87 percentages). Hence, the explanation for this has to be sought in non-economic factors.

Table 2.5  
Female Land Ownership within Castes, Nandivada, 1932.

| Caste Name             | Land ownership within Caste |                |                      |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|----------------------|
|                        | Males                       | Females        | Total                |
| <b>FCs</b>             | <b>86.53</b>                | <b>13.47</b> ✓ | <b>100 (2425.67)</b> |
| Brahmin                | 91.42                       | 8.58 ✓         | 100 (405.03)         |
| Kamma <i>Streetham</i> | 82.92                       | 17.08 ✓        | 100 (1503.63)        |
| Kapu                   | 97.19                       | 2.81           | 100 (41.92)          |
| Komati                 | 90.84                       | 9.16           | 100 (76.39)          |
| Reddy                  | 93.13                       | 6.87           | 100 (381.43)         |
| Velama                 | 96.18                       | 3.82           | 100 (17.27)          |
| <b>OBCs</b>            | <b>91.18</b>                | <b>8.82</b>    | <b>100 (291.65)</b>  |
| A.Kshatriya            | 0.00                        | 100.00         | 100 (4.78)           |
| Goldsmith              | 100.00                      | -              | 100 (2.38)           |
| Kummari                | 100.00                      | -              | 100 (3.51)           |
| K.Velama               | 100.00                      | -              | 100 (2.40)           |
| Mangali                | 100.00                      | -              | 100 (37.04)          |
| Muslim                 | 100.00                      | -              | 100 (5.79)           |
| Rajaka                 | 100.00                      | -              | 100 (12.28)          |
| Turpu Kapu             | 71.43                       | 28.57 ✓        | 100 (3.43)           |
| Uppari                 | 86.75                       | 13.25 ✓        | 100 (49.80)          |
| Yadava                 | 91.85                       | 8.15           | 100 (163.74)         |
| Mutrasulu              | 100.00                      | -              | 100 (6.50)           |
| <b>SCs</b>             | <b>89.90</b>                | <b>10.10</b>   | <b>100 (79.88)</b>   |
| Mala                   | 89.56                       | 10.44          | 100 (77.33)          |
| Madiga                 | 100.00                      | -              | 100 (2.55)           |
| <b>STs</b>             | <b>-</b>                    | <b>-</b>       | <b>100 (0.00)</b>    |
| <b>ALL</b>             | <b>87.12</b>                | <b>12.88</b>   | <b>100 (2797.2)</b>  |

Source: Re-settlement Register (1932), Nandivada and Fair Adangal (1932), Srinivasapuram.

Note: Given in the parentheses are the corresponding land ownership in acres.

### *iii Intra-Caste Land Ownership: 1932*

It is evident from the previous sections that land is skewedly distributed in favour of certain castes like the Kammas, Brahmins and Reddies. Next, our interest is to know whether all these land-owning castes have equal distribution of land or not. If the farmers are spread across different size groups, our interest is to know how the spread would look like. It is logical to assume that the farmers having reasonably good amount of land have the advantage of reaping better profits associated with adaptability of technology and economies of scale (Parthasarathy and Pothana, 1983). It is also generally presumed that people with better access to resources have better chances to diversify.

In all there were 299, 99 and 53 land owning farmers from the FCs, OBCs and SCs respectively. Table 2.6 gives details of distribution of farmers and lands they owned across social classes and size classes. As pointed out earlier, the pre-eminent position of the FC farmers in land control is once again brought out clearly in Table 2.6. Among the FCs, there were at one end farmers having land less than one acre and more than 100 acres. Among the FCs it was the Kamma farmers who had better access to land having more than 50 acres of land. There were a few Brahmins and Reddies who did have better access to land having figured in the 20.00-50.00 acre size class. Hence, the chances of adapting technology and diversification were high for the Kamma and Reddy farmers.

On the other hand, the OBCs lay in between the FCs and SCs/STs, as far as their access to land is considered. Among them, the

Yadavas, Upparis and Mangalis did have a reasonably better access to land. On the extreme side, the SC/ST had least access to land. Among them it is the Malas who had better access to land within the SC/ST population. Yanadis were virtually deprived of land.

In the Kamma community 62 farmers owned less than 5 acres owning in all 146.12 acres. The farmers owning lands between 5 and 50 acres are 40 in number owning in all 623.22 acres. On average in this category the Kamma families owned 15.58 acres each. On the extreme, farmers owning more than 50 acres are 19 in number, holding a total of 733.35 acres. There might have been landless people from among the Kammass. As mentioned earlier from the records these details are not available as they refer to only land-owning individuals. The per capita acreage land holding size of the Kamma farmers varies from 0.54 acres at one end of the scale and 111.31 at the other. More or less this kind of land distribution is found in the Reddies with 17 farmers falling under the category of those owning less than 2.00 acres of land and accounting for a mere 20.42 acres. On the other hand, farmers owning more than 2.00 acres and less than 10.00 acres were 51 in number accounting for 218.75 acres of land. On the extreme there were 9 Reddy farmers owning more than 10.00 acres of land accounting for a total of 148.98 acres. The per capita land ownership of different Reddy farmers across different size classes varies from 0.58 acres to 22.50 acres. This indicates that, even in the so called Forward Classes land was distributed unevenly (Table 2.6).

In the case of the Malas, 41 out of 52 land owning farmers fall under the category, less than 2.00 acres of land. This confirms that majority of landowning Malas were marginal farmers. Present population of the Malas (794) suggest that landless population in 1932 could have been higher, forming the labour force for agricultural and domestic purposes. Till eighties the incidence of attached labour from among the Malas was high.

In between the Kammas and the Malas there were many castes which fit into the economic hierarchy. Among them the Yadavas and the Upparis are worth mentioning. There were 41 Yadava farmers, of whom 20 owned land less than 2.00 acres and 12 greater than 5.00 acres. There were 24 Uppari farmers of whom 16 owned less than 2.00 and 2 greater than 5.00 acres of land. Among the Yadavas and the Upparis the per capita ownership of land across size classes varied from 0.85 to 13.39 acres and 0.59 acres to 15.17 acres respectively (Table 2.6).

By the first quarter of Twentieth century the Brahmins began to lose lands to farming communities such as the Kammas and to a smaller extent the Reddies. There were 77 Brahmin land owners in 1932. Among them 18 owned less than 2.00 acres, 29 between 2.00 and 5.00 acres and the rest greater than 5.00 acres. The per capita land ownership of Brahmins across different groups ranged from 0.57 acres to 22.99 acres. This confirms the fact that, by 1932 Brahmins lost their pre-eminent position in landholding to the Kammas.

Table 2.6  
Number of Land Owners and Average Holding Size by Caste and Size-Class, Nandivada, 1932.

| Class/Caste         | <1.00            | 1.00-2.00        | 2.00-5.00         | 5.00-10.00       | 10.00-20.00       | 20.00-50.00       | 50.00-100.00     | 100 and above     | ALL                |
|---------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| <b>FCs</b>          | <b>30 (0.50)</b> | <b>49 (1.45)</b> | <b>110 (3.32)</b> | <b>61 (6.92)</b> | <b>24 (14.29)</b> | <b>16 (29.62)</b> | <b>7 (72.96)</b> | <b>2 (111.31)</b> | <b>299 (13.54)</b> |
| Brahmin             | 7 (0.57)         | 11 (1.55)        | 29 (3.36)         | 23 (7.31)        | 5 (14.60)         | 2 (22.99)         | -                | -                 | 77 (5.27)          |
| Kamma               | 9 (0.49)         | 20 (1.44)        | 33 (3.42)         | 19 (6.95)        | 11 (14.06)        | 10 (33.66)        | 7 (72.96)        | 2 (111.31)        | 111 (13.54)        |
| Kapu                | 1 (0.82)         | 2 (1.43)         | 3 (2.61)          | 2 (7.81)         | 1 (17.10)         | -                 | -                | -                 | 9 (4.91)           |
| Konati              | 6 (0.67)         | 2 (1.05)         | 8 (3.22)          | -                | 1 (16.62)         | 1 (23.85)         | -                | -                 | 18 (4.02)          |
| Reddy               | 6 (0.58)         | 11 (1.54)        | 35 (3.21)         | 16 (6.65)        | 6 (13.58)         | 3 (22.50)         | -                | -                 | 77 (5.27)          |
| Velama              | 1 (0.59)         | 3 (1.14)         | 2 (4.47)          | 1 -              | -                 | -                 | -                | -                 | 7 (2.57)           |
| <b>OBCs</b>         | <b>32 (0.63)</b> | <b>26 (1.36)</b> | <b>23 (3.15)</b>  | <b>12 (6.62)</b> | <b>6 (13.68)</b>  | -                 | -                | -                 | <b>99 (2.92)</b>   |
| A. Kshatriya        | -                | -                | 1 (4.78)          | -                | -                 | -                 | -                | -                 | 1 (4.78)           |
| Goldsmith           | -                | -                | 1 (2.38)          | -                | -                 | -                 | -                | -                 | 1 (2.38)           |
| Kumhari             | 2 (0.77)         | 1 (1.98)         | -                 | -                | -                 | -                 | -                | -                 | 3 (1.17)           |
| K. Velama           | 3 (0.20)         | 1 (1.81)         | -                 | -                | -                 | -                 | -                | -                 | 4 (0.60)           |
| Nayi Brahmin        | 4 (0.65)         | 1 (1.79)         | 3 (3.58)          | 3 (7.31)         | -                 | -                 | -                | -                 | 11 (3.37)          |
| Muslim              | 1 (0.60)         | 2 (1.31)         | 1 (2.58)          | -                | -                 | -                 | -                | -                 | 4 (1.45)           |
| Rajaka              | 1 (0.96)         | -                | 1 (3.20)          | 1 (8.12)         | -                 | -                 | -                | -                 | 3 (4.09)           |
| Turpakapu           | 3 (0.38)         | -                | -                 | -                | -                 | -                 | -                | -                 | 3 (0.38)           |
| Uppari              | 7 (0.53)         | 9 (1.22)         | 6 (2.96)          | 1 (5.39)         | 1 (15.17)         | -                 | -                | -                 | 24 (2.20)          |
| Yadava              | 8 (0.81)         | 12 (1.36)        | 9 (3.01)          | 7 (6.28)         | 5 (13.39)         | -                 | -                | -                 | 41 (3.92)          |
| Mutrasulu           | 3 (0.89)         | -                | 1 (3.82)          | -                | -                 | -                 | -                | -                 | 4 (1.63)           |
| <b>SCs</b>          | <b>23 (0.73)</b> | <b>18 (1.24)</b> | <b>11 (3.25)</b>  | <b>1 (5.01)</b>  | -                 | -                 | -                | -                 | <b>53 (1.51)</b>   |
| Madiga              | -                | -                | 1 (2.55)          | -                | -                 | -                 | -                | -                 | 1 (2.55)           |
| Mala                | 23 (0.73)        | 18 (1.24)        | 10 (3.32)         | 1 (5.01)         | -                 | -                 | -                | -                 | 52 (1.49)          |
| <b>STs (Yamadi)</b> | -                | -                | -                 | -                | -                 | -                 | -                | -                 | -                  |
| <b>ALL</b>          | <b>85 (0.64)</b> | <b>93 (1.39)</b> | <b>144 (3.27)</b> | <b>74 (6.91)</b> | <b>30 (14.17)</b> | <b>16 (29.62)</b> | <b>7 (72.96)</b> | <b>2 (111.31)</b> | <b>451 (6.20)</b>  |

Source: Re-settlement Register (1932), Nandivada.

Note: Given in the parenthesis are the corresponding average landholding in acres.

The artisanal classes who stayed in the village were the Viswa-Brahmins (Goldsmith, Carpenter and Blacksmith) and the Kummaries (potters). Both in terms of number of families and extent of land they owned, the artisanal classes were insignificant in Nandivada. Only 4 people owned land from among these castes amounting to 5.89 acres. There were service castes such as the Rajakas (washermen) and the Mangali or Nayi Brahmins (barbers) who owned land falling under various size classes varying from less than one acre to 5.01-10.00 acres.

The people from Northern part of Coastal Andhra (Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and Visakhapatnam) started migrating into Southern Coastal Districts in search of work in the late nineteenth century. The Turpu Kapus and the Koppula Velamas who in-migrated into Nandivada, owned a mere 3.71 acres in 1932.

#### 2.4 Land and Caste in Nandivada, 1997

In 1997 the FCs, OBCs, SCs and STs owned 69.52, 22.06, 8.37, and 0.05 percentages of the total titled or patta land of the village respectively. An interesting feature of land ownership in Nandivada is that absentees from the village do own land. As much as 44 per cent of the land owned by the FCs belonged to absentees (non-residents). Absentee ownerships from among the OBCs and SCs are 11.05 and 13.85 percentages of the total extent of lands by these social categories (Table 2.7).

Table 2.7  
Area of Land Owned by Non-Residents of Nandivada by Social Classes, 1997.

| Social Class | Land Ownership (in acres) | % Share of Land Ownership | % Share of Land Ownership of Non-Residents (within caste) |
|--------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| FCs          | 1944.66                   | 69.52                     | 43.74   |
| OBCs         | 617.07                    | 22.06                     | 11.05   |
| SCs          | 234.11                    | 8.37                      | 13.83   |
| STs          | 1.36                      | 0.05                      | 0.00  |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>2797.20</b>            | <b>100.00</b>             | <b>34.00</b>  |

Source: No:3, Register of Nandivada, (1997).

*i Non-Resident Land Ownership Across Castes: 1997*

Among the FCs the Kammas and Reddies account for more than 50 per cent of the land and the Kapus have lesser access to land. Among the OBCs it is the Yadavas who form an impressive 12.60 per cent of the land ownership. The Upparies and Nayi Brahmins also owned 2.43 and 3.25 per cent of the village lands respectively. Among the SCs, it is the Malas who own 223.87 acres. At the extreme, the Yanadis (STs) owned a mere 1.36 acres of land, even though their population in the village accounted for more than 6 % of the population of the village.

Significant portions of lands owned by the FCs belong to the absentees (non-residents). These proportions range from Velamas: 100% to Reddies: 36.56%. Only Yadavas from among the OBCs own sizeable amount of land in Nandivada (12.6%). Land owned by non-resident Yadavas formed a mere 4.24% of their total (Table 2.8).

Kammas stand on top with regard to the ownership of land even in 1997, with 875.34 acres or more than one-third of the total cultivable land in the village. But, a significant development in their ownership is that non-resident Kammas own 40 per cent of their total land. The non-resident Kammas mostly stay in cities such as Hyderabad, Vijayawada and Visakhapatnam and towns like Gudivada and Eluru. In other words, nearly 40 percent of the total cultivable land is still owned by the absentees from the village. This has activated the land-lease market in the Village to a greater degree (Chapter IV, Part B). Among the non-resident category there are also Non Resident Indians (NRIs) who own land in



the village. This points out to out-migration of the Kmmas and their continued legal attachment to land. Also, when some one's daughter is married land is given as 'Streedhanam'. She owns the land even if married to some one from outside the village, but stays away from the village. Hence, the Kamma out-migration may be either due to diversification of occupations/economic activities or marriages. In the ensuing chapters, diversification of economic activities leading to out-migration will be discussed at greater length.

Table 2.8  
Area of Land Owned by Non-Residents of Nandivada by Castes, 1997.

| Class/Caste  | Land Ownership (in acres) | % Share of Land Ownership | % Share of Land Ownership of Non-Residents (within caste) |
|--------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| <b>FCs</b>   | <b>1944.66</b>            | <b>69.52</b>              | <b>43.74</b>  |
| Brahmin      | 128.68                    | 4.60                      | 73.36   |
| Kamma        | 875.34                    | 31.29                     | 39.63   |
| Kapu         | 6.78                      | 0.24                      | -   |
| Komati       | 98.38                     | 3.52                      | 75.61   |
| Reddy        | 789.16                    | 28.21                     | 36.56   |
| Velama       | 46.32                     | 1.66                      | 100.00  |
| <b>OBCs</b>  | <b>617.07</b>             | <b>22.06</b>              | <b>11.05</b>  |
| A.Kshatriya  | 13.06                     | 0.47                      | 100.00  |
| Goldsmith    | 9.27                      | 0.33                      | 100.00  |
| Gowda        | 0.67                      | 0.02                      | -   |
| K.Velama     | 36.21                     | 1.29                      | 14.56   |
| Kummari      | 3.06                      | 0.11                      | -   |
| Mangali      | 91.01                     | 3.25                      | -   |
| Muslim       | 0.45                      | 0.02                      | -   |
| Mutrasulu    | 8.75                      | 0.31                      | 100.00  |
| Padmasali    | 5.93                      | 0.21                      | -   |
| Rajaka       | 19.21                     | 0.69                      | 50.00   |
| Turpu Kapu   | 9.02                      | 0.32                      | -   |
| Uppari       | 67.94                     | 2.43                      | 10.73   |
| Yadava       | 352.49                    | 12.60                     | 4.24  |
| <b>SCs</b>   | <b>234.11</b>             | <b>8.37</b>               | <b>13.83</b>  |
| Madiga       | 10.24                     | 0.37                      | 11.18   |
| Mala         | 223.87                    | 8.00                      | 14.08   |
| <b>STs</b>   | <b>1.36</b>               | <b>0.05</b>               | <b>-</b>  |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>2797.20</b>            | <b>100.00</b>             | <b>34.00</b>  |

Source: No:3, Register of Nandivada, (1997).

Reddies presently own 789.16 acres of land which forms 28.21 percent of total village land. Of the total land owned by the Reddies, as much as farmers from the two neighbouring villages own 288.53 acres of land. The process of out-migration is also found among the Reddies, but the incidence is less when compared with the Kammās (Table 2.8).

The castes in which non-residents own significant amount of land are the Brahmins, the Komaties and the Rajus (Table 2.8). Among them the Brahmins and the Komaties are the residents of the village once upon a time, but subsequently they had out-migrated. Komati out-migration is the result of their trading activity mainly confining to the nearby towns. The Brahmin out-migration is due to jobs in towns and cities spread all over India. Whereas the resident-Brahmins own 34.28 acres, the non-residents own 94.40 acres. Among the land owning non-resident Brahmins, majority of them belong to neighbouring villages namely Janarthanapuram, Puttagunta and Moparru. The corresponding figures for Komaties are 74.38 and 24 acres respectively. Rajus from West Godavari district started buying the lands in some parts of Krishna district for fish ponds. This assumed importance after 1993. They bought lands in Krishna district as they were found to be cheaper as compared to West Godavari (Table 2.8).

One of the backward communities owning a sizeable portion of total land is the Yadavas with 352.49 acres. The non-residents owning the land within the village account for 14.95 acres or 4.24 per cent of their land ownership. This reveals that among the Yadavas, the owner cum cultivator class is predominant. There is a clear

transition that has taken place among the Yadavas, from agriculture labour to owner-cultivator between 1932 and 1997. Such transition has also been taking place among the Malas (SC) and the Upparies (OBC) (Table 2.8).

*ii Land Ownership Across Size-Classes, 1997*

By 1997 the number of individuals owning land in Nandivada got more than doubled (to 1072). The number of farmers owning land less than one acre increased from 85 in 1932 to 318 in 1997. Their share in the total cultivated land increased to 6.51 per cent. More than 50 per cent of the total cultivated land in the hands of the marginal and small farmers. No farmer reported owning land more than 50 acres. This is understandable in view of the Land Ceiling Act under operation. In 1997 there were 1072 landowners in Nandivada of whom 618 or 56 per cent are from the Forward Classes (castes). They control over 69 per cent of the total cultivated land (Table 2.9).

Table 2.9  
Size Distribution of Land Owned in 1997 across different Social Classes, Nandivada, 1997 (in per cent)

| Size-class    | Land Owning Individuals |            |            |            | Area Owned |            |            |            |
|---------------|-------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
|               | FCs                     | BCs        | SCs        | ALL        | FCs        | BCs        | SCs        | ALL        |
| <1.00 acre    | 20.23                   | 35.64      | 54.55      | 29.66      | 3.77       | 9.53       | 21.20      | 6.51       |
| 1.00-2.00     | 25.40                   | 30.45      | 24.24      | 26.59      | 11.20      | 18.30      | 23.85      | 13.83      |
| 2.00-5.00     | 34.95                   | 23.88      | 17.58      | 29.29      | 34.09      | 33.68      | 36.88      | 34.24      |
| 5.00-10.00    | 14.89                   | 7.27       | 3.03       | 11.01      | 31.30      | 21.41      | 13.02      | 27.58      |
| 10.00-20.00   | 4.53                    | 2.42       | 0.61       | 3.36       | 19.63      | 13.63      | 5.04       | 17.08      |
| 20.00-50.00   | -                       | 0.35       | -          | 0.09       | -          | 3.45       | -          | 0.76       |
| 50.00-100.00  | -                       | -          | -          | -          | -          | -          | -          | -          |
| 100 and Above | -                       | -          | -          | -          | -          | -          | -          | -          |
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>100</b>              | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
|               | (618)                   | (289)      | (165)      | (1072)     | (1944.66)  | (617.07)   | (235.47)   | (2797.20)  |

Source: Number 3 Register, Nandivada, 1997.

Note: Figures in parentheses are in acres in case of area owned and absolute numbers in case of land owning individuals.

### *iii Land Ownership Across Castes in 1997: The Gender Dimension*

Better female land ownership within the caste to some extent reflects the progressiveness of the caste. It is also evident that the female land ownership is significant among the FCs (29.63%). It is less in the OBCs (21.64%) and SCs (15.41%).

Among the major land owning castes in the village, it is interesting to note that the Kamma women own close to 35% of land. Although the Reddies are economically sound, female land ownership among them could rise only up to 23.98 per cent, but interestingly the rise is phenomenal between 1932 and 1997 (from 6.87% to 23.98%). In the non-cultivating castes such as the Brahmins and the Komaties, the female ownership of land is 22.55% and 36.09% respectively of the total land they owned (Table 2.10).

The Yadavas who have emerged as an important cultivating caste in the village had a 22.27% female ownership of land.

In the Malas and the Upparies the female ownership of land is minimal with 15.79% and 11.75% respectively (Table 2.10). The structure of land ownership plays a major role in the economic mobility of any set of people in the sense that when the ownership of land is in favour of females then the incidence of losing land will be lesser.

**Table 2.10**  
**Female Land Ownership within Castes, Nandivada, 1997.**

| Class/Caste         | Land Ownership within Caste |                |                      |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|----------------------|
|                     | Males                       | Females        | Males & Females      |
| <b>FCs</b>          | <b>70.37</b>                | <b>29.63</b> ✓ | <b>100 (1944.66)</b> |
| Brahmin             | 77.45                       | 22.55          | 100 (128.68)         |
| Kamma               | 65.07                       | 34.93 ✓        | 100 (875.34)         |
| Kapu                | 70.80                       | 29.20          | 100 (6.78)           |
| Komati              | 63.91                       | 36.09 ✓        | 100 (98.38)          |
| Reddy               | 76.02                       | 23.98          | 100 (789.16)         |
| Velama              | 68.35                       | 31.65          | 100 (46.32)          |
| <b>OBCs</b>         | <b>78.36</b>                | <b>21.64</b>   | <b>100 (617.07)</b>  |
| A.Kshatriya         | 86.37                       | 13.63          | 100 (13.06)          |
| Goldsmith           | 73.68                       | 26.32          | 100 (9.27)           |
| Gowda               | 100.00                      | -              | 100 (0.67)           |
| K.Velama            | 74.51                       | 25.49          | 100 (36.21)          |
| Kummari             | 70.59                       | 29.41          | 100 (3.06)           |
| Mangali             | 74.39                       | 25.61          | 100 (91.01)          |
| Muslim              | 100.00                      | -              | 100 (0.45)           |
| Mutrasulu           | 76.11                       | 23.89          | 100 (8.75)           |
| Padmasali           | 74.54                       | 25.46          | 100 (5.93)           |
| Rajaka              | 69.81                       | 30.19          | 100 (19.21)          |
| Turpu Kapu          | 100.00                      | -              | 100 (9.02)           |
| Uppari              | 88.25                       | 11.75          | 100 (67.94)          |
| Yadava              | 77.73                       | 22.27          | 100 (352.49)         |
| <b>SCs</b>          | <b>84.59</b>                | <b>15.41</b>   | <b>100 (234.11)</b>  |
| Madiga              | 91.02                       | 8.98           | 100 (10.24)          |
| Mala                | 84.21                       | 15.79          | 100 (223.87)         |
| <b>STs (Yanadi)</b> | <b>100.00</b>               | <b>-</b>       | <b>100 (1.36)</b>    |
| <b>Total</b>        | <b>73.33</b>                | <b>26.67</b>   | <b>100 (2797.20)</b> |

Source: No:3, Register, Nandivada, 1997.

Note: Figures in parentheses are corresponding landownership in acres.

*iv Intra-Caste Land Ownership, 1997*

In terms of number, farmers owning land below one and two acres predominate in Nandivada; they are 318 and 285 respectively. Together they form about 56 per cent of the total number of land owners (1072). Farmers from the FCs constitute over 57 per cent of the total number and OBCs about 28 per cent. As many as 163 out of

a total of 1072 farmers were from the SCs in 1997. (In 1932 there were only 53 land owning SC farmers in Nandivada) (Table 2.11).

The Kammas still hold the first position in the land ownership with regard to number and per capita ownership. The number of farmers falling under the 2.00-5.00 category of land size are highest with 91 and in the 5.00-10.00 acres category of land size it is 52. On the other hand, there are 112 farmers owning land below 2 acres which confirms that there are marginal farmers even among the Kammas. As female work participation in field is absent among the native Kammas of the village, for some of them the income from land will not meet the family expenses, hence there is a need for diversifying into activities like land-lease, trading, daily finance<sup>3</sup> and supervisory activities generally in enterprises owned by the fellow Kammas. Even the land ownership among the Komaties and the Reddies is concentrated in the group 2.00-5.00 acres with 12 and 77 farmers respectively falling in the group. The activities of Reddies are more or less similar to that of the Kammas. The Malas and the Yadavas are concentrated in the group less than one acre with 81 and 38 farmers respectively. Even the Malas and the Yadavas who belonged to the depressed and backward classes, especially so in 1932, were spread across different size classes of land ownership by 1997. This shows that they were playing a key role in the rural economy.

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<sup>3</sup> Daily finance is a type of finance associated with high rate of interest especially advanced to vegetable vendors, small shopkeepers, rickshaw pullers, cart pullers etc. For example if Rs 90 is given in the morning, the person who has taken the amount has to return Rs 100 in the evening. There are many practices of daily finance associated with such a high rate of interest.

Among the hard working migrants from Northern districts of Andhra only Koppula Velamas increased their ownership in terms of both number and acreage. Koppula Velamas were less prone to drinking habits when compared with the Turpu Kapus. Hence, the non-resident land owners preferred the Koppula Velamas to Turpu Kapus as tenants on their lands.

Table 2.11  
Number of Land Owners and Average Holding Size by Caste and Size-Class, Handivada, 1997.

| Class/Caste         | <1.00 acre | 1.00-2.00  | 2.00-5.00  | 5.00-10.00 | 10.00-20.00 | 20 & Above | All Classes |
|---------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| <b>FCs</b>          | 125 (0.59) | 157 (1.39) | 216 (3.07) | 92 (6.62)  | 28 (13.64)  | -          | 618 (3.15)  |
| Brahmin             | 13 (0.64)  | 18 (1.39)  | 16 (2.90)  | 4 (6.78)   | 2 (10.89)   | -          | 53 (2.43)   |
| Kamma               | 53 (0.61)  | 59 (1.42)  | 91 (3.04)  | 52 (6.63)  | 10 (13.76)  | -          | 265 (3.30)  |
| Kapu                | 7 (0.59)   | 2 (1.33)   | -          | -          | -           | -          | 9 (0.75)    |
| Konati              | 10 (0.55)  | 13 (1.19)  | 22 (2.76)  | 1 (5.30)   | 1 (11.30)   | -          | 47 (2.09)   |
| Reddy               | 34 (0.54)  | 58 (1.43)  | 77 (3.18)  | 35 (6.62)  | 15 (14.08)  | -          | 219 (3.60)  |
| Velama              | 8 (0.58)   | 7 (1.22)   | 10 (3.42)  | -          | -           | -          | 25 (1.85)   |
| <b>OBCs</b>         | 103 (0.57) | 88 (1.28)  | 69 (3.01)  | 21 (6.29)  | 7 (10.59)   | 1 (21.29)  | 289 (2.14)  |
| A.Kshatriya         | 3 (0.50)   | 1 (1.06)   | 2 (2.28)   | 1 (5.95)   | -           | -          | 7 (1.87)    |
| Viswabrahmins       | -          | 2 (1.22)   | 2 (3.42)   | -          | -           | -          | 4 (2.32)    |
| Gowda               | 3 (0.22)   | -          | -          | -          | -           | -          | 3 (0.22)    |
| Kunnari             | 1 (0.90)   | 2 (1.08)   | -          | -          | -           | -          | 3 (1.02)    |
| K.Velama            | 7 (0.53)   | 12 (1.25)  | 6 (2.92)   | -          | -           | -          | 25 (1.45)   |
| Nayi Brahmin        | 11 (0.59)  | 6 (1.21)   | 10 (3.12)  | 2 (6.50)   | 1 (11.82)   | 1 (21.29)  | 31 (2.94)   |
| Muslim              | 3 (0.15)   | -          | -          | -          | -           | -          | 3 (0.15)    |
| Padmasali           | 3 (0.57)   | 1 (1.25)   | 1 (2.96)   | -          | -           | -          | 5 (1.19)    |
| Rajaka              | 14 (0.58)  | 5 (1.10)   | 2 (2.77)   | -          | -           | -          | 21 (0.91)   |
| Turpu Kapu          | 1 (0.50)   | -          | 1 (3.41)   | 1 (5.11)   | -           | -          | 3 (3.01)    |
| Uppari              | 13 (0.58)  | 15 (1.31)  | 6 (2.08)   | 2 (6.76)   | 1           | -          | 37 (1.84)   |
| Yadava              | 38 (0.63)  | 42 (1.34)  | 38 (3.04)  | 15 (6.30)  | 5 (12.46)   | -          | 138 (2.55)  |
| Mutrasulu           | 6 (0.55)   | 2 (1.16)   | 1 (3.17)   | -          | -           | -          | 9 (0.97)    |
| <b>SCs</b>          | 89 (0.55)  | 39 (1.41)  | 29 (2.99)  | 5 (6.13)   | 1 (11.88)   | -          | 163 (1.44)  |
| Nadiga              | 8 (0.60)   | -          | 2 (2.72)   | -          | -           | -          | 10 (1.02)   |
| Mala                | 81 (0.55)  | 39 (1.41)  | 27 (3.01)  | 5 (6.13)   | 1 (11.88)   | -          | 153 (1.46)  |
| <b>STs (Vanadi)</b> | 1 (0.36)   | 1 (1.00)   | -          | -          | -           | -          | 2 (0.68)    |
| <b>Total</b>        | 318 (0.57) | 285 (1.36) | 314 (3.05) | 118 (6.54) | 36 (13.27)  | 1 (21.29)  | 1072 (2.61) |

Source: No:3, Register, Handivada, (1997).

Note: Given in the parenthesis are the corresponding average landholding in acres.

## ***2.5 Land and Caste in Nandivada Between 1932 and 1997***

Among those who lost lands it is the Kammass who are on the top. They lost more than one-fifth of the land (22.46 per cent) in a span of 65 years. Yet even after 65 years, their position in land ownership is still high. Next comes the Brahmins, who now own only 4.60 per cent of the total village lands. Their loss in land ownership is close to 10 percentage points.

On the other hand, the Reddies, the Yadavas and the Malas gained 14.58, 6.75 and 5.24 percentage points in their ownership of the total land between 1932 and 1997. The migrant labour (the Koppula Velamas and the Turpu Kapus) who settled in the village gained by 1.21 and 0.20 percentage points (Tables 2.12).

These land transfers are to be associated with the out-migration of the Kammass and the Brahmins, and upward economic mobility of the backward classes and the Dalit in the rural side. Those Kammass who disposed of their lands had out-migrated to the towns and cities and ventured into the new fields such as trading, transport, services, agro- industries, industry, press, chit funds, hotels, electronic media, software and so on. As the rates of returns in such economic activities are much more than that of agriculture their economic position has on the whole improved much faster than the rural side. There is also a downward mobility among a few Kamma families who ventured into highly risky activities such as film making, pharmaceutical industry etc and failed. Some of the Kammass did flourish in such activities but others have lost out. In most cases the Kammass who lost money in such activities did



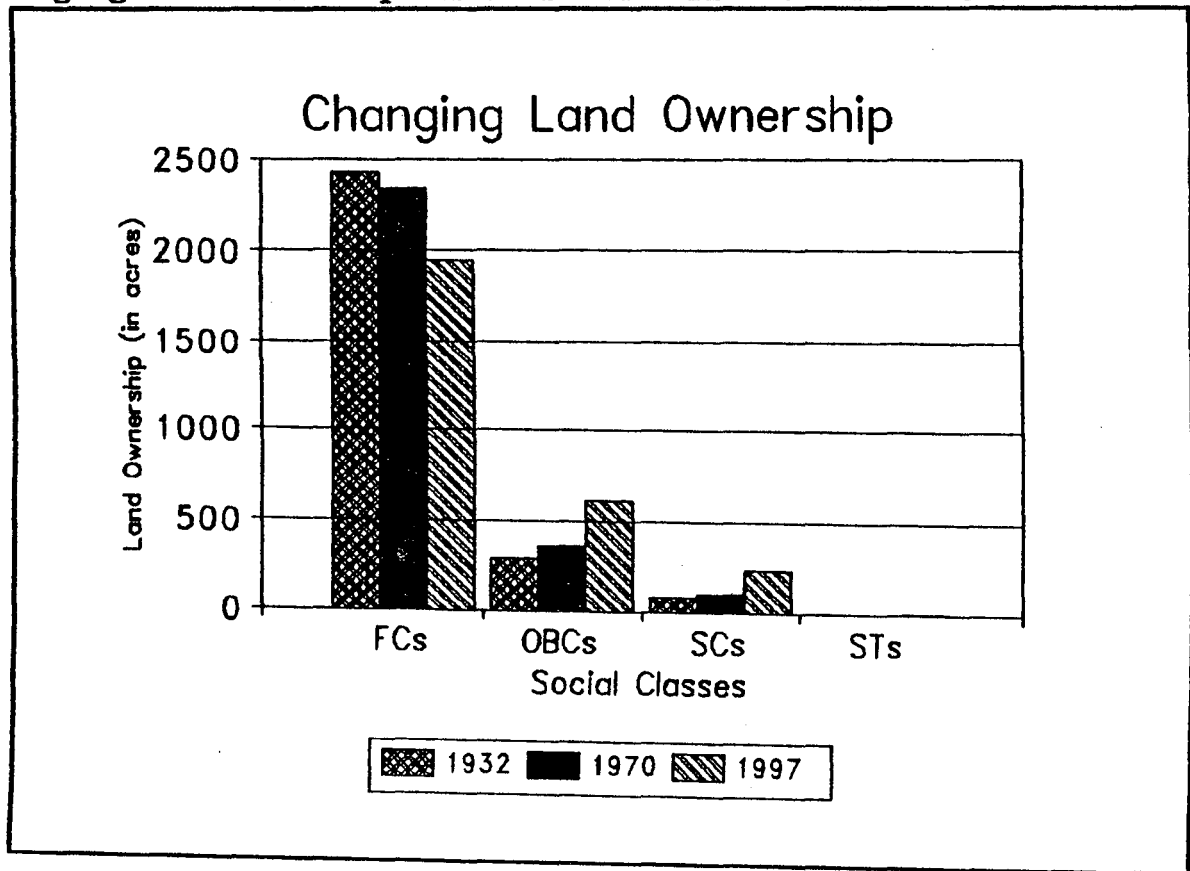
receive a helping hand from the fellow castemen who made a tremendous success in the same activities. But the Brahmins who have been disposing of their lands since the Nineteenth century continue to confine themselves with education and service sector. Hence, their progress in economic terms was not on par with the Kmmas. The functioning of land market will throw some insights into the diversification process and initial capital which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Table 2.12  
Land Ownership Across Castes: 1932 and 1997. ✓

| Class/Caste             | percentage of land ownership to total |                  | Net Gain of Land 1932-1997 (in acres) | Net % Gain of Land |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
|                         | 1932                                  | 1997             |                                       |                    |
| <b>FCs</b>              | <b>86.72</b>                          | <b>69.52</b>     | <b>-481.01</b>                        | <b>-17.20</b>      |
| Brahmin                 | 14.48                                 | 4.60             | -276.35                               | -9.88              |
| Kamma                   | 53.75                                 | 31.29            | -628.29                               | -22.46             |
| Kapu                    | 1.50                                  | 0.24             | -35.14                                | -1.26              |
| Komati                  | 2.73                                  | 3.52             | 21.99                                 | 0.79               |
| Reddy                   | 13.64                                 | 28.21            | 407.73                                | 14.58              |
| Velama                  | 0.62                                  | 1.66             | 29.05                                 | 1.04               |
| <b>OBCs</b>             | <b>10.43</b>                          | <b>22.06</b>     | <b>325.42</b>                         | <b>11.63</b>       |
| A.Kshatriya             | 0.17                                  | 0.47             | 8.28                                  | 0.30               |
| Goldsmith               | 0.09                                  | 0.33             | 6.89                                  | 0.25               |
| Gowda                   | 0.00                                  | 0.02             | 0.67                                  | 0.02               |
| K.Velama                | 0.09                                  | 1.29             | 33.81                                 | 1.21               |
| Kummari                 | 0.13                                  | 0.11             | -0.45                                 | -0.02              |
| Mangali                 | 1.32                                  | 3.25             | 53.97                                 | 1.93               |
| Muslim                  | 0.21                                  | 0.02             | -5.34                                 | -0.19              |
| Mutrasulu               | 0.23                                  | 0.31             | 2.25                                  | 0.08               |
| Padmasali               | 0.00                                  | 0.21             | 5.93                                  | 0.21               |
| Rajaka                  | 0.44                                  | 0.69             | 6.93                                  | 0.25               |
| Turpu Kapu              | 0.12                                  | 0.32             | 5.59                                  | 0.20               |
| Uppari                  | 1.78                                  | 2.43             | 18.14                                 | 0.65               |
| Yadava                  | 5.85                                  | 12.60            | 188.75                                | 6.76               |
| <b>SCs</b>              | <b>2.86</b>                           | <b>8.37</b>      | <b>154.23</b>                         | <b>5.51</b>        |
| Madiga                  | 0.09                                  | 0.37             | 7.69                                  | 0.27               |
| Mala                    | 2.76                                  | 8.00             | 146.54                                | 5.24               |
| <b>STs (Yanadi)</b>     | <b>0.00</b>                           | <b>0.05</b>      | <b>1.36</b>                           | <b>0.05</b>        |
| <b>Total</b>            | <b>100.00</b>                         | <b>100.00</b>    | <b>0.00</b>                           | <b>0.00</b>        |
| <b>Total (in acres)</b> | <b>(2797.20)</b>                      | <b>(2797.20)</b> |                                       |                    |

Sources: Re-Settlement Register (1932), Nandivada and No:3, Register, Nandivada (1997).

**Figure 2.1**  
**Changing Land Ownership Across Social Classes Between 1932 and 1997**



***1 Comparison of Land Ownership Across Size Classes: 1932 & 1997***

In 1932 landowners of Nandivada numbering 451 shared about 2797.20 acres. By 1997, the number of land owners increased to 1072. Partitioning of family lands over generations and sale of lands in smaller fragments to the erstwhile landless labourers and tenants from among different castes, especially the OBCs were the two reasons for the rise in the number of land owners in the village between 1932 and 1997.

The number of landowners increased from 451 in 1932 to 1072 in 1997. The total rise was 621. In the three size classes of less than one acre, one acre to two and two to five, the rise in the number of land owners is 595, accounting for 96 per cent of the total increase. Interestingly there was a fall in the number of land owners in size classes 20-50 acres and above. This is understandable in terms of land distribution among the family members, so as to escape from the Land Ceiling Act (Table 2.13).

**Table 2.13**  
**Number of Land owners: 1932 & 1997**

| Size Class         | 1932       | 1997        | Increase/Decrease |
|--------------------|------------|-------------|-------------------|
| <1.00              | 85         | 318         | 233               |
| 1.00-2.00          | 93         | 285         | 192               |
| 2.00-5.00          | 144        | 314         | 170               |
| 5.00-10.00         | 74         | 118         | 44                |
| 10.00-20.00        | 30         | 36          | 6                 |
| 20.00-50.00        | 16         | 1           | -15               |
| 50.00-100.00       | 7          | -           | -7                |
| 100 & above        | 2          | -           | -2                |
| <b>All Classes</b> | <b>451</b> | <b>1072</b> | <b>621</b>        |

Sources: Re-Settlement Register, 1932, Nandivada and Number 3 Register, Nandivada.

*ii Comparison of Inequalities of Land Ownership Across Social Classes Between 1932 and 1997*

It is found that inequalities among the landowners of the village declined between 1932 and 1997 in the village (Table 2.14). When we look at the inequalities among the social classes it is clearly observable that the inequalities among the FCs fell drastically (from 0.6175 in 1932 to 0.4465 in 1997). The obvious reason for this is the Land Ceiling Act did not allow the landlords to acquire any more land and on the other hand sell away the excess land to

fall within the limits of the Act. In case of the SCs, the inequalities of land ownership increased (from 0.3389 in 1932 to 0.4350 in 1997) because some of the creamy layer of SCs who were marginal or landless but tenant-farmers in 1932 started acquiring land over time. An upward economic mobility of some of the SCs contributed to the increasing inequalities among them over time.

**Table 2.14**  
**Inequalities in Landholdings in Nandivada: 1932 & 1997.**

| Sl. Category         | Gini-concentration Ratios |        |
|----------------------|---------------------------|--------|
|                      | 1932                      | 1997   |
| 1 Village as a Whole | 0.6305                    | 0.4765 |
| 2 FCs                | 0.6175                    | 0.4465 |
| 3 OBCs               | 0.5176                    | 0.4837 |
| 4 SCs                | 0.3389                    | 0.4350 |

Source: Re-Settlement Register, 1932, Nandivada. Number 3 Register, Nandivada.

***iii Comparison of land Ownership with Gender Dimension between 1932 and 1997***

There is a remarkable improvement in the land ownership of females within their respective castes, with an overall increase from 12.88 percent to 26.67 percent. Among the broad economic categories, the FCs and OBCs showed improvement in female land ownership between 1932 and 1997. The female land ownership improved from 13.47 per cent to 29.63 per cent among the FCs between 1932 and 1997. The noteworthy castes among the FCs in this regard are the Kammas and the Komaties whose female land ownership is much better. Among the OBCs, the female land ownership improved from 8.82 per cent to 21.64 per cent. The noteworthy castes among the OBCs are the

Yadavas and the Nayi Brahmins. The land owning caste in the SCs are the Malas, the Madigas have very limited access to land. Even though, there are a good number of Yanadis (ST) in the village, they are almost landless.

Even in 1932 the Kamma females owned 17.08 per cent of land within the caste. This percentage went up to 34.93 by 1997. This calls for some explanation. One of the reasons for this phenomenon is the existence the Streedhanam as a social institution. Streedhanam is treated as a share given to the bride. This is significant, as far as the Kammas are concerned. Streedhanam constitutes land, sites, cash, house and gold. Among them generally land and gold occur most often. Also, the amount of Streedhanam that is given to the girl will be more or less equal to the property that is given to the son. In recent times the Streedhanam is more than that of the property that a son is going to inherit from the family property. The daughter will not get the property share when it is being divided among the sons. Even though, equal property rights for women are legalized in Andhra, conventionally women do not claim their rights as it is generally officiated through 'Streedhanam'. Also, there exists dowry among the Kammas, but it is referred to as a single amount including the value of Streedhanam. A distinction between the two is made in the ensuing chapters while explaining the economic mobility of the FCs.

The underlying logic behind the prevalence of high Streedhanam among the Kammas is that firstly, the newly formed family will have better initial endowments at their disposal to meet the expenses and to experiment with the newly emerging economic opportunities.

Secondly, the bride will have economic power of her own constituting fixed assets and will have better security both economically and socially.

Table 2.15  
Female Land Ownership Within Castes, Nandivada, 1932 & 1997.

| Class/Caste        | Land Owned<br>in 1932<br>(acres) | % of Land Owned<br>by Females Within<br>Caste in 1932 | Land Owned<br>in 1997<br>(acres) | % of Land Owned<br>by Females Within<br>Caste in 1997 |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|---|
| <b>FCs</b>         | <b>2425.67</b>                   | <b>13.47</b>  | <b>1944.66</b>                   | <b>29.63</b>  |
| Brahmin            | 405.03                           | 8.58  | 128.68                           | 22.55   |
| Kamma              | 1503.63                          | 17.08   | 875.34                           | 34.93   |
| Kapu               | 41.92                            | 2.81  | 6.78                             | 29.20   |
| Komati             | 76.39                            | 9.16  | 98.38                            | 36.09   |
| Reddy              | 381.43                           | 6.87  | 789.16                           | 23.98   |
| Velama             | 17.27                            | 3.82  | 46.32                            | 31.65   |
| <b>OBCs</b>        | <b>291.65</b>                    | <b>8.82</b>   | <b>617.07</b>                    | <b>21.64</b>  |
| A.Kshatriya        | 4.78                             | 100.00  | 13.06                            | 13.63   |
| Goldsmith          | 2.38                             | -   | 9.27                             | 26.32   |
| Gowda              | -                                | -   | 0.67                             | -   |
| K.Velama           | 2.40                             | -   | 36.21                            | 25.49   |
| Kummari            | 3.51                             | -   | 3.06                             | 29.41   |
| Mangali            | 37.04                            | -   | 91.01                            | 25.61   |
| Muslim             | 5.79                             | -   | 0.45                             | -   |
| Mutrasulu          | 6.50                             | -   | 8.75                             | 23.89   |
| Padmasali          | -                                | -   | 5.93                             | 25.46   |
| Rajaka             | 12.28                            | -   | 19.21                            | 30.19   |
| Turpu Kapu         | 3.43                             | 28.57   | 9.02                             | -   |
| Uppari             | 49.80                            | 13.25   | 67.94                            | 11.75   |
| Yadava             | 163.74                           | 8.15  | 352.49                           | 22.27   |
| <b>SCs</b>         | <b>79.88</b>                     | <b>10.10</b>  | <b>234.11</b>                    | <b>15.50</b>  |
| Madiga             | 2.55                             | -   | 10.24                            | 8.98  |
| Mala               | 77.33                            | 10.44   | 223.87                           | 15.79   |
| <b>STs(Yanadi)</b> | <b>-</b>                         | <b>-</b>  | <b>1.36</b>                      | <b>-</b>  |
| <b>Total</b>       | <b>2797.20</b>                   | <b>12.88</b>  | <b>2797.20</b>                   | <b>26.67</b>  |

Sources: Re-Settlement Register (1932), Nandivada and No:3, Registers, Nandivada, (1997).

As for the other castes, Streedhanam that they give is normally less than a son's share in the family. But in recent times the Reddies are following in the footsteps of the Kammas (Chapter IV,

Part A). The Reddies who had 6.87 percent of female ownership within the caste in 1932 raised it to 23.98% by 1997.

The other prominent players in the land market during the recent times are the Yadavas who improved from 8.15% to 22.27% in the female ownership within the caste between 1932 and 1997 (Table 2.15). But the Malas and Upparies who had a share of over 10 per cent in 1932 did not improve much in female ownership of land. On the contrary, the female work participation among these castes is much more than in other castes. One of the reasons is that the dowry or streedhanam in these castes is given in cash rather than in land. These arguments will be substantiated with the field survey data (Chapter IV, Part A).

#### *iv Intra-Caste Land Ownership: 1932 and 1997*

Table 2.16 gives details on distribution of farmers across social and size classes in 1932 and 1997. Smaller the size class, larger is the rise in the number of land owners. The rise in the number of land owners is most significant in the size class 2.00-5.00 acres.

Among the FCs, land owners increased from 299 to 618 between 1932 and 1997. The Reddy farmers appeared have benefitted most in that the number of land owners increased from 77 to 219 between 1932 and 1997 which is nearly a three fold increase. The increase among the FCs is just a little above two-fold from 299 to 618. Among the Kammass, the land owners increased from 111 to 265 (Table 2.16). The reasons which played a crucial role among Kammass for such an increase are (i) partitioning and (ii) to a limited extent the

landless buying the land over time. But, in case of the Reddies in addition to partitioning, the landless people among them bought lands from the out-migrating Kammas and the Brahmins.

It is interesting to note that even though the Kammas lost land between 1932 and 1997 (628.29 acres), the number of owners increased from 111 to 265. This means that the concentration of land within the Kammas must have decreased. In 1932 there were 2 Kammas having more than 100 acres of land and 7 having 50.01- 100 acres. By 1997 there is no Kamma owning more than 20 acres of land, the likely reasons may be partition or landlords out-migrating and selling away lands to the fellow Kammas or the next economically and socially advancing castes such as the Reddies and the Yadavas, or in most cases both. These issues are taken up for a detailed analysis in the next chapter.

The Reddies who gained land between 1932 and 1997 also improved in terms of number of farmers owning land from 77 to 265. The Yadavas also followed in the foot steps of the Reddies with an increasing trend in absolute number of land ownership from 41 to 138. The Koppula Velamas who had migrated from the Northern districts of Andhra, increased their land owners from 4 to 25 between 1932 and 1997. Wage-incomes and tenancy provided them with some sources of finance for buying arable lands.

Among the Malas (SC), there was nearly a three-fold increase in the number of the land owners. Castes such as the Madigas (SC) and the Yanadis (ST) did not show any noticeable improvement. The Yanadis are the most deprived caste socially and economically in the sense



that even the SCs look down up on them. The major occupation of Yanadis is to catch rats and watch the paddy fields. They stay outside the village in the colonies given by the Government. Hence, they have lesser chances of integrating themselves with the main stream of the village society.

On the whole the farmers owning less than 2 acres constitute the majority. Hence, incidence of marginal farmers is high. This process is becoming progressively stronger in case of cultivating castes such as the Kmmas and the Reddies. This may lead to absentee landlordism as the incomes from the farm no more support their living and they may begin to search for new opportunities where incomes are high. This may result in out-migration. When such farmers migrate from the village without selling the land for various reasons, they lease-out land. This would activate the lease market in land. This has given a chance for the deprived classes in 1932 to lease in and buy a piece of land. Hence, we see the Koppula Velamas, the Malas and the Yadavas being prominent in the small farmer category. One can notice that the Koppula Velamas and the Malas have been moving from smaller holdings to larger holdings and in case of the Kmmas and the Reddies they are moving from larger holdings such as more than 50 acres to smaller holdings such as less than 5 acres between 1932 and 1997. The reasons for such movements will be explained in detail in the subsequent chapters.

**Table 2.16**  
**Number of Land Owners and Average Holding Size by Caste and Size-Class, 1932 & 1997.**

| Class/Caste        | 0.01-1.00  |             | 1.01-2.00  |             | 2.01-5.00  |              | 5.01-10.00 |             | 10.01-20.00 |             | 20 and Above |             | Total       |              |
|--------------------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
|                    | 1997       | 1932        | 1997       | 1932        | 1997       | 1932         | 1997       | 1932        | 1997        | 1932        | 1997         | 1932        | 1997        | 1932         |
| <b>FCs</b>         | <b>125</b> | <b>(30)</b> | <b>157</b> | <b>(49)</b> | <b>216</b> | <b>(110)</b> | <b>92</b>  | <b>(61)</b> | <b>28</b>   | <b>(24)</b> | <b>-</b>     | <b>(25)</b> | <b>618</b>  | <b>(299)</b> |
| Brahmin            | 13         | (7)         | 18         | (11)        | 16         | (29)         | 4          | (23)        | 2           | (5)         | -            | (2)         | 53          | (77)         |
| Kamma              | 57         | (9)         | 59         | (20)        | 91         | (33)         | 52         | (19)        | 10          | (11)        | -            | (19)        | 265         | (111)        |
| Kapu               | 7          | (1)         | 2          | (2)         | -          | (3)          | -          | (2)         | -           | (1)         | -            | (0)         | 9           | (9)          |
| Konati             | 10         | (6)         | 13         | (2)         | 22         | (8)          | 1          | (0)         | 1           | (1)         | -            | (1)         | 47          | (18)         |
| Reddy              | 34         | (6)         | 58         | (11)        | 77         | (35)         | 35         | (16)        | 15          | (6)         | -            | (3)         | 219         | (77)         |
| Velama             | 8          | (1)         | 7          | (3)         | 10         | (2)          | -          | (1)         | -           | (0)         | -            | (0)         | 25          | (7)          |
| <b>OBCs</b>        | <b>103</b> | <b>(32)</b> | <b>88</b>  | <b>(26)</b> | <b>69</b>  | <b>(23)</b>  | <b>21</b>  | <b>(12)</b> | <b>7</b>    | <b>(6)</b>  | <b>1</b>     | <b>(0)</b>  | <b>289</b>  | <b>(99)</b>  |
| A. Kshatriya       | 3          | (0)         | 1          | (0)         | 2          | (1)          | 1          | (0)         | -           | (0)         | -            | (0)         | 7           | (1)          |
| Goldsmith          | -          | (0)         | 2          | (0)         | 2          | (1)          | -          | (0)         | -           | (0)         | -            | (0)         | 4           | (1)          |
| Gowda              | 3          | (0)         | -          | (0)         | -          | (0)          | -          | (0)         | -           | (0)         | -            | (0)         | 3           | (0)          |
| Haridasulu         | -          | (0)         | -          | (0)         | -          | (0)          | -          | (0)         | -           | (0)         | -            | (0)         | 0           | (0)          |
| Kumari             | 1          | (2)         | 2          | (1)         | -          | (0)          | -          | (0)         | -           | (0)         | -            | (0)         | 3           | (3)          |
| K. Velama          | 7          | (3)         | 12         | (1)         | 6          | (0)          | -          | (0)         | -           | (0)         | -            | (0)         | 25          | (4)          |
| Nayi Brahmin       | 11         | (4)         | 6          | (1)         | 10         | (3)          | 2          | (3)         | 1           | (0)         | 1            | (0)         | 31          | (11)         |
| Muslim             | 3          | (1)         | -          | (2)         | -          | (1)          | -          | (0)         | -           | (0)         | -            | (0)         | 3           | (4)          |
| Padmasali          | 3          | (0)         | 1          | (0)         | 1          | (0)          | -          | (0)         | -           | (0)         | -            | (0)         | 5           | (0)          |
| Rajaka             | 14         | (1)         | 5          | (0)         | 2          | (1)          | -          | (1)         | -           | (0)         | -            | (0)         | 21          | (3)          |
| Turpukapu          | 1          | (3)         | -          | (0)         | 1          | (0)          | 1          | (0)         | -           | (0)         | -            | (0)         | 3           | (3)          |
| Uppari             | 13         | (7)         | 15         | (9)         | 6          | (6)          | 2          | (1)         | 1           | (1)         | -            | (0)         | 37          | (24)         |
| Yadava             | 38         | (8)         | 42         | (12)        | 38         | (9)          | 15         | (7)         | 5           | (5)         | -            | (0)         | 138         | (41)         |
| Nutrasulu          | 6          | (3)         | 2          | (0)         | 1          | (1)          | -          | (0)         | -           | (0)         | -            | (0)         | 9           | (4)          |
| <b>SCs</b>         | <b>89</b>  | <b>(23)</b> | <b>39</b>  | <b>(18)</b> | <b>29</b>  | <b>(11)</b>  | <b>5</b>   | <b>(1)</b>  | <b>1</b>    | <b>(0)</b>  | <b>-</b>     | <b>(0)</b>  | <b>165</b>  | <b>(53)</b>  |
| Nadiga             | 8          | (0)         | -          | (0)         | 2          | (1)          | -          | (0)         | -           | (0)         | -            | (0)         | 10          | (1)          |
| Mala               | 81         | (23)        | 39         | (18)        | 27         | (10)         | 5          | (1)         | 1           | (0)         | -            | (0)         | 153         | (52)         |
| <b>STs(Yanadi)</b> | <b>1</b>   | <b>(0)</b>  | <b>-</b>   | <b>(0)</b>  | <b>-</b>   | <b>(0)</b>   | <b>-</b>   | <b>(0)</b>  | <b>-</b>    | <b>(0)</b>  | <b>-</b>     | <b>(0)</b>  | <b>2</b>    | <b>(0)</b>   |
| <b>Total</b>       | <b>318</b> | <b>(85)</b> | <b>285</b> | <b>(93)</b> | <b>314</b> | <b>(144)</b> | <b>118</b> | <b>(74)</b> | <b>36</b>   | <b>(30)</b> | <b>1</b>     | <b>(16)</b> | <b>1072</b> | <b>(451)</b> |

Sources: Re-Settlement Register (1932), Mandivada and No:3, Registers, Mandivada (1997).

Figures in parentheses are number of landowners in 1932.

To sum up, over the six and half decades between 1932 and 1997, there were significant changes in the land ownership patterns in Nandivada between FCs on one side and OBCs and SCs on the other. Within the FCs land alienation had taken place among the Kammass. But the economic clout of the Reddies has been on the rise. Occupational diversification of Kammass leading to out-migration,

partitioning and outright sales of lands eroded their oligopolistic power in the village during the period.

From among the OBCs, the castes which made economic advancements in terms of land ownership during the study period are the Yadavas and Upparis. From among two SC castes, Malas and Madigas, the former made a faster progress than the latter. Yanadis remained at the rock bottom of the village, hardly enjoying any advancement in their economic lot.

**Appendix 2.1**  
**Land Classification in Nandivada, 1932 and 1997 (in acres).**

| Sl. | Land Classification                                     | 1932    | 1997    |
|-----|---|---------|---------|
| 1   | Total Geographical Area                                 | 3270.30 | 3270.30 |
| 2   | Lands having no private<br>Ownership <sup>1</sup>       | 473.10  | 473.10  |
| 2.1 | Lands owned by State<br>(poramboke etc.)                | 336.63  | 314.63  |
| 2.2 | Temple Lands  | 41.47   | 41.47   |
| 2.3 | Residential Village                                     | 34.22   | 56.22   |
| 2.4 | Choultry  | -       | 42.63   |
| 3   | Zamindari Lands   | 60.78   |         |
| 3.1 | Taken over by State                                     | -       | 20.07   |
| 3.2 | Distributed & given titles                              | -       | 40.81   |
| 4   | Error term <sup>2</sup>                                 | -       | 1.82    |
| 5   | Total Cultivable titled<br>Land under Private Ownership | 2797.20 | 2797.20 |

Sources: Resettlement-Register, 1932 and No-3 Register, 1997.

Notes: 1. Even though the Residential village is owned by residents having private ownership, it is not cultivable, hence excluded from private ownership.

2. In order to make the area under study constant, the error term constituting 1.82 acres is treated as titled land.

Chapter III  
OPERATION OF THE LAND MARKET

**3.0 Introduction**

In the previous chapter the changing land ownership patterns across social classes and individual castes in Nandivada village have been discussed for the years 1932 and 1997. Three features have emerged from our analysis . Firstly, during these six and half decades (1932-1997) not only concentration of land ownership among a few families and Forward Castes (FCs) have declined, but part of the lands hitherto controlled by the FCs have over time passed on to poorer sections of the FCs and creamy layers of OBCs and SCs. Also, out-migration and in-migration have been important features of Nandivada village. Whereas most of the out-migrants went in search of 'greener pastures' looking for diversified occupations, the poor among immigrants could not only find employment but also acquire a few small pieces of cultivable lands as well. In other words, such immigrants could graduate from a category of land-less labour families to those of marginal and small farmers. Thus, some from among the poor families-both residents and immigrants-experienced an upward economic mobility.

Secondly, we have also referred to the land ownership pattern that was derived and estimated on the basis of registered land transactions which took place between 1971 and 1997, both years included. Once again contours of land ownership patterns have been obtained for the year 1970. These estimates not only pointed to the direction of land transactions but also showed the land

ownership scenario in the early stages of Green Revolution when the big land holders perceived the threat of radical land reforms in Andhra. Thirdly, we have also highlighted the fact that at least some among the Forward castes / classes, a moderate level of empowerment of women in terms of land ownership had taken place by 1997.

In the present chapter, an attempt has been made to analyse the data on land transactions between 1970 and 1997 in greater detail, so as to obtain some insights into the functioning of the land market in the post-Green Revolution period.

### **3.1 Land Market in the Village**

The operation of land market explains not only the changing economic position of different classes and castes, but also some thing beyond. It explains the direction of transactions which may be either across or within the castes. The degree of net-working can be observed indirectly from the land transactions, which is one of the reasons for an upward economic mobility of certain castes and sustainability of their socio-economic position for a longer period of time.

The operation of land market throws up light on the changing economic balance of the castes in the village over time. It also explains the reasons for in-migration of the poorest of the poor from backward regions and out-migration of the landlords from this Delta village. It also partly explains changing economic power of women across castes. Further, it points to the accumulation and

decumulation processes of different castes and the underlying socio-economic reasons along with the States's role and finally leading to economic mobility, both upward and downward.

In Andhra new investment opportunities presented themselves in cities such as Visakhapatnam, Vijayawada and Hyderabad. Also, towns such as Nellore, Guntur, Tenali, Eluru and Rajahmundry attracted investment capital from the hinterland Delta Andhra. Big landlords and rich farmers started disposing of their lands and investing the money in business, industry, grape gardens and real estates in urban centres. Hence, an analysis of data on land transactions in a delta village such as Nandivada should be interesting for it throws some light on the type of economic mobilities that occurred between 1970 and 1997.

### **3.2 Types of Land Transactions**

Transfers of land occur chiefly due to: (a) sales of land, (b) foreclosures of pledged land in lieu of mortgage or general indebtedness, (c) short-term lease or tenant's quitting land, (d) bequeathal or partition, and finally, gifts and exchange of plots on a voluntary or compulsory basis or as a result of agrarian reforms. Analysing the nuances of land transfers Sayana observed:

"Broadly land transactions can be categorised into Sales, Mortgages, Redemptions, Leases, Gifts and Miscellaneous. Among all sales are the most common transactions. The most predominant causes for sales of land appear to be, payment of debt or mortgage debt or family maintenance and domestic needs. The next significant cause is expenditure on ceremonies as marriages, deaths, pilgrimage or on education especially in case of Brahmins. Sales effected for purchases of land, land improvement, and for cultivation are not significant. It may be pointed out that, generally there may be more than one cause for effecting a sale of land, though one or more

causes may be considered as major ones. The document writers repeat certain pet or common causes, perhaps crammed up in their primary school days; they either suppress or do not take care to mention the real causes" (Sayana V.V., 1952, p.8).

From the registered land transaction deeds, one can know the particulars of sellers and buyers and areas transacted. However, the reasons for land transfers as mentioned in the registration documents are mostly general and do not necessarily represent facts. To overcome this problem, we have relied on the field survey to cull out the reasons for sale or sources of funds for acquisition of lands.

As for a mortgage, it is another type of transaction, where indebtedness even of a general type may, at some stage, be converted into a mortgage which in turn may lead to sales of land or foreclosures of land mortgaged for debt. To quote Sir Hari Sing Gour

"A lease of immovable property is a transfer of a right to enjoy such property, made for a certain time, express or implied, or in perpetuity, in consideration of a price paid or promised or of money a share of crops, service or any other thing of value, to be rendered periodically or on specified occasions to transfer by the transferee who accepts the transfer on such terms" (Hari Singh Gour cited in Sayana V.V., 1952, p.8).

Yet another important type of transaction is gift. Gifts of landed property may be made for religious or charitable purposes, to individuals near and dear especially on ceremonial occasions as marriages.

### **3.3 Methodology**

All the transactions with regard to the village are collected for the period 1971-97. This contains transfer of land, sites and



houses spread across the broad categories of transactions such as sales, lease, mortgage, redemption and gifts. In this chapter only transfer of lands is considered.

As far as the present study is concerned, focus is on the transfer of lands across castes or economic groups. Mortgages do not guarantee the transfer of ownership hence, they are excluded from the analysis. Even though, generally gifts take place within one's own caste, it is relevant in the sense that some of the complex phenomenon such as Streedhanam, gender related issues etc. can be understood. The shifts in the registration fee made the identification of nature of transactions still more complicated in the sense that when the stamp duty is low for a gift up to certain limit and there after if it is more than the sales registration fee, then people went for two types of transactions falling under sales and gift in order to minimise their registration charges in case of pure gifts. Hence, there is overlapping of transactions taking place across gift and sales. But, generally a sale is not treated as a gift because of legal implications. Hence, sales across individuals are only considered for the analysis in the present study neglecting gifts in order to concentrate on land market in a pure and complete sense. Of course, transactions falling under mortgages and redemptions are not considered as they do not transfer ownership rights.

These are 2053 registrations representing gifts (278), mortgages (21), redemptions (8) and sales (1746). Thus nearly 85 % of the total land under transactions was through sales. Among them the mortgages and the redemptions are ignored in the analysis as we are

analysing the transfer of title of ownership. Gifts (278) are also not considered in the analysis in order to avoid inconsistency and deal the land market in its pure form. Hence, our analysis revolves round the sales which are 1746 in number.

**Table 3.1**  
**Nature of Transactions and Acereage Transacted in Nandivada, 1971-1997.**

| Sl. Nature of Transaction | Transactions |               | Acereage       |               |
|---------------------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|
|                           | Number       | %             | Acres          | %             |
| 1. Sales                  | 1746         | 85.04         | 2273.82        | 84.81         |
| 2. Gift                   | 278          | 13.54         | 361.23         | 13.48         |
| 3. Mortagage              | 21           | 1.02          | 32.20          | 1.20          |
| 4. Redemption             | 8            | 0.38          | 13.56          | 0.51          |
| <b>Total</b>              | <b>2053</b>  | <b>100.00</b> | <b>2680.81</b> | <b>100.00</b> |

Source: Land Data From Sub-Registrar's Office, Gudivada.

### 3.4 Land Market Across Social Classes

The total land transacted within the village during a period of 27 years was 2274 acres. The FCs sold away 1814 acres (or 79.9%) and bought 1405 acres (or 61.6%). In other words, their net loss of land was 409 acres. The OBCs sold 353 acres and bought 620 acres, thus having a net gain of 267 acres. As for SCs, their sales amounted to 99 acres and purchases nearly 238 acres. Thus, the net acreage gain of the SCs was 139 acres (Table 3.2).

The transactions of the FCs formed over 60 per cent of the total area of land transacted within the village. The land transactions of the OBCs formed a little over one-fifth of the total. Of the total land sold by the FCs nearly 70 per cent was bought by the FCs

themselves. As for the land sold by the OBCs 61 per cent was bought by the OBCs themselves (Table 3.2).

**Table 3.2**  
**Matrix Showing Land Transfers through Sales Between Social Classes, Nandivada, 1971-97, (in Acres).**

| Buyer      | Seller         |               |              |             |                |
|------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|
|            | FCs            | OBCs          | SCs          | STs         | ALL            |
| FCs        | 1265.38        | 106.93        | 30.87        | 2.25        | 1405.44        |
| BCs        | 370.22         | 212.69        | 34.78        | 2.64        | 620.33         |
| SCs        | 173.29         | 33.34         | 28.79        | 2.52        | 237.94         |
| STs        | 5.55           | -             | 4.62         | -           | 10.17          |
| <b>ALL</b> | <b>1814.44</b> | <b>352.96</b> | <b>99.06</b> | <b>7.41</b> | <b>2273.88</b> |
| Net Gain   | -409.01        | 267.37        | 138.88       | 2.76        |                |

Source: Land Data From Sub-Registrar's Office, Gudivada.

Looking at the number of land sales (1746), as many as 1196 (68.5%) were made by the FCs, 409 (23%) by the OBCs and the rest by the SCs and STs. Of the total land sales (1196) by the FCs, 743 (or 62.2%) were among FCs themselves. As for the sales by the OBCs (409), as many as 268 (or 70.4%) were within the OBCs themselves (Table 3.3).

**Table 3.3**  
**Matrix Showing the Number of Land Transfers and Area per Transfer Between Social Classes, 1971-97.**

| Buyer      | Seller             |                   |                   |                 |                    |
|------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
|            | FCs                | OBCs              | SCs               | STs             | ALL                |
| FCs        | 743 (1.70)         | 90 (1.16)         | 45 (0.69)         | 4 (0.56)        | 882 (1.59)         |
| BCs        | 303 (1.22)         | 268 (0.80)        | 38 (0.92)         | 3 (0.88)        | 612 (1.02)         |
| SCs        | 146 (1.19)         | 51 (0.65)         | 48 (0.64)         | 2 (1.26)        | 244 (0.98)         |
| STs        | 4 (1.39)           | -                 | 4 (1.16)          | -               | 8 (1.27)           |
| <b>ALL</b> | <b>1196 (1.52)</b> | <b>409 (0.86)</b> | <b>132 (0.75)</b> | <b>9 (0.82)</b> | <b>1746 (1.30)</b> |

Source: Land Data From Sub-Registrar's Office, Gudivada.

### 3.5 Land Market Across Castes

It is evident from Table 3.4 that the Brahmins and the kmmas are the major losers of the land between 1971 and 1997 amounting to 84.21 and 273.94 acres respectively. Next comes the Reddies, the the kapus and Komaties with 43.96, 9.86 and 8.64 acres respectively. The reasons for these communities losing land vary across time. They will be discussed in detail in the subsequent sections and chapters.

The major gainers from land transactions are the Yadavas, the Malas, and the Upparis with 164.80, 138.22 and 43.48 acreages respectively. Next in the line of gainers are the koppula Velamas, the Turpu Kapus, the Viswa-brahmins, and the Rajus with 26.43, 18.38, 17.99 and 13.79 acreages respectively (Table 3.4). Barring Rajus, these people belong either to the backward classes or SC/ST categories. The Rajus from the East Godavari district came to Nandivada village, bought lands and converted them into fish ponds. In all there are about 100 acres of such fish ponds in the village<sup>1</sup>.

In the land market a major portion of land was transacted by both the kmmas and the Reddies. They sold 920.11 and 657.47 acres respectively out of a total of 2273.88 acres of land transacted. On the buying side, they bought 646.17 and 613.52 acres respectively out of 2273.88 acres of land transacted. Hence, Reddies and Kmmas together account for more than 60 per cent of transactions both on buying and selling sides of land transactions.

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<sup>1</sup> The land under fish ponds is considered as cultivable land.

The net loss in the case of the kmmas is much more than the Reddies, the reason being that the kmmas were more active on the selling side of land transactions due to their out-migration associated with economic diversification and investment in their children's education.

**Table 3.4**  
**Net Area Gained by Different Castes through**  
**Land Market, Nandivada, 1971-97.**

| Caste Name          | Land Bought<br>(Acres) | Land Sold<br>(Acres) | Net Gain<br>(Acres) |
|---------------------|------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| <b>FCs</b>          | <b>1405.44</b>         | <b>1814.44</b>       | <b>-409.01</b>      |
| Brahmin             | 19.41                  | 103.62               | -84.21              |
| Kamma               | 646.17                 | 920.11               | -273.94             |
| Kapu                | 12.36                  | 22.22                | -9.86               |
| Komati              | 48.60                  | 57.24                | -8.64               |
| Reddy               | 613.52                 | 657.45               | -43.96              |
| Velama              | 17.54                  | 19.75                | -2.21               |
| Raju                | 47.84                  | 34.05                | 13.79               |
| <b>OBCs</b>         | <b>620.33</b>          | <b>352.96</b>        | <b>267.37</b>       |
| A. Kshatriya        | 16.09                  | 14.41                | 1.68                |
| Carpenter           | 1.64                   | 5.91                 | -4.27               |
| Goldsmith           | 21.21                  | 3.22                 | 17.99               |
| Gowda               | 2.36                   | 2.16                 | 0.20                |
| Haridasulu          | -                      | 0.50                 | -0.50               |
| Kummari             | 5.76                   | 5.92                 | -0.16               |
| Koppula Velama      | 48.59                  | 22.16                | 26.43               |
| Nayi Brahmin        | 34.54                  | 26.42                | 8.12                |
| Muslim              | 2.11                   | 8.47                 | -6.36               |
| Padmasali           | 2.00                   | 0.50                 | 1.50                |
| Rajaka              | 9.98                   | 9.46                 | 0.52                |
| Turpu Kapu          | 26.84                  | 8.46                 | 18.38               |
| Uppari              | 99.87                  | 56.49                | 43.48               |
| Yadava              | 339.34                 | 174.54               | 164.80              |
| Mutrasulu           | 9.90                   | 14.34                | -4.44               |
| <b>SCs</b>          | <b>237.94</b>          | <b>99.06</b>         | <b>138.88</b>       |
| Madiga              | 3.67                   | 3.01                 | 0.66                |
| Mala                | 234.27                 | 96.05                | 138.22              |
| <b>STs (Yanadi)</b> | <b>10.17</b>           | <b>7.41</b>          | <b>2.76</b>         |
| <b>ALL</b>          | <b>2273.88</b>         | <b>2273.88</b>       | <b>--</b>           |

Source: Land Data from Sub-Registrars Office, Gudivada.

The communities among whom the difference between land bought and sold is higher were the Yadavas and the Malas with buying figures 339.34 and 234.27 acres and selling figures 174.54 and 96.05 respectively. The backward and scheduled castes did make a headway on the economic ladder as a result of female employment and wage incomes, leasing-in lands, due to state's role in the empowerment of weaker sections and some specificities of the caste and households.

### 3.6 Intra-Caste Land Market

More than half of the area transacted by the two major land holding forward castes (classes) of Kammas and Reddies in Nandivada were within the same caste. Nearly 55 per cent of the land transfers by the Kammas and close to 53 per cent among the Reddies were within the same caste. As for OBCs, the total land transacted was about 488 acres of which the share of the Yadavas' transactions claimed was about 52 percent. From among the Yadavas, transactions within the caste formed about 35 percent (Table 3.5 & Appendix 3.1).

This means that an intra-caste land market was active leading to preference being given to fellow caste men. This confirms the point that the activation of land market is locked within the caste. When a land is about to be sold own caste men are informed about the intended sale and encouraged to buy the land rather than letting the land go to other castes for various reasons. Firstly, the problems of neighbourhood and boundary disputes will be minimal if the land is sold to the fellow-caste men. If any problem arises it can be resolved within the caste. Secondly, any deal with

regard to money can be better settled within the caste as both parties of the transactions know their economic status better if they belong to the same caste. Thirdly, caste affinity plays an important role for the summation of individuals' economic status will determine general social and economic status of the caste in the village.

Table 3.5  
Percentage of Land Transacted Within Caste, Nandivada, 1971-97.

| Caste Name          | Land Transacted (acres) | Land Transacted within Caste |       |
|---------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-------|
|                     |                         | acres                        | %     |
| <b>FCs</b>          |                         |                              |       |
| Brahmin             | 61.52                   | 14.90                        | 24.22 |
| Kamma               | 783.14                  | 429.34                       | 54.82 |
| Kapu                | 17.29                   | 1.24                         | 7.17  |
| Komati              | 52.92                   | 9.23                         | 17.44 |
| Reddy               | 634.04                  | 333.52                       | 52.60 |
| Velama              | 18.65                   | 1.56                         | 8.37  |
| Raju                | 40.95                   | -                            | -     |
| <b>OBCs</b>         |                         |                              |       |
| A.Kshatriya         | 15.25                   | 5.95                         | 39.02 |
| Carpenter           | 3.78                    | -                            | -     |
| Goldsmith           | 12.22                   | -                            | -     |
| Gowda               | 2.26                    | -                            | -     |
| Haridasulu          | 0.25                    | -                            | -     |
| Kummari             | 5.84                    | -                            | -     |
| Koppula Velama      | 35.38                   | 6.46                         | 18.26 |
| Nayi Brahmin        | 30.48                   | 5.78                         | 18.96 |
| Muslim              | 5.42                    | -                            | -     |
| Padmasali           | 1.13                    | -                            | -     |
| Rajaka              | 11.17                   | 0.90                         | 8.06  |
| Turpu Kapu          | 20.33                   | -                            | -     |
| Uppari              | 77.85                   | 18.07                        | 23.21 |
| Yadava              | 254.64                  | 88.64                        | 34.81 |
| Mutrasulu           | 12.12                   | 0.54                         | 4.46  |
| <b>SCs</b>          |                         |                              |       |
| Madiga              | 3.34                    | 1.14                         | 34.13 |
| Mala                | 225.16                  | 27.15                        | 12.06 |
| <b>STs (Yanadi)</b> |                         |                              |       |
|                     | 8.80                    | -                            | -     |

Source: Land Data from Sub-Registrar's Office, Gudivada.

### 3.7 Land Market Across Periods

The operation of land market across periods depends on events which are specific to the time. Again, these specificities either directly or indirectly affect particular caste or a class economically and socially, depending on the nature of the effect. For instance, land reforms would have hastened the big farmers to partition and sell away their excess land and diversify economically. As the Kammas happened to be the big farmers in Nandivada, they started both partitioning and selling away the lands to their fellow castemen who fall under middle and marginal category as also to other castes, prior to the implementation of land reforms in early 1970s.

The total area transacted from 1971 to 1997 with five yearly grouping are 370.27, 289.70, 520.13, 345.52, 635.04 and 113.22 acres (Table 3.6). The land transacted during 1971-75 (370.27 acres), is higher than 1976-80 (289.70) because there was a fear of implementation of Land Ceiling Act, as the excess land over ceiling was disposed before its enactment. Land market was relatively inactive between 1976-80, as the region suffered from a serious cyclone<sup>2</sup> in 1977 associated with low output and wages followed by low liquidity in the economy. The period 1981-85 witnessed a steep rise in the area transacted (520.13). If one looks at the selling and buying side of land transactions during 1981-85, it is noticed

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<sup>2</sup> The district was hit by a severe cyclone and tidal wave on the night of 19th November 1977, in which, as many as 8033 human lives were lost and 92,300 heads of cattle perished. The tidal wave hit 17 revenue villages with 58 hamlets in Divi Taluk and 14 revenue villages with 33 hamlets in Bandar Taluk, situated upto a distance of 15 Kms from the coast. Statistical Profile, Krishna District, 1980-81, p.22, Published by Project Director, District Rural Developmental Agency, Krishna District.



that the Brahmins, kmmas and Reddies are the net losers with 31.50, 63.51 and 22.39 acres respectively (Appendix 3.2). Especially the Reddies became more active on the selling side during the period 1981-85, accounting for 155.90 acres of land. They were only next to the Kmmas who sold off 194.13 acres. The Brahmins who out-migrated from the village sold away the remaining land. The Kmmas and the Reddies who started diversifying their activities associated with out-migration started selling their lands giving first preference to the fellow castemen and the rest to Yadavas, Malas and Upparies. These castes happened to be the net gainers in the land market during the period 1981-85, with 66.09, 28.62 and 21.12 acres respectively. Most of the Malas, Upparies and Yadavas are agricultural labourers and some of them happened to be tenants. Rise in real wages from mid-Seventies, associated with lease-in activity of progressive households of these castes had facilitated the accumulation of surpluses over time (explained in Chapter IV, Part B). As the Kmmas, Reddies and Brahmins started selling away portions of their lands as a result of occupational diversification and towards meeting expenses on childrens' education, sections of Daliths and Backward Class with surpluses accumulated over time stepped in to buy these lands.

The period 1986-90, was associated with low liquidity in the economy. There was a decline in the acreage transacted from 520.13 (1981-85) to 345.52 (1986-90) acres. The period after 1991 was associated with a macro level economic liberalisation and flow of money into the economy. There was a steep rise in the acreage transacted (635.04 acres) in Nandivada village. As compared with the previous period the area of land transacted got almost doubled.

During this period the Malas and the Yadavas were the net gainers in the land market, consolidating their economic position in the village. These castes could buy land because of State's welfare measures such as subsidy rice scheme, construction of 'pakka' houses and Integrated Rural Development Programmes had enhanced their real incomes (explained in Chapter IV, Part B). When we look at the period 1996-97, the net gainers were the Kammas, which gives an indication that probably they were once again entering into the land market. Also, the period 1996-97, is associated with a slump economy with low industrial growth, low appreciation in stock and bullion market. This led people to invest their surpluses back in land. But as it is too early nothing conclusive can be said about this phenomenon.

Looking at the castes individually with time periods, the Brahmins were found to be losing lands from the beginning. The Kammas also lost lands from the beginning except the last period (1996-97). As a matter of fact the Kammas were active both on buying and selling sides. They alone account for 920.10 (40.46%) acres of land on the selling side and 750.57 (28.41%) acres on the buying side. The landlords sold the land to the upcoming marginal farmers of the same caste as a first preference, which is evident from the previous section (see Appendix 3.1 & Table 3.5). This is a kind of social inter-locking. The Koppula Velamas and the Turpu Kapus together were gaining land all along because of their hard work and leasing-in of lands of the non-resident farmers of the village (Chapter IV). The Reddies were also active in the land market with 657.47 acres on the selling side and 613.52 acres on the buying side. Except for the period 1976-80 and 1996-97, Reddies were

losing land in the land market. But when we compare the land holding of the Reddies between 1932 to 1971 they gained 452 acres and lost 43.95 acres between 1971 and 1997 (Appendix 3.2). The reason for gain of 408 acres by Reddies between 1932 and 1997 was the out-migrating Kamma landlord gentry who preferred to sell their lands to the Reddies next to their own castemen. Such a phenomenon is observed when we look at the transactions across castes between 1971 and 1997 (see Appendix 3.1). The gain of land by Reddies between 1932 and 1997 can be understood as and when the landlord gentry were out-migrating to towns and cities enmasse between 1932 and 1971, the supply of land exceeded the demand for land by the medium and marginal farmers of the Kamma community. In this process, some among the medium and marginal Reddy farmers readily bought the lands and met the excess supply created by the Kamma landlords in the land market.

**Table 3.6**  
**Trend in the Activity of Land Market, Nandivada, 1971-97.**

| Sl. | Period  | Acrage Transacted | % to total Acrage Transacted | Annual Compound Growth Rate of Land Transactions |
|-----|---------|-------------------|------------------------------|--|
| 1   | 1971-75 | 370.27            | 14.05                        |  |
| 2   | 1976-80 | 289.7             | 10.99                        | -4.79  |
| 3   | 1980-85 | 520.13            | 19.74                        | 12.42  |
| 4   | 1986-90 | 345.52            | 13.11                        | -7.85  |
| 5   | 1990-95 | 635.04            | 24.10                        | 12.94  |
| 6   | 1996-97 | 113.22            | 4.30                         | -57.78   |
| 7   | Total   | 2273.88           | 100                          |  |

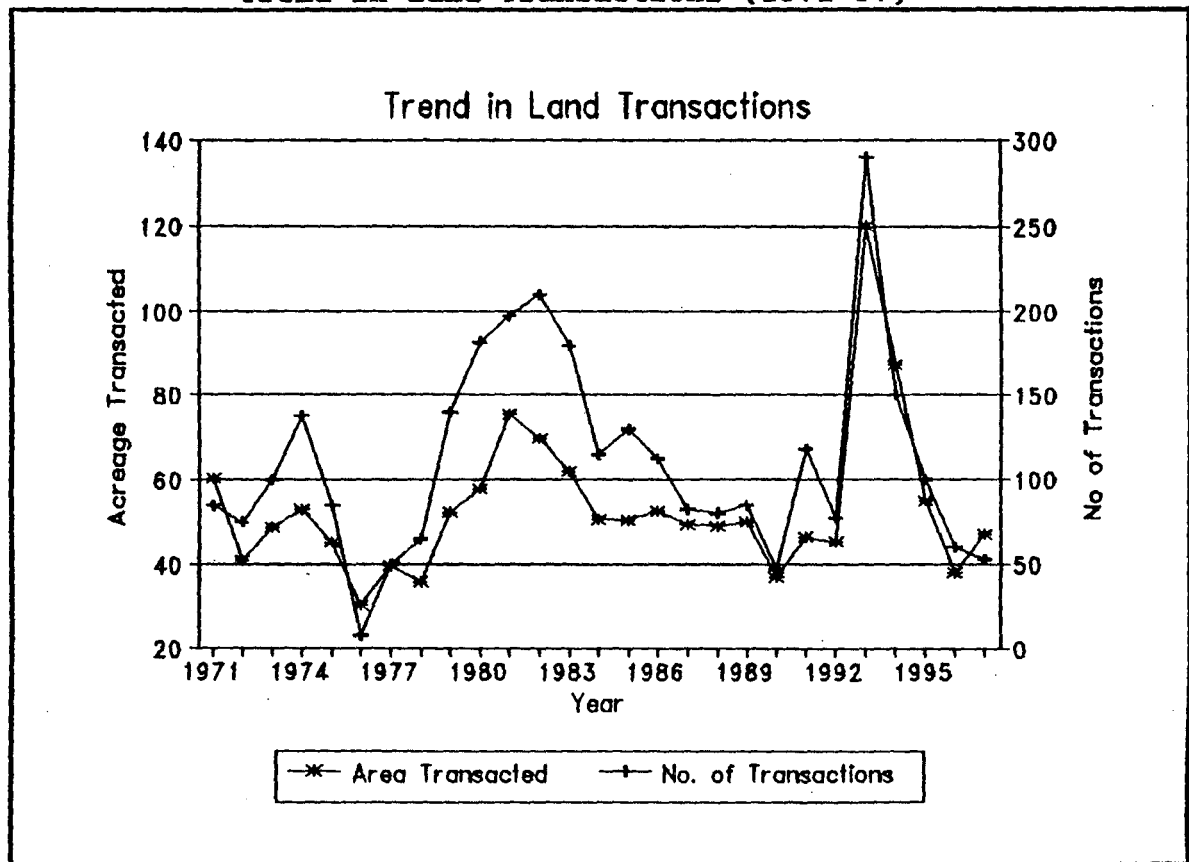
Source: Land Data from Sub-registrars Office, Gudivada.

As Figure 3.1 indicates the later half of 1970s witnessed a moderate rise in the number and area of land transactions. This rise continued till 1981. This is partly a reflection of readiness

of out-migrating farmers to selling away their lands. Also, there was a rise in the real wages of agricultural labourers during this period enabling even the poorer sections of the social classes to accumulate some savings to buy the lands. The decade of 1980s saw an inactive land market in Nandivada. The flow of out-migration of farmers from the village had slowed down. In the early 1990s, the Raju farmers from neighbouring district of West Godavari started buying cultivable lands for purposes of fish culture. By mid-1990s, number of transactions came down to less than 50 per year.

Figure 3.1

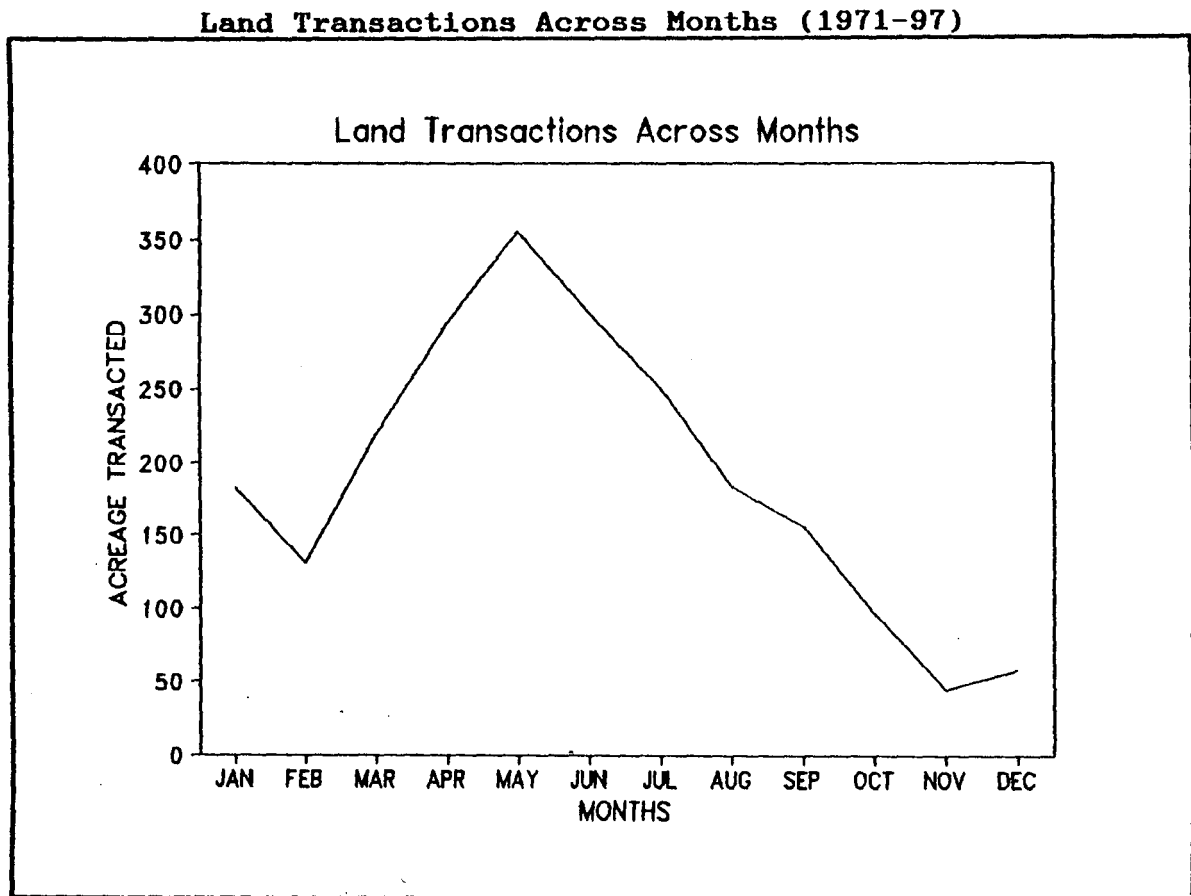
Trend in Land Transactions (1971-97)



### 3.8 Land Market Across Months

Between March and June bulk of land transactions (56.4%) took place, accounting for over 45% of the transacted area in Nandivada. Also, in Andhra this is the time social ceremonies like marriages do take place, necessitating land sales (Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2



### 3.9 Land Market: The Gender Dimension

The main inference that emerges from Table 3.10 is that males lost<sup>3</sup> 30.80 acres of land to the females between 1971 and 1997 (Table 3.7). In other words, one can say that females have better land retaining capacity than the males. The reasons are very complex and vary across castes. For instance, among the Kammas and Reddies land is given as a property share to the females under the institution of dowry which has elements of land, cash, jewellery, plots etc. More or less the property in land, jewellery and plots will be under the control (to some extent) and in the name of the bride. When the property is under the control of the girl then it is called as 'Streedhanam' (Bina Agarwal, 1988). Hence, there exists an element of Streedhanam within the dowry depending on the practice. In order to evaluate the economic power of females in one sense, the structure of dowry has been analysed in the next chapter.

If the landed property is in the name of the girl, her father will allow her to sell the land only if he is convinced that the sale is not going to harm his daughter's well-being. Hence, there is lesser chance of disposal of land if the land is in the name of the girl. In general, when the males are spendthrifts or have vices

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<sup>3</sup> When sales and gifts are taken together, the gain of females in the land market is 88.69 acres. This means that gifts are more favourable in case of the females rather than males. At the time of marriage or after marriage, the female's share in terms of land is transferred a part of her property share (equal or unequal) under the generally used term dowry. Such transfers generally take place in the category of gift as the registration fee is less than sales and the transferee equally enjoys rights as the sale. To some extent such land transfers are empowering women in certain communities such as Kammas resulting in better participation in the family matters along with male members of the family.

like drinking, gambling etc, then the chances of losing the land will be high if the property is in the name of the male rather than females. In such a situation if the property is in the name of the women there will be a check on the vices of the male, because the income flow or assets are in the hands of the wife. If the situation becomes worse, then the wife will register the property in the names of her children so as to assure their future.

Except the Malas and the Yadavas in all other castes the females gained lands from males. The Malas and the Yadavas are the castes who started buying lands in the last two decades, hence in the initial stages the landed property will be in favour of men and later it may go in favour of women. We have also seen that in 1932 when the Reddies and the Kmmas were acquiring land the female land ownership was 6.62 and 17 percentages of the total lands owned by these castes (Chapter-II). But by 1997 the corresponding figures had risen to 23.98 and 34.93 percentages (Chapter-II). The Kmmas on the whole lost land between 1971 and 1997. The loss for the males (167.30 acres) was more than that of females (106.67 acres). As for Reddies, even though the males lost land (89.96 acres), the females gained land (46 acres) between 1971 and 1997 (Table 3.7). This strongly supports the argument that the retaining capacity of landed assets is more in the case of females.

If one compares the retaining capacity of land among females, between Kmmas and Reddies, the later seems to be having better edge. The obvious reason may be that among the Reddies there is a generation of sizeable population still engaged in cultivation which generally assures regular incomes and provides security for

the girl's land even if she migrates out of the village after marriage. Whereas in case of the Kammas from seventies majority of the young people started out-migrating for one reason or the other and there are households significantly left out with only old people in the houses. The daughters of such old people find no incentive to own the land given under Streedhanam as the land will no longer be supervised after the death of the old parents.

**Table 3.7**  
**Net Gain (+) / Loss (-) of Land by Females, Nandivada, 1971-97,**

| Caste               | Net Gain (+) / Loss (-) (Acres) |               |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|
|                     | Males                           | Females       |
| <b>FCs</b>          | <b>-340.62</b>                  | <b>-68.51</b> |
| Brahmin             | -76.68                          | -7.60         |
| Kamma               | -167.30                         | -106.67       |
| Kapu                | -9.04                           | -0.82         |
| Komati              | -3.62                           | -5.02         |
| Reddy               | -89.96                          | 46.00         |
| Velama              | 2.77                            | -4.98         |
| Raju                | 3.21                            | 10.58         |
| <b>OBCs</b>         | <b>193.64</b>                   | <b>73.67</b>  |
| A.Kshatriya         | 3.17                            | -1.49         |
| Carpenter           | -3.49                           | -0.78         |
| Goldsmith           | 7.29                            | 10.70         |
| Gowda               | -0.15                           | 0.30          |
| Haridasu            | -                               | -0.50         |
| Kummari             | 0.14                            | -0.30         |
| K.Velama            | 18.22                           | 8.21          |
| Mangali             | 8.15                            | -0.03         |
| Muslims             | -6.36                           | 0.00          |
| Padmasali           | 0.25                            | 1.25          |
| Rajaka              | 0.67                            | -0.15         |
| Turpu Kapu          | 21.00                           | -2.62         |
| Uppari              | 38.23                           | 5.25          |
| Yadava              | 108.41                          | 56.38         |
| Mutrasulu           | -1.89                           | -2.55         |
| <b>SCs</b>          | <b>111.66</b>                   | <b>27.22</b>  |
| Madiga              | 0.66                            | 0.00          |
| Mala                | 111.00                          | 27.22         |
| <b>STs (Yanadi)</b> | <b>4.37</b>                     | <b>-1.61</b>  |
| <b>ALL</b>          | <b>-30.80</b>                   | <b>30.80</b>  |

Source: Land Data From Sub-Registrar's Office, Gudivada



But in case of the OBCs and SCs, even though both males and females are gaining land, major gains are accruing to the males (Table 3.7). If the communities like the Yadavas and the Malas do not improve in the female land ownership they may lose the land at a faster rate, in the near future.

### **3.10 Transactions in Land market: Buyers & Sellers Side (Results From Survey Data)**

#### *1 Buyers' Side: Sources of Acquisition*

As the data from Sub-Registrar's office do not reveal the actual reasons for sale and purchase and actual values of transactions we relied upon the field survey for such information. Even though our sample households are 103 in number there are 109 responses with regard to sources of acquisition and reasons for sales. This is because of the fact that in some households there are purchases or sale of lands occurring more than once at different intervals. Hence, all such purchases or sales are taken separately since the sources of acquisition and reasons for sales varied differently across transactions even within the household. Of course, it is understandable that there will be some households where there are no occurrences of land sales or purchases.

From the sample it is evident that the single largest source of funds for land purchases in Nandivada between 1970 and 1997 has been agricultural income (45 out of 109). Next come surpluses from tenancy and wage-incomes. Together these three i.e., agricultural income, tenancy income and wage income account for over 75 per cent

of the sources of funds for land purchases in the Village (Table 3.8).

Table 3.8  
Sources of Income for Land Acquisition, Nandivada, 1971-97.

| Source of Acquisition of Lands | No. of Cases | Caste-wise Breakup of the Cases  |
|--------------------------------|--------------|--|
| Agricultural Income            | 45           | Mala(11), Reddy(10), Kamma(8), Uppari(5), Yadava(4), Komati(2), Tupu Kapu(2), Kapu(1), Mangali(1) and Koppula Velama(1). |
| Tenancy Income                 | 19           | Kamma(6), Mala(5), Reddy(3), Yadava(3), Kapu(1) and Koppula Velama(1).   |
| Wage Income                    | 18           | Yadava(7), Uppari(3), Kamma(2), Mala(2), Kummari(1), Reddy(1), Turpu Kapu(1) and Yenadi(1).                              |
| By Selling Another Land        | 11           | Koppula Velama(4), Kamma(2), Mala(2), Uppari(1), Turpu Kapu(1) and Reddy(1).   |
| Income From Business           | 6            | Kamma(3), Viswa Brahmin(1), Gowda(1) and Yadava(1).  |
| Income From Tractor            | 3            | Reddy(2) and Kamma(1).   |
| Dowry Money                    | 3            | Yadava(2) and Reddy(1).  |
| Income From Poultry            | 2            | Kamma(2).  |
| Income From Diary              | 2            | Kapu(1) and Mala(1).   |
| <b>Total</b>                   | <b>109</b>   |  |

Source: Survey Data, 1997.

#### *ii Sellers' Side-Causes for Selling Land*

There were in all 109 cases of land sales during 27 years ending with 1997. More than 32 per cent of these sales occurred for repayment of debts. In over 30 per cent of the cases, out-migration of the land owners was the reason. Only in five cases, the lands were sold to escape from the Land Ceiling Act under land reforms (Table 3.9).

**Table 3.9**  
**Reasons for sale of Lands During 1971-97 in Nandivada.**

| Reasons For Sale of Lands | No. of Cases | Caste-wise Breakup of the Cases  |
|---------------------------|--------------|--|
| Debts                     | 35           | Yadava(8), Kamma(8), Reddy(6), Mala(4), Uppari(3), Koppula Velama(3), Gowda(1), Kummari(1) and Kapu(1).                |
| Out-migration             | 33           | Kamma(9), Mala(6), Turpu Kapu(3), Reddy(3), Uppari(3), Yadava(3), Koppula Velama(3), Kapu(1), Komati(1) and Yenadi(1). |
| To Buy Another Land       | 8            | Reddy(5) and Mala(3).  |
| Marriage                  | 7            | Yadava(2), Kapu(1), Komati(1), Nayi Brahmin(1) Turpu Kapu(1) and Uppari(1).  |
| Land Ceiling Act          | 5            | Kamma(3) and Uppari(2).  |
| Children Education        | 4            | Mala(3) and Reddy(1).  |
| Bad Crop                  | 4            | Mala(3) and Reddy(1).  |
| Joint Land                | 4            | Kamma(2), Goldsmith(1) and Mala(1).  |
| Loss in Lease-in          | 3            | Mala(1), Yadava(1) and Reddy.  |
| Loss in Business          | 2            | Kamma(1) and Mala(1).  |
| Expenditure on Health     | 2            | Yadava(1) and Mala(1)  |
| Others                    | 2            | Reddy(1) and Mala(1)   |
| <b>Total</b>              | <b>109</b>   |  |

Source: Survey Data, 1997.

As for the total number of land sales (109), debts (35) and out-migration (33) formed the major reasons for land sales. This was especially so in the land-size classes of less than one acre, 1.00 to 2.00 acres and 2.00 to 5.00 acres. In point of fact 57 cases of land sales were due to debts and out-migrations which came from these three land size-classes.

**Table 3.10**  
Reasons for sale of Lands Across Different Size Classes, Nandivada, 1971-97.

| Reasons For Sale<br>of Lands | < 1       | 1.00       | 2.00       | 5.00        | 10.00       | 20.00      | ALL        |
|------------------------------|-----------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|
|                              | acre      | to<br>2.00 | to<br>5.00 | to<br>10.00 | to<br>20.00 | &<br>Above |            |
| Debts                        | 15        | 4          | 10         | 4           | 1           | 1          | 35         |
| Out-migration                | 12        | 6          | 10         | 2           | 1           | 2          | 33         |
| To Buy Another Land          | 2         | 1          | 3          | 1           | 1           | -          | 8          |
| Marriage                     | 3         | 2          | -          | -           | 2           | -          | 7          |
| Land Ceiling Act             | -         | -          | -          | 2           | -           | 3          | 5          |
| Children Education           | 2         | 1          | 1          | -           | -           | -          | 4          |
| Bad Crop                     | 2         | -          | 2          | -           | -           | -          | 4          |
| Joint Land                   | 2         | -          | 2          | -           | -           | -          | 4          |
| Loss in Lease-in             | 3         | -          | -          | -           | -           | -          | 3          |
| Loss in Business             | -         | -          | -          | 1           | 1           | -          | 2          |
| Expenditure on Health        | 1         | 1          | -          | -           | -           | -          | 2          |
| Others                       | -         | 1          | 1          | -           | -           | -          | 2          |
| <b>Total</b>                 | <b>42</b> | <b>16</b>  | <b>29</b>  | <b>10</b>   | <b>6</b>    | <b>6</b>   | <b>109</b> |

Source: Survey Data, 1997.

### 3.11 Land Values Across Periods

As per the survey conducted in Nandivada village on average about 20 land transactions took place in a quinquennium. In terms of current prices, the land value increased from Rs 4,724 per acre during 1971-75 to 1,13,750 in 1996-97 at current prices (Table 3.11).

**Table 3.11**  
Land Values Across Periods in Nandivada.

| Period       | Number of<br>Transactions | Average Value<br>per Acre (Rs)* |
|--------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1971-75      | 25                        | 4724                            |
| 1976-80      | 19                        | 16553                           |
| 1981-85      | 23                        | 30000                           |
| 1986-90      | 21                        | 54357                           |
| 1991-95      | 16                        | 84063                           |
| 1996-97      | 4                         | 113750                          |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>109</b>                |                                 |

Source: Survey Data, 1997.

Note: At Current Prices

Appendix 3.1: Matrix Showing Land Transactions Between Castes, Nandivada, 1971-97 (Acres).

| Buyer's Code    | Case | Seller's Code |      |     |    |     |    |    |     |      |    |    |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    | ALL |    |     |     |      |
|-----------------|------|---------------|------|-----|----|-----|----|----|-----|------|----|----|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|-----|----|-----|-----|------|
|                 |      | FCs           | 2    | 7   | 8  | 9   | 18 | 24 | 26  | OBCs | 25 | 3  | 4 | 5  | 6  | 10 | 11 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 19 | 20  | 21 |     | 23 | SCs | 12  | 13   |
| FCs             | 1265 | 56            | 639  | 10  | 28 | 482 | 17 | 34 | 107 | 6    | 1  | -  | 1 | -  | 2  | 13 | 9  | 1  | -  | 7  | 4  | 14 | 39  | 10 | 31  | 2  | 29  | 2   | 1405 |
| 2 Brahma        | 18   | 15            | 2    | -   | -  | 1   | 1  | -  | 1   | -    | -  | -  | - | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | 1  | -  | -  | -   | -  | -   | -  | -   | -   | 19   |
| 7 Kamma         | 591  | 15            | 429  | 0   | 7  | 102 | 4  | 34 | 41  | 2    | -  | -  | 1 | -  | -  | 6  | 1  | 0  | -  | 4  | -  | 3  | 18  | 4  | 13  | 0  | 13  | 1   | 646  |
| 8 Kapa          | 9    | -             | 1    | 1   | -  | 7   | -  | -  | 2   | 0    | -  | -  | - | -  | -  | -  | 1  | -  | -  | -  | -  | 1  | -   | 0  | 1   | -  | 1   | -   | 12   |
| 9 Komati        | 32   | 4             | 11   | -   | 9  | 8   | -  | -  | 15  | -    | -  | -  | - | -  | 0  | -  | 4  | 1  | -  | 1  | -  | 5  | 4   | -  | 1   | -  | 1   | -   | 49   |
| 18 Reddy        | 560  | 22            | 180  | 6   | 9  | 334 | 8  | -  | 39  | 3    | 1  | -  | - | -  | 3  | 3  | -  | -  | 1  | 4  | 5  | 13 | 5   | 13 | 2   | 12 | 2   | 614 |      |
| 24 Velama       | 10   | -             | 2    | 2   | 3  | 1   | 2  | -  | 7   | 1    | -  | -  | - | -  | 2  | 3  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | 3   | -  | 1   | -  | 1   | -   | 18   |
| 26 Raju         | 45   | -             | 13   | -   | -  | 29  | 2  | -  | 2   | -    | -  | -  | - | -  | 1  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -   | 1  | 1   | -  | 1   | -   | 48   |
| OBCs            | 370  | 36            | 171  | 11  | 20 | 133 | 0  | -  | 213 | 6    | 5  | 2  | 1 | -  | 4  | 9  | 17 | 6  | 1  | 2  | 4  | 38 | 114 | 3  | 35  | -  | 35  | 3   | 620  |
| 25 A.Kshatriya  | 6    | -             | 1    | -   | -  | 5   | -  | -  | 10  | 6    | -  | -  | - | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | 1  | -  | 1  | 2   | -  | 1   | -  | 1   | -   | 16   |
| 3 Carpenter     | 2    | -             | -    | -   | -  | 2   | -  | -  | -   | -    | -  | -  | - | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -   | -  | -   | -  | -   | -   | 2    |
| 4 Goldsmith     | 20   | 5             | 8    | -   | -  | 7   | -  | -  | 1   | -    | -  | -  | - | -  | -  | 1  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -   | -  | -   | -  | -   | -   | 21   |
| 5 Gowda         | 2    | 1             | 1    | -   | -  | -   | -  | -  | 1   | -    | -  | -  | - | -  | -  | -  | -  | 1  | -  | 0  | -  | -  | -   | -  | -   | -  | -   | -   | 2    |
| 6 Haridasu      | -    | -             | -    | -   | -  | -   | -  | -  | -   | -    | -  | -  | - | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -   | -  | -   | -  | -   | -   | 0    |
| 10 Kumari       | 5    | -             | -    | -   | -  | 5   | -  | -  | 0   | -    | -  | -  | - | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | 0   | -  | -   | -  | -   | -   | 6    |
| 11 K.Velama     | 30   | 1             | 5    | 4   | 1  | 18  | -  | -  | 16  | -    | -  | 2  | - | -  | 6  | -  | -  | -  | 1  | 2  | -  | 5  | -   | 3  | -   | 3  | -   | 49  |      |
| 14 Nayi Brahma  | 18   | 1             | 15   | -   | 1  | 1   | -  | -  | 14  | -    | -  | -  | - | -  | 6  | 1  | -  | -  | -  | -  | 2  | 5  | -   | 0  | -   | 2  | -   | 35  |      |
| 15 Muslim       | 2    | -             | -    | -   | -  | 2   | -  | -  | -   | -    | -  | -  | - | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -   | -  | 0   | -  | -   | -   | 2    |
| 16 Padmasali    | 1    | -             | -    | -   | -  | 1   | -  | -  | 0   | -    | -  | -  | - | -  | 0  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -   | -  | 1   | -  | 1   | -   | 2    |
| 17 Rajaka       | 7    | -             | 6    | 0   | -  | 1   | 0  | -  | 3   | -    | -  | -  | - | 0  | -  | -  | -  | -  | 1  | -  | -  | 2  | -   | -  | -   | -  | -   | -   | 10   |
| 19 Turpu Kapa   | 18   | -             | 4    | -   | -  | 14  | -  | -  | 10  | -    | 3  | -  | - | -  | 2  | -  | -  | -  | 0  | -  | 1  | 1  | 1   | 1  | 1   | 1  | 1   | 1   | 27   |
| 20 Uppari       | 59   | 7             | 42   | 1   | 3  | 6   | -  | -  | 35  | -    | -  | -  | - | 2  | -  | 5  | 3  | -  | -  | -  | -  | 18 | 8   | 1  | 1   | 1  | 1   | 2   | 100  |
| 21 Yadava       | 194  | 18            | 90   | 4   | 15 | 67  | -  | -  | 121 | -    | 3  | -  | 1 | -  | 2  | -  | 5  | 2  | -  | 0  | 2  | 16 | 89  | 1  | 25  | -  | 25  | 1   | 339  |
| 23 Mutrasulu    | 7    | 1             | -    | 2   | -  | 4   | -  | -  | 1   | -    | -  | -  | - | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | 1   | 1  | 2   | -  | 2   | -   | 10   |
| SCs             | 173  | 10            | 109  | 2   | 9  | 40  | 3  | -  | 33  | 3    | -  | 1  | - | 1  | -  | 0  | 1  | 1  | -  | 0  | 1  | 5  | 22  | 1  | 29  | 1  | 28  | 3   | 238  |
| 12 Madiga       | 2    | 2             | 0    | 1   | -  | -   | -  | -  | -   | -    | -  | -  | - | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -   | -  | 2   | 1  | 1   | -   | 4    |
| 13 Mala         | 171  | 8             | 109  | 1   | 9  | 40  | 3  | -  | 33  | 3    | -  | 1  | - | 1  | -  | 0  | 1  | 1  | -  | 0  | 1  | 5  | 22  | 1  | 27  | -  | 27  | 3   | 234  |
| 22 STs (Yanadi) | 6    | 2             | 1    | -   | -  | 3   | -  | -  | -   | -    | -  | -  | - | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -   | -  | 5   | -  | 5   | -   | 10   |
| ALL             | 1814 | 104           | 920  | 22  | 57 | 657 | 20 | 34 | 353 | 14   | 6  | 3  | 2 | 1  | 6  | 22 | 26 | 8  | 1  | 9  | 8  | 56 | 175 | 14 | 99  | 3  | 96  | 7   | 2274 |
| Net Gain        | -409 | -84           | -274 | -10 | -9 | -44 | -2 | 14 | 267 | 2    | -4 | 18 | 0 | -1 | -0 | 26 | 8  | -6 | 2  | 1  | 18 | 43 | 165 | -4 | 139 | 1  | 138 | 3   | 0    |

Source: Land Data from Sub-Registrar's Office, Gndivada.

Notse: (1). Buyer's Code corresponds to Seller's Code also; and (2). Figures are rounded to the nearest Acre.

**Appendix 3.2 Period-wise Land Transactions Across Castes, Nandivada, 1971-97.**

| Caste        | Land Bought (in acres) |        |        |        |        |        |         | Land Sold (in acres) |        |        |        |        |        |         | Net Gain (in acres) |        |         |        |        |        |         |  |
|--------------|------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|----------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|---------------------|--------|---------|--------|--------|--------|---------|--|
|              | 1971-75                | 76-80  | 81-85  | 86-90  | 91-95  | 96-97  | 71-97   | 1971-75              | 76-80  | 81-85  | 86-90  | 91-95  | 96-97  | 71-97   | 1971-75             | 76-80  | 81-85   | 86-90  | 91-95  | 96-97  | 71-97   |  |
| HCs          | 255.04                 | 173.87 | 279.37 | 224.03 | 388.35 | 84.77  | 1405.43 | 310.49               | 246.58 | 416.35 | 275.79 | 479.89 | 85.35  | 1814.45 | -55.46              | -72.71 | -136.98 | -51.76 | -91.53 | -0.58  | -409.02 |  |
| Brahmin      | 4.87                   | 1.00   | -      | 3.20   | 6.10   | 4.24   | 19.41   | 22.43                | 12.13  | 31.50  | 15.60  | 9.73   | 12.23  | 103.62  | -17.56              | -11.13 | -31.50  | -12.40 | -3.63  | -7.99  | -84.21  |  |
| Kamma        | 141.93                 | 87.09  | 130.55 | 89.06  | 140.68 | 56.86  | 646.16  | 174.86               | 180.94 | 194.13 | 133.89 | 215.80 | 20.48  | 920.10  | -32.94              | -93.85 | -63.58  | -44.83 | -75.12 | 36.38  | -273.94 |  |
| Kapu         | 3.20                   | 0.62   | 0.03   | 5.27   | 2.44   | 0.80   | 12.36   | 2.16                 | 0.05   | 8.50   | 1.45   | 9.06   | 1.00   | 22.22   | 1.04                | 0.57   | -8.47   | 3.82   | -6.62  | -0.20  | -9.86   |  |
| Konati       | 15.06                  | 5.48   | 7.76   | 10.98  | 7.07   | 2.25   | 48.60   | 3.85                 | 6.43   | 24.03  | 5.78   | 14.15  | 3.00   | 57.24   | 11.21               | -0.95  | -16.27  | 5.20   | -7.08  | -0.75  | -8.64   |  |
| Reddy        | 89.98                  | 77.34  | 133.52 | 115.52 | 179.53 | 17.62  | 613.52  | 106.18               | 36.60  | 155.90 | 117.49 | 227.76 | 13.53  | 657.47  | -16.20              | 40.74  | -22.38  | -1.97  | -48.23 | 4.09   | -43.95  |  |
| Velama       | -                      | 2.34   | 7.51   | -      | 4.69   | 3.00   | 17.54   | 1.01                 | 10.43  | 2.28   | 1.58   | 3.39   | 1.06   | 19.75   | -1.01               | -8.09  | 5.23    | -1.58  | 1.30   | 1.94   | -2.21   |  |
| Raja         | -                      | -      | -      | -      | 47.84  | -      | 47.84   | -                    | -      | -      | -      | -      | 34.05  | 34.05   | -                   | -      | -       | -      | 47.84  | -34.05 | 13.79   |  |
| OKs          | 95.01                  | 79.31  | 180.99 | 84.02  | 157.70 | 23.30  | 620.32  | 46.03                | 38.08  | 75.91  | 59.04  | 114.03 | 19.87  | 352.96  | 48.98               | 41.23  | 105.08  | 24.98  | 43.07  | 3.43   | 287.37  |  |
| A.Kshatriya  | 3.94                   | -      | 4.00   | 2.73   | 4.18   | 1.24   | 16.09   | 0.80                 | -      | -      | 5.61   | 3.46   | 4.54   | 14.41   | 3.14                | -      | 4.00    | -2.88  | 0.72   | -3.30  | 1.68    |  |
| Carpenter    | -                      | 0.99   | -      | -      | 0.65   | -      | 1.64    | 2.68                 | -      | -      | -      | 3.23   | -      | 5.91    | -2.68               | 0.99   | -       | -      | -2.58  | -      | -4.27   |  |
| Goldsmith    | 15.28                  | 2.38   | 1.19   | 2.36   | -      | -      | 21.21   | -                    | 3.22   | -      | -      | -      | -      | 3.22    | 15.28               | -0.84  | 1.19    | 2.36   | -      | -      | 17.99   |  |
| Govda        | -                      | 2.36   | -      | -      | -      | -      | 2.36    | -                    | 1.00   | 1.16   | -      | -      | -      | 2.16    | -                   | 1.36   | -1.16   | -      | -      | -      | 0.20    |  |
| Haridasu     | -                      | -      | -      | -      | -      | -      | 0.00    | 0.50                 | -      | -      | -      | -      | -      | 0.50    | -0.50               | -      | -       | -      | -      | -      | -0.50   |  |
| Kumari       | 4.08                   | -      | 1.23   | -      | 0.45   | -      | 5.76    | -                    | -      | 5.62   | -      | -      | 0.30   | 5.92    | 4.08                | -      | -4.39   | -      | 0.45   | -0.30  | -0.16   |  |
| K.Velama     | 4.36                   | 5.42   | 11.91  | 4.59   | 19.53  | 2.78   | 48.59   | 0.03                 | 0.07   | 5.23   | 3.20   | 11.63  | 2.00   | 22.16   | 4.33                | 5.35   | 6.68    | 1.39   | 7.90   | 0.78   | 26.43   |  |
| Kangali      | 3.66                   | 11.92  | 3.55   | 9.38   | 5.03   | 1.00   | 34.54   | 2.43                 | 6.18   | 4.99   | 7.44   | 2.05   | 3.33   | 26.42   | 1.23                | 5.74   | -1.44   | 1.94   | 2.98   | -2.33  | 8.12    |  |
| Muslim       | -                      | 2.11   | -      | -      | -      | -      | 2.11    | 3.47                 | -      | 1.95   | 2.01   | 1.04   | -      | 8.47    | -3.47               | 2.11   | -1.95   | -2.01  | -1.04  | -      | -6.36   |  |
| Padmasali    | 0.50                   | -      | 1.25   | 0.25   | -      | -      | 2.00    | -                    | 0.50   | -      | -      | -      | -      | 0.50    | 0.50                | -0.50  | 1.25    | 0.25   | -      | -      | 1.50    |  |
| Rajaka       | 1.76                   | 0.92   | 2.51   | 0.69   | -      | 4.10   | 9.98    | 1.28                 | 0.97   | 0.50   | 0.94   | 5.77   | -      | 9.46    | 0.48                | -0.05  | 2.01    | -0.25  | -5.77  | 4.10   | 0.52    |  |
| Turpu Kapu   | 6.81                   | 0.01   | 12.64  | 2.20   | 5.18   | -      | 26.84   | -                    | 1.51   | 0.94   | 0.50   | 4.98   | 0.53   | 8.46    | 6.81                | -1.50  | 11.70   | 1.70   | 0.20   | -0.53  | 18.38   |  |
| Uppari       | 13.44                  | 21.24  | 31.46  | 17.69  | 13.94  | 2.20   | 99.97   | 2.11                 | 8.07   | 10.34  | 12.85  | 20.62  | 2.50   | 56.49   | 11.33               | 13.17  | 21.12   | 4.84   | -6.68  | -0.30  | 43.48   |  |
| Yadava       | 40.18                  | 30.33  | 108.72 | 41.22  | 106.91 | 11.98  | 339.34  | 32.23                | 16.02  | 42.63  | 24.99  | 52.00  | 6.67   | 174.54  | 7.95                | 14.31  | 66.09   | 16.23  | 54.91  | 5.31   | 164.80  |  |
| Mutrasulu    | 1.00                   | 1.63   | 2.53   | 2.91   | 1.83   | -      | 9.90    | 0.50                 | 0.54   | 2.55   | 1.50   | 9.25   | -      | 14.34   | 0.50                | 1.09   | -0.02   | 1.41   | -7.42  | -      | -4.44   |  |
| SCs          | 19.56                  | 36.52  | 55.14  | 37.47  | 85.87  | 3.38   | 237.94  | 13.14                | 5.04   | 25.36  | 9.67   | 37.85  | 8.00   | 99.06   | 6.42                | 31.48  | 29.78   | 27.80  | 48.02  | -4.62  | 138.88  |  |
| Madiga       | 1.64                   | -      | 1.53   | -      | 0.50   | -      | 3.67    | 1.14                 | -      | 0.37   | -      | 1.50   | -      | 3.01    | 0.50                | -      | 1.16    | -      | -1.00  | -      | 0.66    |  |
| Mala         | 17.92                  | 36.52  | 53.61  | 37.47  | 85.37  | 3.38   | 234.27  | 12.00                | 5.04   | 24.99  | 9.67   | 36.35  | 8.00   | 96.05   | 5.92                | 31.48  | 28.62   | 27.80  | 49.02  | -4.62  | 138.22  |  |
| STs (Vamadi) | 0.66                   | -      | 4.63   | -      | 3.11   | 1.77   | 10.17   | 0.60                 | -      | 2.52   | 1.02   | 3.27   | -      | 7.41    | 0.06                | -      | 2.11    | -1.02  | -0.16  | 1.77   | 2.76    |  |
| ALL          | 370.27                 | 289.70 | 520.13 | 345.52 | 635.03 | 113.22 | 2273.87 | 370.26               | 289.70 | 520.14 | 345.52 | 635.04 | 113.22 | 2273.88 |                     |        |         |        |        |        |         |  |

Source: Land Data From Sub-Registrar's Office, Gudivada

## Chapter IV

# ECONOMIC MOBILITY OF SOCIAL CLASSES

### 4.0 Introduction

Economic mobility is taken here as change in the economic lot of families or social classes / groups and castes over time. This mobility may be either upward or downward. Access to economic, political and cultural resources to families, social classes / castes / groups coupled with favourable demographic factors would strengthen the process of an upward economic mobility. On the other hand, a worsening access to economic, political and cultural resources coupled with adverse demographic factors might lead to a downward economic mobility. Mobility either way take place in a period of over two or three decades or even more.

In a village set-up, cultivable land is the most significant economic resource for families and social classes. Besides land, the other components of economic resources are cash, jewellery, agricultural tools / machinery and technology. Political resources comprise of access to decision-makers in politics and administration which helps families and social classes to obtain agricultural inputs such as credit, seeds, fertilizers and subsidies and generally enables them to turn a given economic opportunity to their advantage. The cultural resources refer to kinship relations, caste fraternity, accumulative / decumulative ethos, eagerness to identify and exploit an economic opportunity, ability and willingness to put in hard work and readiness to out-migrate, if necessary in search of 'greener pastures'.

An attempt has been made in this chapter to analyze the contemporary (1997) landholding positions of the FCs, OBCs, SCs and STs and offer plausible explanations in terms of economic, political and cultural factors which facilitated the manifestation of these scenarios in recent times. Part A gives an analytical account of the economic mobility of FCs and Part B concentrates on the economic mobility of OBCs, SCs and STs. But before we begin with Part A some general remarks on the theme of economic mobility are in order. Part C gives *Case Studies* of upward and downward economic mobilities of families from the social classes.

Although both upward and downward economic mobilities are seen among all social categories viz., FCs, OBCs, SCs and STs, the specific reasons for economic mobility however, do vary for each social group. In what follows, changing economic positions primarily seen through the possession of landholdings both at the level of aggregate social classes (FCs, OBCs, SCs and STs) and select (major) castes are sought to be analysed. This analysis is based both on a macro view of factors exogenous to Nandivada and those specially relevant (endogenous) for the castes in the village. Besides, a few case studies have been presented for purposes of illustration. Now to analyze a few macro factors.

From among the major macro factors relevant in this context is the growth of commercial agriculture consequent to the provision of irrigation under the Krishna canal system since 1850s onwards. As a result of assured water under the Krishna anicut (dam) at Vijayawada there was a rapid expansion of paddy cultivation in Delta Andhra in general and Krishna district in particular, for



nearly 130 years<sup>1</sup>. A unique feature of agriculture in Delta Andhra has been that paddy became a major commercial crop. In Nandivada village also paddy has traditionally been the major commercial (as well as food) crop for nearly one and half centuries, beginning with mid-19th century. An assured canal water supply led to a stable agriculture with labour-intensive paddy as a major crop, which in its turn attracted labouring families from both within and outside Krishna district. Landless Kamma families (FCs) from the dry land zone of Krishna district and indigent Koppula Velama and Turpu Kapu families (OBCs) from North Coastal Andhra districts of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and Visakhapatnam have been migrating into Nandivada village. Thus, the poor families from among the Fcs and OBCs (local and immigrant) have been providing the labour for agriculture. With the emergence of grain surpluses and development of land transport, output market had also been developing for quite sometime. Concurrent with these developments in labour and output markets, land and credit markets had also developed in Nandivada. In other words, commercialized agriculture—seen primarily in terms of development of the four agrarian markets in output, labour, land and credit—had come to stay in Nandivada for over 130 years.

The other macro factor that left an impact on the economic mobility of families and social classes in Andhra Pradesh in general and Delta Andhra in particular was the land reform legislation enacted by the State Government in the post-independence period. Abolition of intermediaries, reforms affecting tenancy and land ceilings were the three major stages of land reforms in Andhra. Abolition of

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<sup>1</sup> Although the Krishna anicut was built by 1855, the spread of wet cultivation did not pick up till 1870s for canal irrigation was new phenomenon in the Delta.

intermediaries (Zamindars) was by and large successful in Andhra. As for tenancy reforms, Prof. G. Parthasarathy, an authority on land reforms in Andhra, stated:

" The dramatic effect of the tenancy legislation in the fifties was the gradual demise of the tenant and his exit into the ranks of landless, more insecure conditions of tenancy and shift of land from the urban middle class to the resident big land owners". (Parthasarathy, 1979, pp.325-378).

There were two rounds of legislation affecting land ceiling in Andhra Pradesh viz. Andhra Pradesh Ceiling on Agricultural Holding Acts, 1961 and 1973. The 1961 Ceiling Act laid down ceilings ranging from 27 to 324 acres. Interestingly where as the Act was published in 1958, it was passed three years after in 1961, giving enough time for the big sharks to avoid the net of land ceiling legislation. When the first round of the Ceiling Act (1961) was passed, it was estimated that a surplus land of about 30 lakh acres would be available in the state. But in point of fact only about 7400 acres became available, of which very little was actually distributed to the poor. By 1973, when the second round of ceiling act was passed, big landholders could successfully circumvent the act, by making incorrect and incomplete declarations, benami and collusive land transactions. Under this act, land ceilings were fixed at 18 acres of double crop wet land and 54 acres of dry land in relation to a family holding (Sankaran, 1996).

Against the estimated surplus of 20 lakh acres by 1992, about 8 lakh acres were assessed surplus and around 5.11 lakh acres were distributed in Andhra Pradesh. However, much of the land distributed was found to be dry land of inferior fertility.

The impact of the land reforms legislation in village Andhra in general was to discourage the accumulation of wealth in the form of cultivable land on a large scale. The accumulating economic surpluses in the hands of middle and large farmers were increasingly invested in non-agricultural ventures such as rice mills, cinema halls, finance companies, transport vehicles, real estate, hotels, production and distribution of movies and financing higher education of children.

## **PART A**

### **4.1 Economic Mobility of FCs**

Now to turn to the specifics of Nandivada village. In the race for upward economic mobilities, families and social classes with initial endowments or greater access to economic, political and cultural resources would start with an advantage over those with lesser access to these resources. However, there are exceptions to this formulation. In a village set up where an upward economic mobility is primarily seen in terms of greater access to cultivable land, a traditionally non-cultivating caste, although blessed with initial endowments, might not move upwards in terms of landholdings, if it is inactive in the sphere of production (cultivation), remaining essentially as a rentier class. This was what happened to the Brahmin families of Nandivada village during the last quarter of the 19th and the first quarter of the 20th centuries.

From the oral histories, it was found that Brahmin families held substantial chunk of lands in Nandivada village till the last quarter of the 19th century. We could not quantitatively substantiate this statement due to our failure to have access to the first and second Survey and Settlement reports of the village for 1870s and 1890s. Till the early 1900s, a section of the FCs and OBCs were tenants on the lands of the Brahmin families. For reasons analysed in the earlier chapters, the alienated lands of the Brahmins had accrued to their tenants and landowners from among the cultivator castes. The primary gainers in these land transactions were the Kamma and Reddy farmers. By 1932, when the third Survey and Settlement was carried out in Nandivada, a section of Kammass and to some extent Reddies had already acquired economic clout in terms of increased landholdings. In other words, by 1932 there was a downward economic mobility of Brahmins and an upward economic mobility of Kamma and Reddy families. With a loss of economic clout, a section of Brahmin families had out-migrated from Nandivada village. As for the Kammass by 1932, they controlled over 1500 acres or 53 % of the total village lands (Chapter II).

Between 1932 and 1971 the Kammass alienated about 278.6 acres, for reasons such as the need to meet expenses on children's education, sales on the eve of out-migration and investment in agro-industries. These alienated lands got accrued to the poorer Kamma families.

Reddies are next to the Kammass in terms of economic hierarchy in Nandivada village. They are least inclined to out-migrate from the village. Sections of Reddy families used to lease-in lands from the

out-migrating Kmmas. Later, they could buy up portions of these lands. Between 1971 and 1997 among the total land transactions, Reddies were prominent buyers of Kmmas' lands (Chapter III).

Upward economic mobility in rural communities crucially depends upon the level of surpluses they can generate in agriculture. In the sample survey that we carried out on 103 households, we have information on economic surpluses generated from 62 households. (Information is not available on cultivation details of five absentee owner households and the rest 36 households are involved in either pure agricultural labour work or non-agricultural activities).

#### *1 Economic Surpluses*

Table 4.1 gives data on per acre costs of cultivation for both seasonal crops viz., Kharif and Rabi and values of surpluses generated across different types of cultivators such as owner-cultivators, owner-tenants and pure tenants-with and without deployment of family labour. Per acre cost of cultivation is highest for pure tenants who depend solely on wage labour (Rs. 8,405). The lowest level of per acre cost of cultivation is for the pure tenants who deploy family labour in the production of process (Rs. 5,555). Among all categories of cultivators, it is pure tenants using family labour, who generate the highest level of surpluses (Rs. 12,445 per acre). Pure tenants who depend solely on wage labour for carrying on cultivation generate the least surplus per acre (Rs. 9,595). In case of most profitable category of cultivation (i.e., pure tenant using family labour) profit is as

high as 69% of the gross income. In the case of least profitable category of cultivation, (i.e., pure tenant entirely dependent on wage labour) profit forms only 53 per cent of the gross income (Table 4.1).

In the case of net surpluses generated, where the owner-cultivator deploys family labour in agriculture obtains a net income of Rs.10625 per acre. He is followed by owner cultivator without deployment of family labour(Rs.9736). An absentee owner who leases-out land gets a rent of Rs.8250 which is Rs. 1486 less than owner-cultivator having not deployed family labour. This has compelled many of the land owners staying in the village to opt for tenancy rather than cultivating their lands for two reasons (i) they want to avoid risks like natural calamities, pests etc. (ii) they found themselves that the difference in income between cultivating and tenancy was meager and (iii) they started experimenting with the accrued surpluses of the past in the non-farm activities such as finance, trade, automobiles etc. where returns are more than agriculture.

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As already mentioned in chapter II (Table 2.12), the non-residents account for 34 per cent of the cultivable land of the village. Most of the non-resident land owners opted for leasing-out. This activated the lease-market to a greater extent, the lessors being the Fcs (Kammas, Reddies and Brahmins) and lessees being the OBCs and SCs (Yadavas and Malas). In the case of the lessees, they generally deployed family labour, and could generate sizeable net surpluses over time.

The activation of lease market benefitted both the land owners and the lessees. The former with the assured lease market diversified his economic activities and the latter could earn some surpluses by employing family labour. This facilitated the purchase of lands from the Kammas when they started selling their lands consequent to occupational and economic diversification.

Table 4.1  
Average Surplus Generated by Different Categories of Cultivators, Handivada (Rs).

| Type of Category           | No. of HH  | Cost of Cultivation | Value of Output | Surplus Generated* | Net Surplus Generated** |
|----------------------------|------------|---------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Owner Cultivator           | 34         | 7767                | 18000           | 10233              | 10233                   |
| Family Labour Employed     | 19         | 7735                | 18360           | 10625              | 10625                   |
| Family Labour Not Employed | 15         | 7808                | 17544           | 9736               | 9736                    |
| Absentee Owner             | 5          | -                   | -               | -                  | 8250                    |
| Owner Tenant               | 13         | 7699                | 18000           | 10301              | 2051                    |
| Family Labour Employed     | 5          | 6888                | 18000           | 11112              | 2862                    |
| Family Labour Not Employed | 8          | 8206                | 18000           | 9794               | 1544                    |
| Pure Tenant                | 15         | 6505                | 18000           | 11495              | 3245                    |
| Family Labour Employed     | 10         | 5555                | 18000           | 12445              | 4195                    |
| Family Labour Not Employed | 5          | 8405                | 18000           | 9595               | 1345                    |
| Non Cultivators            | 36         | -                   | -               | -                  | -                       |
| <b>Total Households</b>    | <b>103</b> |                     |                 |                    |                         |

Source: Survey Data, 1997.

\* Surplus Generated = Value of Yield including paddy from two seasons and by-products such as husk - Cost of Cultivation which includes seeds, fertilisers, pesticides, labour cost, water charges and land rent.

\*\* Net Surplus generated = Surplus generated - terms of lease (generally 25 bags of paddy for both crops, Kharif being 19 bags and Rabi being 6). In case of owner tenant, net surpluses generated corresponds to his leased-in land, but not his own land.

### *ii Spatial Mobility*

If one broadens the definition of economic mobility to include spacial mobility and occupational diversification away from agriculture as factors generally helping upward economic mobility of the families, then it is necessary to take note of the spatial

mobility and occupational patterns of members of the family other than the respondents in Nandivada village.

Table 4.2 furnishes information on the places of residence of the brothers of respondents in the survey carried out in Nandivada village in 1997. From among the FC respondents only about 43 per cent of their brothers stay within the village. In other words, 57 per cent of the FC respondents reported that their brothers stay away from Nandivada-in another village in Krishna district or in urban areas within or outside the district. This indicates the spacial mobility of the FC families. Nearly 79 per cent of the OBC respondents reported that their brothers stay within Nandivada village. In other words, spacial mobility of members of the OBC families is rather limited only to 21 percent. The case of SC families shows a pattern not far away from that of the OBC families (Table 4.2).

Within the FC families out-migration from Nandivada village is high from among the Kamma and Reddy families. From among the OBC families only among the Gowdas and Nayi Brahmins there was some out-migration of respondents' brothers (Table 4.2).



Table 4.2  
Distribution of Brothers of Heads of Households in the Sample by Place of Residence (in per cent).

| Caste Name          | Within a Village<br>the<br>Village | a Village<br>in the<br>District | Town/City<br>in the<br>District | Town/City<br>Out side the<br>District | Town/City<br>Out side the<br>State | Row<br>Total     |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------|
| FCs                 | 42.86                              | -                               | 22.85                           | 28.57                                 | 5.71                               | 100 (35)         |
| Brahmin             | -                                  | -                               | -                               | 50.00                                 | 50.00                              | 100 (2)          |
| Kamma               | 44.44                              | -                               | 27.78                           | 27.77                                 | 5.55                               | 100 (18)         |
| Kapu                | 100.00                             | -                               | -                               | -                                     | -                                  | 100 (3)          |
| Komati              | -                                  | -                               | 100.00                          | -                                     | -                                  | 100 (1)          |
| Reddy               | 45.45                              | -                               | 18.18                           | 36.36                                 | -                                  | 100 (11)         |
| <b>OBCs</b>         | <b>78.57</b>                       | <b>7.14</b>                     | <b>8.57</b>                     | <b>5.71</b>                           | <b>-</b>                           | <b>100 (70)</b>  |
| Goldsmith           | 100.00                             | -                               | -                               | -                                     | -                                  | 100 (1)          |
| Gowda               | 66.67                              | -                               | 33.33                           | -                                     | -                                  | 100 (3)          |
| Kummari             | 100.00                             | -                               | -                               | -                                     | -                                  | 100 (2)          |
| K.Velama            | 100.00                             | -                               | -                               | -                                     | -                                  | 100 (4)          |
| Mangali             | 33.33                              | 33.33                           | 33.33                           | -                                     | -                                  | 100 (6)          |
| Muslim              | -                                  | -                               | -                               | 100.00                                | -                                  | 100 (3)          |
| Rajaka              | 100.00                             | -                               | -                               | -                                     | -                                  | 100 (2)          |
| Turpu Kapu          | 90.91                              | -                               | 9.09                            | -                                     | -                                  | 100 (11)         |
| Uppari              | 86.96                              | -                               | 8.70                            | 4.35                                  | -                                  | 100 (23)         |
| Yadava              | 80.00                              | 20.00                           | -                               | -                                     | -                                  | 100 (15)         |
| <b>Scs (Mala)</b>   | <b>69.23</b>                       | <b>7.69</b>                     | <b>15.38</b>                    | <b>7.69</b>                           | <b>-</b>                           | <b>100 (39)</b>  |
| <b>STs (Yanadi)</b> | <b>83.33</b>                       | <b>5.56</b>                     | <b>-</b>                        | <b>11.11</b>                          | <b>-</b>                           | <b>100 (18)</b>  |
| <b>Total</b>        | <b>69.13</b>                       | <b>5.56</b>                     | <b>12.34</b>                    | <b>11.72</b>                          | <b>1.23</b>                        | <b>100 (162)</b> |

Source: Survey Data, 1997.

### *iii Occupational Diversification*

Brahmins and Komaties are traditionally non-cultivating communities. Hence, it is not surprising to see that only few among them reported agriculture as their primary occupation. Nearly 85 per cent of the Reddies have agriculture as their primary occupation. Interestingly from among the other FC peasant communities, Kammas (31%) and Kapus (46%) reported non-agricultural activities as their primary occupations (Table 4.3).

From among the OBC peasant castes, (Gowda, Koppula Velama, Turpu Kapu, Uppari and Yadava) not many reported non-agricultural

activities as their primary occupation. The remaining castes in the OBC categories are mostly artisanal castes whose traditional occupations have been non-agricultural activities. From among the SCs, a significant proportion reported agriculture as their primary occupation. In other words, from among all the peasant castes (FC, OBCs and SCs), only the Kammas and Kapus showed some occupational diversification (Table 4.3).

**Table 4.3**  
**Percentage Distribution of Workers by Broad Occupational Categories, Nandivada, 1997.**

| Caste Name          | Primary Occupation |             |                   | Secondary Occupation |             |                  |
|---------------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------|------------------|
|                     | Agr                | Non-Agr     | Total             | Agr                  | Non-Agr     | Total            |
| <b>FCs</b>          | <b>70.1</b>        | <b>29.9</b> | <b>100 (197)</b>  | <b>31.9</b>          | <b>68.1</b> | <b>100 (94)</b>  |
| Brahmin             | -                  | 100.0       | 100 (3)           | -                    | -           | 100 (0)          |
| Kamma               | 69.0               | 31.0        | 100 (84)          | 24.5                 | 75.5        | 100 (49)         |
| Kapu                | 53.8               | 46.2        | 100 (13)          | 100.0                | -           | 100 (7)          |
| Komati              | 8.3                | 91.7        | 100 (12)          | -                    | 100.0       | 100 (3)          |
| Reddy               | 84.7               | 15.3        | 100 (85)          | 31.4                 | 68.6        | 100 (35)         |
| <b>OBCs</b>         | <b>86.1</b>        | <b>13.9</b> | <b>100 (598)</b>  | <b>65.5</b>          | <b>34.5</b> | <b>100 (145)</b> |
| A.Kshatriya         | -                  | 100.0       | 100 (2)           | 100.0                | -           | 100 (1)          |
| Carpenter           | 50.0               | 50.0        | 100 (8)           | 100.0                | -           | 100 (1)          |
| Goldsmith           | -                  | 100.0       | 100 (2)           | -                    | -           | 100 (0)          |
| Gowda               | 84.6               | 15.4        | 100 (13)          | -                    | -           | 100 (0)          |
| Haridasu            | -                  | 100.0       | 100 (1)           | -                    | -           | 100 (0)          |
| Kummari             | 66.7               | 33.3        | 100 (9)           | 100.0                | 0.0         | 100 (1)          |
| K.Velama            | 85.5               | 14.5        | 100 (76)          | 90.0                 | 10.0        | 100 (20)         |
| Mangali             | 68.1               | 31.9        | 100 (47)          | 45.5                 | 54.5        | 100 (11)         |
| Muslim              | 77.8               | 22.2        | 100 (9)           | 50.0                 | 50.0        | 100 (2)          |
| Padmasali           | 19.2               | 80.8        | 100 (26)          | 100.0                | -           | 100 (1)          |
| Rajaka              | 100.0              | -           | 100 (12)          | 50.0                 | 50.0        | 100 (2)          |
| Turpu Kapu          | 90.0               | 10.0        | 100 (60)          | 92.3                 | 7.7         | 100 (13)         |
| Uppari              | 97.1               | 2.9         | 100 (138)         | 68.6                 | 31.4        | 100 (35)         |
| Yadava              | 94.9               | 5.1         | 100 (195)         | 51.7                 | 48.3        | 100 (58)         |
| <b>Scs</b>          | <b>90.2</b>        | <b>9.8</b>  | <b>100 (428)</b>  | <b>60.0</b>          | <b>40.0</b> | <b>100 (100)</b> |
| Madiga              | 85.7               | 14.3        | 100 (7)           | -                    | -           | 100 (0)          |
| Mala                | 90.3               | 9.7         | 100 (421)         | 60.0                 | 40.0        | 100 (100)        |
| <b>Sts (Yanadi)</b> | <b>100.0</b>       | <b>-</b>    | <b>100 (86)</b>   | <b>100.0</b>         | <b>-</b>    | <b>100 (3)</b>   |
| <b>ALL</b>          | <b>85.9</b>        | <b>14.1</b> | <b>100 (1309)</b> | <b>55.0</b>          | <b>45.0</b> | <b>100 (342)</b> |

Source: Census (complete enumeration) of the Village

Note: Figures in parenthesis are corresponding row totals

Occupational diversification of the brothers of the respondents across castes in the survey would broadly indicate the direction in which they are moving. If we divide the occupations into two broad categories of Agriculture and Non-agriculture, occupations of the respondents' brothers into white collar jobs would indicate an upward economic mobility.

In all there were 162 cases of brothers' occupations, of which 118 were in agriculture, and 44 in non-agricultural occupations. 14 out of 18 among Kammas and 9 out of 39 from the Malas are in non-agricultural occupations (Govt. jobs, finance etc.) (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4  
Occupational Structure of Brothers of Heads of Sample Households, Mandivada, 1997.

| Sl. No. | Occupation       | FC    |       | OBC                |        | SC     | ST  | Others | ALL Castes |        |
|---------|------------------|-------|-------|--------------------|--------|--------|-----|--------|------------|--------|
|         |                  | Kamma | Reddy | KVelamat<br>T.Kapu | Uppari | Yadava | Mal |        |            | Yanadi |
| 1       | Agriculture      | 4     | 8     | 14                 | 23     | 14     | 30  | 17     | 8          | 118    |
| 1.1     | Owner Cultivator | 1     | -     | -                  | 2      | 1      | 1   | -      | 1          | 6      |
| 1.2     | Absentee Owner   | 1     | -     | -                  | -      | -      | -   | -      | -          | 1      |
| 1.3     | Owner Tenant     | 2     | 5     | -                  | 5      | 3      | 6   | -      | -          | 21     |
| 1.4     | Pure Tenant      | -     | -     | 8                  | 7      | 2      | 5   | -      | 1          | 23     |
| 1.5     | Agr. Labour      | -     | 3     | 6                  | 9      | 8      | 18  | 17     | 6          | 67     |
| 2       | Non-Agriculture  | 14    | 3     | -                  | 1      | 1      | 9   | 1      | 15         | 44     |
| 2.1     | Govt. job        | 5     | 1     | -                  | -      | -      | 5   | -      | 5          | 16     |
| 2.2     | Finance          | 6     | 2     | -                  | -      | -      | -   | -      | -          | 8      |
| 2.3     | Traditional Work | -     | -     | -                  | -      | -      | -   | -      | 4          | 4      |
| 2.4     | Driver           | -     | -     | -                  | 1      | 1      | -   | -      | 1          | 3      |
| 2.5     | Small Shop       | 1     | -     | -                  | -      | -      | 1   | -      | 2          | 4      |
| 2.6     | Mechanic         | -     | -     | -                  | -      | -      | 1   | 1      | -          | 2      |
| 2.7     | Real Estate      | 2     | -     | -                  | -      | -      | -   | -      | -          | 2      |
| 2.8     | Vendor           | -     | -     | -                  | -      | -      | 2   | -      | -          | 2      |
| 2.9     | Tailor           | -     | -     | -                  | -      | -      | -   | -      | 1          | 1      |
| 2.10    | Hotel            | -     | -     | -                  | -      | -      | -   | -      | 1          | 1      |
| 2.11    | Electrician      | -     | -     | -                  | -      | -      | -   | -      | 1          | 1      |
| 3       | Total            | 18    | 11    | 14                 | 24     | 15     | 39  | 18     | 23         | 162    |

Source: Field Survey, 1997.

Note: Others include castes such as Brahmin, Komati, Kapu, Nayi Brahmin, Gowda, Rajaka, Muslim, Kumarri and Goldsmith spread across FCs & OBCs.

From the Reddies out of 11 cases 3 are in non-agricultural occupations. By and large, brothers of OBC respondents are mostly in agriculture. Among the Fcs, Kamma respondents' brothers are mostly in non-agricultural occupations indicating their relative upward economic mobility.

#### *iv Educational Advancement*

Literacy and education point out not only social development but also indicate possibility of upward economic mobility. The community realising the importance of education much earlier can be established to some extent by looking at the educational status of the people belonging to the age group above 55. It reveals that it was the Brahmins who gave more importance to education. Table 4.5 shows that all the Brahmins belonging to age group above 55 years are educated to a minimum of primary education. But the data do not give the out-migrated Brahmins who settled down in towns with high educational qualifications. Around 1940s there were more than 50 Brahmin households (mainly joint families) residing in the village. Presently, there are only 7 Brahmin households. They are mainly temple archakas (priests) and a post master. The Brahmins who out-migrated had settled down mainly in government services rather than in production activities.

Overall, the literacy levels of people above 55 years among the FCs and OBCs are generally high in Nandivada village. Only among the SCs nearly half of the senior citizens are illiterate (Table 4.5).

Among the people aged 55 years and above, Kapus from among the FCs, Kummaris, Rajakas from OBCs and Madigas from SCs showed high levels of illiteracy (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5  
Distribution of Population of Age 55 and Above by Level of Education, Mandivada, 1997.

| Caste Name   | Literate<br>not attained<br>Pri. Edc | Completed<br>Primary<br>Education | Completed<br>SSLC/10th<br>Class | Completed<br>PUC/12th<br>Class | Completed<br>Degree &<br>Above | Illiterate | Total     |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------|-----------|
| FCs          | 16.52                                | 50.43                             | 15.65                           | 3.48                           | 1.74                           | 12.17      | 100 (115) |
| Brahmin      | -                                    | 40.00                             | 40.00                           | 20.00                          | -                              | -          | 100 (10)  |
| Kamma        | 13.92                                | 56.96                             | 15.19                           | 1.27                           | 1.27                           | 11.39      | 100 (79)  |
| Kapu         | 22.22                                | 22.22                             | -                               | 11.11                          | -                              | 44.44      | 100 (9)   |
| Komati       | 14.29                                | 85.71                             | -                               | -                              | -                              | -          | 100 (7)   |
| Reddy        | 50.00                                | 10.00                             | 20.00                           | -                              | 10.00                          | 10.00      | 100 (10)  |
| OBCs         | 75.00                                | 6.82                              | -                               | 1.14                           | 1.14                           | 15.91      | 100 (88)  |
| Goldsmith    | -                                    | 100.00                            | -                               | -                              | -                              | -          | 100 (1)   |
| Govda        | -                                    | 66.67                             | -                               | -                              | -                              | 33.33      | 100 (3)   |
| Kummari      | -                                    | -                                 | -                               | -                              | -                              | 100.00     | 100 (3)   |
| Kvelana      | 77.78                                | -                                 | -                               | -                              | -                              | 22.22      | 100 (9)   |
| Mangali      | 50.00                                | 16.67                             | -                               | -                              | -                              | 33.33      | 100 (6)   |
| Muslim       | 66.67                                | -                                 | -                               | -                              | -                              | 33.33      | 100 (3)   |
| Rajakas      | 25.00                                | -                                 | -                               | -                              | 25.00                          | 50.00      | 100 (4)   |
| Turpu Kapu   | 87.50                                | -                                 | -                               | -                              | -                              | 12.50      | 100 (8)   |
| Uppari       | 95.00                                | -                                 | -                               | 5.00                           | -                              | -          | 100 (20)  |
| Yadava       | 87.10                                | 6.45                              | -                               | -                              | -                              | 6.45       | 100 (31)  |
| SCs          | 38.96                                | 9.09                              | 1.30                            | -                              | 1.30                           | 49.35      | 100 (77)  |
| Madiga       | -                                    | -                                 | -                               | -                              | -                              | 100.00     | 100 (1)   |
| Kala         | 39.47                                | 9.21                              | 1.32                            | -                              | 1.32                           | 48.68      | 100 (76)  |
| STs (Yanadi) | 94.44                                | -                                 | -                               | 5.56                           | -                              | -          | 100 (18)  |
| ALL          | 44.30                                | 23.83                             | 6.30                            | 2.01                           | 1.34                           | 22.15      | 100 (290) |

Source: Census (complete enumeration) of the Village.

Note: Figures in parentheses are the population aged 55 & above.

### v Social Factors

#### a Female Empowerment

It was the Kamma community which visualised, much earlier than other communities, female empowerment through education. This was

possible because of the availability of resources, to support female education, with the Kamma households. A factor which played a key role in empowering women is the land ownership pattern of Kammass which favour women. As we have already seen in Chapter II, females own 34.93 per cent of land held by Kammass in 1997. But it is not the case with other communities like the Malas, Madigas, Yanadis and Yadavas.

### *b Dowry Market*

Many studies neglected the role of dowry (in this context dowry includes 'Streedhanam' generally in the form of landed assets and of course cash) in bringing about economic mobility. There are certain castes such as Kammass and Reddies wherein dowry in the form of land is more predominant and high. In such castes dowry acted as an instrument in affecting equal property rights to both males and females. Because of high dowry prevailing in such communities the parents of female children try to accumulate as much as they can in order to get better bridegrooms for their wards. Such a custom gave rise to saving habit among some communities. The high dowry that the bridegrooms received paved way for experimenting with the new investment opportunities associated with high returns and risk. Of course the practice of dowry has its own evil effects along with the above mentioned positive aspects. It is also noteworthy that the dowry deaths in these communities are minimal.

In general there were structural shifts in the dowry market over a period of time. In the first half of the twentieth century a bridegroom having more land used to get more dowry. By the third

quarter of twentieth century the importance shifted from property to education and a secured job. In the later part of the century the importance shifted to quality of education. From the bride's side the importance has shifted from dowry to education and physical appearance.

#### *Nature of Marriage Alliances*

Prior to 1970 a little over 60 per cent of marriages within the FCs and 39 and 47 percentages from among the OBCs and SCs were outside the circle of close relatives. But after 1970, barring STs, among all other social classes (FCs, OBCs and SCs) marriage alliances with families from outside the circle of close relatives had increased significantly ( 75 to 85 percentages) (Table 4.6). This would enable all the social classes to build extensive social networks, if utilised appropriately lead to an upward economic mobility.

**Table 4.6**  
**Proportion of Marriages Reported Which Involve Alliances Within Close Relatives, (in per cent)**

| Caste Name   | Prior to 1970    | 1970 and After    |
|--------------|------------------|-------------------|
| FCs          | 38.9 (18)        | 14.9 (47)         |
| OBCs         | 61.5 (13)        | 20.0 (65)         |
| SCs (Mala)   | 53.3 (15)        | 25.0 (40)         |
| STs (Yanadi) | 100.0 (1)        | 50.0 (12)         |
| <b>ALL</b>   | <b>51.1 (47)</b> | <b>22.0 (164)</b> |

Source: Survey Data, 1997.

- Notes: 1. Figures in parentheses represent total number of marriages.  
2. The total number of marriages comprise of marriages of head of the household, sons and daughters of head of the household.

### *Prevalence of Dowry*

Prior to 1970, the institution of dowry was only prominent among the FCs. But after 1970, this practice came into being even among the other social classes (OBCs, SCs and STs) (Table 4.7).

**Table 4.7**  
**Proportion of Marriages Reported Which Involve Dowry. (in per cent)**

| <b>Social Class</b> | <b>Prior to 1970</b> | <b>1970 and After</b> |
|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| FCs                 | 83.3 (18)            | 89.4 (47)             |
| OBCs                | 38.5 (13)            | 81.5 (65)             |
| SCs (Mala)          | 13.3 (15)            | 72.5 (40)             |
| STs (Yanadi)        | - (1)                | 33.3 (12)             |
| <b>ALL</b>          | <b>46.8 (47)</b>     | <b>78.0 (164)</b>     |

Source: Survey Data, 1997.

Note: Same as in Table 4.6

### *Average Amount of Dowry*

From among the FCs, the average dowry amount is found to be higher after 1970 among the Reddies and Komaties and to some extent in Kammass as compared to the period prior to 1970. The average amount of dowry among the OBCs (together) appears to have declined between the two periods i.e., prior to and after 1970. However, the empirical evidence on the number of marriages among the individual castes from the OBCs being small, it is difficult to arrive at any firm conclusion on the changes in dowry amounts between the two periods (Table 4.8).



**Table 4.8**  
**Average Amount of Dowry Reported in Different Castes (in Rupees)**

| Caste Name          | Prior to 1970 |             | 1970 and After |              |
|---------------------|---------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|
| <b>FCs</b>          | <b>303125</b> | <b>(15)</b> | <b>292851</b>  | <b>(42)</b>  |
| Brahmin             | -             | (0)         | 50588          | (2)          |
| Kamma               | 378283        | (11)        | 381650         | (23)         |
| Kapu                | -             | (0)         | 16352          | (3)          |
| Komati              | 93051         | (1)         | 159579         | (5)          |
| Reddy               | 97569         | (3)         | 285961         | (9)          |
| <b>OBCs</b>         | <b>49171</b>  | <b>(5)</b>  | <b>49981</b>   | <b>(53)</b>  |
| Goldsmith           | -             | (0)         | 52870          | (1)          |
| Gowda               | 150000        | (1)         | 124701         | (3)          |
| Kummari             | -             | (0)         | 11200          | (1)          |
| K.Velama            | 24375         | (2)         | 35546          | (7)          |
| Nayi Brahmin        | -             | (0)         | 16410          | (7)          |
| Muslim              | -             | (0)         | 60000          | (1)          |
| Rajaka              | -             | (0)         | 9869           | (1)          |
| Turpu Kapu          | 33564         | (1)         | 9742           | (4)          |
| Uppari              | 13540         | (1)         | 55157          | (13)         |
| Yadava              | -             | (0)         | 68085          | (15)         |
| <b>SCs (Mala)</b>   | <b>76399</b>  | <b>(2)</b>  | <b>35758</b>   | <b>(29)</b>  |
| <b>STs (Yanadi)</b> | <b>-</b>      | <b>(0)</b>  | <b>6522</b>    | <b>(4)</b>   |
| <b>ALL</b>          | <b>224797</b> | <b>(22)</b> | <b>125092</b>  | <b>(128)</b> |

Source: Survey Data.

Note: 1. Figures in parentheses indicate the number of marriages involving dowry

2. Average dowry is calculated as follows...  
Present value of Land(Rs) = acreage\*120000.

3. Present value of Cash(Rs) = cash dowry compounded annually at 12% rate of interest.

#### *Composition of Dowry*

Prior to 1970 from among the FCs, Kapus gave dowries only in cash. The Kmmas and Reddies gave dowries partly in cash and partly in land. Even after 1970, this broad pattern continued. But the shares of lands in the total dowries given away by the Kmmas and Reddies have gone up. This is a clear case of increasing share of 'Streedhanam' in the dowry overtime which to some extent guarantees economic power to the females.

The available evidence on dowry from among the OBCs shows that the landed component of the dowry declined from 61 per cent prior to 1970 to about 52 per cent after 1970. The decline in the landed component of dowry from among the Malas was sharper from close to 79 per cent prior to 1970 to 46 per cent after 1970 (Table 4.9).

**Table 4.9**  
**Composition of Average Amount of Dowry in terms of Land and Cash.**

| Caste Name          | Value of Land & Cash in Total Dowry |             |                |              |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|
|                     | Prior to 1970                       |             | 1970 and After |              |
|                     | Land                                | Cash        | Land           | Cash         |
| <b>FCs</b>          | <b>43.0</b>                         | <b>57.0</b> | <b>62.5</b>    | <b>37.5</b>  |
| Brahmin             | -                                   | -           | -              | 100.0        |
| Kamma               | 44.1                                | 55.9        | 65.1           | 34.9         |
| Kapu                | -                                   | -           | -              | 100.0        |
| Komati              | -                                   | 100.00      | -              | 100.0        |
| Reddy               | 41.0                                | 59.0        | 76.9           | 23.1         |
| <b>OBCs</b>         | <b>61.0</b>                         | <b>39.0</b> | <b>51.9</b>    | <b>48.1</b>  |
| Goldsmith           | -                                   | -           | -              | 100.0        |
| Gowda               | 100.0                               | 0.0         | 64.2           | 35.8         |
| Kummari             | -                                   | -           | -              | 100.0        |
| Koppula velama      | 0.0                                 | 100.0       | 48.2           | 51.8         |
| Nayi Brahmin        | -                                   | -           | 52.2           | 47.8         |
| Muslim              | -                                   | -           | -              | 100.0        |
| Rajaka              | -                                   | -           | -              | 100.0        |
| Turpu Kapu          | 0.0                                 | 100.0       | -              | 100.0        |
| Uppari              | 0.0                                 | 100.0       | 66.1           | 33.9         |
| Yadava              | -                                   | -           | 47.0           | 53.0         |
| <b>SCs (Mala)</b>   | <b>78.5</b>                         | <b>21.5</b> | <b>46.3</b>    | <b>53.7</b>  |
| <b>STs (Yanadi)</b> | <b>-</b>                            | <b>-</b>    | <b>-</b>       | <b>100.0</b> |
| <b>ALL</b>          | <b>45.0</b>                         | <b>55.0</b> | <b>55.7</b>    | <b>44.3</b>  |

Source: Survey Data.

Notes: 1. Landed Dowry(Rs)= acreage\*120000.

2. Total Dowry(Rs)= Landed Dowry + Cash dowry (in present value by compounding annually at 12% rate of interest).

This means that among the OBCs and SCs, through the institution of dowry, the females control over landed property is relatively at its decline overtime. Hence, the institution of dowry was favourable to the FCs like the Kammass and Reddies in the economic empowerment of females whereas it acted against the interests of the OBCs and SCs. This is a clear case of a social institution called dowry which is considered as an evil benefitting certain social classes and adversely affecting the rest.

#### *vi Kinship Relations and Net-Working*

It is evident from Chapter III that the majority (over 50%) of the land transactions are taking place within the caste especially in the castes like the Kammass and Reddies. It should also be noted that even among the OBCs and the SCs, to some extent land transactions are taking place within the caste. If the transactions of the FCs who own major chunk of land take place within the caste, then one can say that there exist rigidities in the land market. In a sense such rigidities act as constraints to the land market and in other sense they promote economic mobility of one's own caste. In such a situation the castes who are initially endowed with better landed resources would reap greater benefits.

Upadhya (1988) made an enquiry into the progress made by the Kammass and points out that one of the contributing factors for their rise is strong kinship relations and net-working. In the words Upadhya,

"The popular perception of Kammas as the new dominant business class raises the question of whether caste is in fact a factor that influences business dealings. Most informants, particularly Kammas, insisted that caste feeling or loyalty do not affect the behaviour of businessmen, but some, particularly non-kammas, disagreed with this view. Several Kammas admitted that there is an advantage to dealing with someone of the same caste, because 'you come with some link' or have a 'common feeling' with one's castemen. Although businessmen may favour others of their own caste in their business dealings, it should be noted that this is only one aspect of the general process of networking. Success in business depends largely on the ability to build extensive and useful social networks, which may be done not only through caste connections, but also through relationships of kinship, friendship, patronage and so on. The available evidence suggests that Kamma businessmen tend to form instrumental relationships with one another, creating caste-based resource networks that exclude non-kammas. Also, Kamma caste consciousness and solidarity have given them an edge in business because of their propensity to help one another as a means of improving the status of the caste as a whole" (Upadhya, 1988, p.1438).

From the above it is clear that social networking is high among Kammas and this contributed in the economic mobility of the caste as a whole. Another interesting point that Upadhya points out is that the Kammas are not in favour of networking across castes. It should however, be noted that such caste-based net working is also spreading in recent times across other castes such as Reddies and Vaisyas.

## **PART B**

### **4.2 Economic Mobility of Backward Classes (OBCs, SCs & STs)**

In Part A an attempt was made to analyze the economic mobility of social classes with particular reference to the FCs. Kammas and Reddies are the two major castes which registered an upward economic mobility during the 20th century. However, if one looks at the sub-periods, one notices that between the two castes, Kammas' upward economic mobility was more pronounced till 1932. Between 1932 and 1970 the Reddies made substantial progress in terms of land acquisition. During the post-1970 period whereas the Kammas have gone through occupational diversification and spatial mobility both within and outside Krishna district, the Reddies having also undergone occupational diversification resorted to lesser out-migration from the village. Their economic clout, in terms of land acquisition, was significant. In other words, the space vacated by the Kammas in the economic sphere was at least partly filled-in by the Reddies. In this section, an attempt is made to analyze the economic mobility of select OBCs and SCs.

Factors which left an impact on the economic mobility of the backward classes in Nandivada village are the following:

- (i) An Active Land Lease Market.
- (ii) Rise in Real Wages and Incomes.
- (iii) Welfare Programmes of the State.

### *1 An Active Land Lease Market*

One way by which the OBCs and SCs from the peasant castes could make an upward economic mobility is to be active both as owner-cultivators (where they have lands) and tenant-cultivators. More often, it is from the status of tenant-cultivators that the small farmers across social classes could attain an upward economic mobility. Nandivada's historical experience is no exception to this formulation.

In Nandivada village sections of the Kamma and Reddy farmers had been tenant-cultivators on the lands owned by Brahmins and Kmmas till the beginning of the 20th century. But by 1932 when Brahmins lost substantial chunk of their lands to Kmmas, their hegemony on land ownership had ended and that of the Kmmas and Reddies begun. In the post-1970 period the OBC farmers had also been relatively more active in the land-lease market.

From a sample of 103 households, we notice that between 1970 and 1997 there were 85 cases of leasing-in and 10 cases of leasing-out at a stretch for a duration of two years or more. A greater part of the land that was leased-in belonged to the absentee land-owners from the Kamma, Reddy and Komati castes. Except a few Reddy and Brahmin runtier families who live in the neighbouring villages, the rest of them reside in places far away from Nandivada village.

As mentioned above between 1970 and 1997, it was revealed from the survey that there were 85 cases of land leases where tenants leased-in land continuously for two or more years. Of this total

(85), in as many as 61 cases lands were leased-in from the FC land owners, 23 from OBCs and only one from the SCs. Looking at it from a different angle of the land lease market, of the total land leases (85) in as many as 65 cases the OBCs, SCs and STs had figured. In other words, tenants from the backward classes have been more active in the land lease market of Nandivada (Table 4.10).

**Table 4.10**  
**Matrix Showing the Number of Land-Lease Contracts Between Social Classes During 1970-97, Nandivada.**

|                                    | LESSORS   |           |          |          |           |
|------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|
|                                    | FCs       | OBCs      | SCs      | STs      | ALL       |
| <b>LESSEE</b>                      |           |           |          |          |           |
| FCs                                | 17        | 2         | 1        | -        | 20        |
| OBCs                               | 28        | 11        | -        | -        | 39        |
| SCs (Mala)                         | 15        | 8         | -        | -        | 23        |
| STs (Yanadi)                       | 1         | 2         | -        | -        | 3         |
| <b>ALL(FCs, OBCs, SCs&amp;STs)</b> | <b>61</b> | <b>23</b> | <b>1</b> | <b>-</b> | <b>85</b> |

Source: Survey Data.

Note: Cases of lease-in are taken if and only if the respondent leased-in the land for more than or equal to two continuous years

Whereas the average period of lease-out was 3.3 years, that of lease-in among all classes / castes was 6.2 years between 1970 and 1997 (Table 4.11). When the extent of land leased-in and duration of leases are high, they lead to economies of scale and a more efficient use of resources eventually resulting in higher margins in cultivation. As compared to the FCs and OBCs, the average size of land holdings leased in by the SCs (Malas) was small. The lessors preferred to lease-out their lands to families with sound economic back ground. And in this respect relatively speaking SCs are worse off as compared to the OBCs and FCs.

**Table 4.11**  
**Average Period of Land-Lease and Average Extent of Area Leased**  
**During 1970-97 across Castes, Nandivada.**

| Caste Name          | Lease-in      |                 |           | Lease-out     |                 |           |
|---------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------|---------------|-----------------|-----------|
|                     | Average Years | Average Acreage | No. of HH | Average Years | Average Acreage | No. of HH |
| <b>FCs</b>          | <b>6.9</b>    | <b>8.76</b>     | <b>20</b> | <b>3.3</b>    | <b>12.04</b>    | <b>7</b>  |
| Brahmin             | -             | -               | -         | 3.0           | 7.00            | 1         |
| Kamma               | 5.7           | 8.73            | 13        | 3.8           | 15.20           | 5         |
| Kapu                | -             | -               | -         | 1.0           | 1.30            | 1         |
| Reddy               | 9.0           | 8.81            | 7         | -             | -               | -         |
| <b>OBCs</b>         | <b>5.6</b>    | <b>6.69</b>     | <b>39</b> | <b>3.5</b>    | <b>5.25</b>     | <b>2</b>  |
| Gowda               | 5.5           | 17.00           | 2         | -             | -               | -         |
| Kummari             | 10.0          | 2.00            | 1         | -             | -               | -         |
| Kvelama             | 4.6           | 5.00            | 8         | -             | -               | -         |
| Mangali             | 7.0           | 2.00            | 1         | 2.0           | 0.50            | 1         |
| Muslim              | 2.5           | 1.65            | 2         | -             | -               | -         |
| Turpu kapu          | 6.2           | 7.17            | 6         | -             | -               | -         |
| Uppari              | 7.0           | 10.44           | 8         | -             | -               | -         |
| Yadava              | 5.0           | 4.82            | 11        | 5.0           | 10.00           | 1         |
| <b>SCs (Mala)</b>   | <b>6.9</b>    | <b>4.30</b>     | <b>23</b> | <b>3.0</b>    | <b>2.50</b>     | <b>1</b>  |
| <b>STs (Yanadi)</b> | <b>3.0</b>    | <b>2.08</b>     | <b>3</b>  | <b>-</b>      | <b>-</b>        | <b>-</b>  |
| <b>Total</b>        | <b>6.2</b>    | <b>6.37</b>     | <b>85</b> | <b>3.3</b>    | <b>9.73</b>     | <b>10</b> |

Source: Survey Data.

The average size of leased-in lands of the Gowdas and Upparies is 17 and 10.44 acres respectively. Most of these are joint leases. After 1991, with the lifting of subsidies on fertilizers and pesticides and a rise in wages of agricultural labourers the non-resident Kamma land owners began to lease-out their lands more actively. Whereas earlier on the Kamma land owners preferred to lease-out lands to their fellow castemen, the situation after 1991 had changed. Generally the resident tenant-farmers in response to rise in cost of cultivation, began showing less interest in tenancy. Thus, a space vacated by the Kamma tenants was sought to be filled-in by the OBC and SC tenant farmers. True, the rise in cost of cultivation had also adversely affected the profit margins



of OBC and SC tenants. But as they bank heavily on the deployment of family labour, it led to self-exploitation and minimisation of losses.

It is interesting to see that from a total of 85 tenants, as many as 37 are landless. Also, the average size of lands they leased-in is the smallest (4.76 acres). Broadly speaking, as the average size of owned land increases, with a few exceptions, both the average acreage of land leased-in and the average years of lease are on the rise. This is so up to 20 acres of owned land. The average area of land leased-in did not exceed 15.75 acres (Table 4.12).

**Table 4.12**  
**Incidence of Leasing-in and Average Area Leased-in During 1971-97**  
**across Size-Class of Ownership Holding**

| Size-class<br>of Owned<br>Land<br>(Acres) | Lease-in        |                    |                  |
|---|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|
|   | No. of<br>Cases | Average<br>Acreage | Average<br>Years |
| Landless                                  | 37              | 4.76               | 5.35             |
| 0.01-0.99                                 | 13              | 6.33               | 5.38             |
| 1.00-1.99                                 | 9               | 7.41               | 4.56             |
| 2.00-4.99                                 | 17              | 5.02               | 7.00             |
| 5.00-9.99                                 | 8               | 15.75              | 7.13             |
| 10.00-19.99                               | 1               | 5.00               | 7.00             |
| 20 and above                              | -               | -                  | -                |
| <b>All Size Classes</b>                   | <b>85</b>       | <b>6.37</b>        | <b>6.28</b>      |

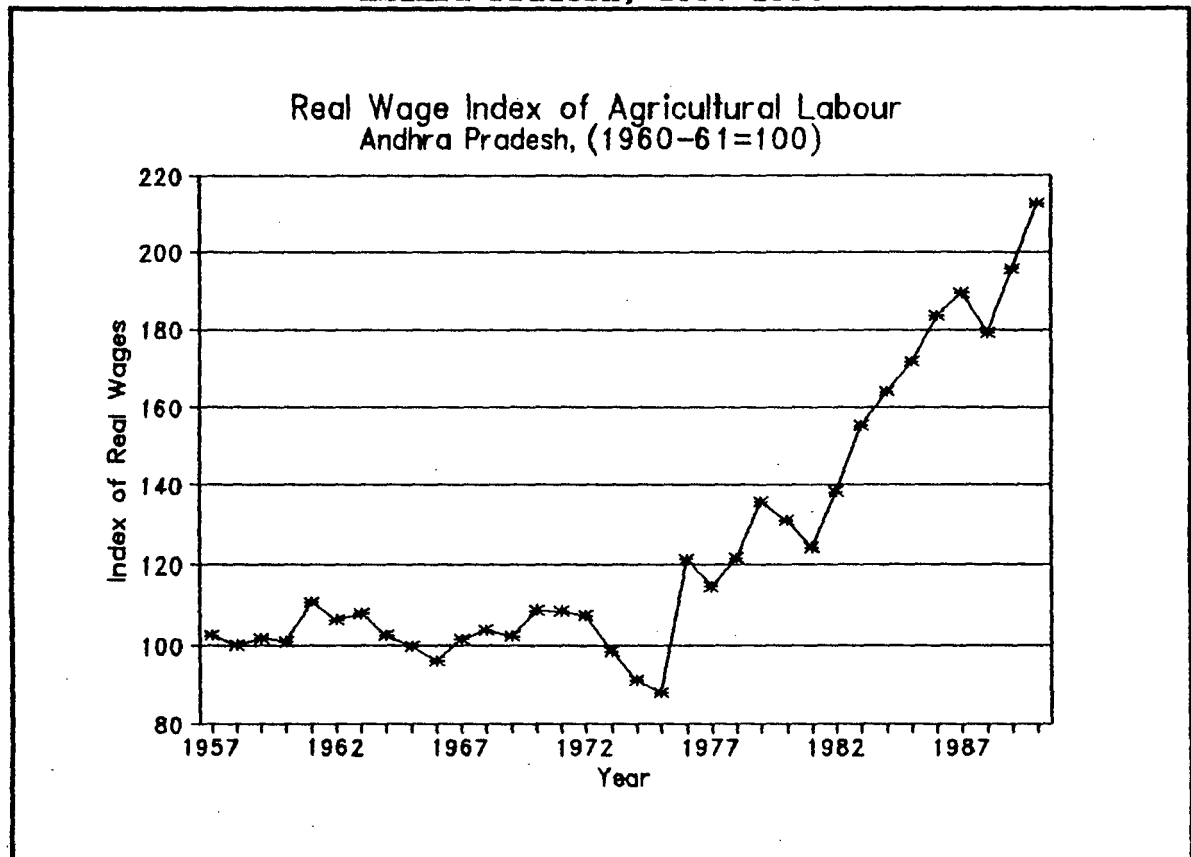
Source: Survey Data.

### *ii Rise in Real Wages and Wage Incomes*

Between 1957 and 1975, real wages in Andhra Pradesh were almost stagnant. Between 1976 and 1990 real wages had been consistently on the rise in the state (Graph 4.1 & Appendix 4.1). This aggregate state level scenario seems to be relevant for districts and sub-

regions within the districts as well. It is hypothesised that accumulated savings from the rising real wages should have helped the landless and part-time agricultural labourers to attain some upward economic mobility of some among OBCs and SCs for whom female employment in agriculture is not a social taboo.

Figure 4.1  
Index of Real Wages of Agricultural (Male Field) Labour in  
Andhra Pradesh, 1957-1990



From Table 4.13 it is clear that the owner-cultivators are working for more number of days than the other categories. This is because there exists a good number of OBCs and SCs who own up to 2 acres of land and who also participate in the labour market. They have recently acquired small pieces of land utilising their accumulated

surpluses. On the other hand, pure tenants and owner tenants participate in the labour market for less number of days because they involve themselves only in the work on the farms that they have leased-in. As the leased-in lands happens to be sizeable (around 4 to 5 acres), they have enough work on them. Hence, their participation in labour market is relatively less.

**Table 4.13**  
**Wage Income per Household Across Different Categories, 1997.**

| Description               | Owner<br>Cultivator | Pure<br>Tenant | Owner<br>Tenant | Pure<br>Labour |
|---------------------------|---------------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <b>I. Male Members</b>    |                     |                |                 |                |
| 1. No of Participants     | 1.09                | 1.08           | 1.09            | 1.07           |
| 2. Avg Days of Employment | 220                 | 124            | 123             | 201            |
| 3. Wage Rate per Day      | 50                  | 50             | 50              | 50             |
| 4. Total Wage Income (Rs) | 11957               | 6685           | 6730            | 10755          |
| <b>II. Female Members</b> |                     |                |                 |                |
| 1. No of Participants     | 2.77                | 2.19           | 2.24            | 3.67           |
| 2. Avg Days of Employment | 182                 | 148            | 116             | 96             |
| 3. Wage Rate per Day      | 40                  | 40             | 40              | 40             |
| 4. Total Wage Income (Rs) | 20153               | 12961          | 10411           | 14109          |

Source: Survey Data, 1997.

Note: Total Wage Income 4 = 1\*2\*3.

The average wage incomes generated range from Rs 6,685 to Rs 11,957 in case of males and Rs 20,153 to Rs 10,411 in case of females across all four categories. The average wage income earned by females is greater than the males even though the number of working days of males is higher (the exception is pure tenants). The reason for this is from each household the number of females who participate in labour market is higher than that of the males. Also, for some jobs like transplanting and harvesting, females are preferred over males. During such seasonal works all the female members of the family participate in the labour market. This supports the argument that where ever female farm employment

exists, there is scope for accumulating some economic surpluses. The female farm employment across castes is analysed in the next section. One interesting observation that comes out from field survey is that males are preferring to take up non-farm activities. The incomes of such activities in most cases was higher than their income from the farm work. It is evident that there are considerable number of people working in non-farm activities such as welding, lorry transport, supervisory jobs, barber shops etc. All these are urban-based activities. Such people reside in the village and commute every day to the nearby town 'Gudivada' which is 10 Kms away.

#### *Female Farm Employment*

The prevalence of female farm employment is absent in case of the Brahmins and the Komaties irrespective of their economic positions that they enjoyed, as it was a social taboo for them. Generally, among the cultivating castes economic power determines the female farm employment. Where families are economically well off female farm employment as survival strategy for them lost its social acceptance, it became a social taboo.

In a wet region help in farming from all the members of the middle and rich farmer families (FCs) is not required as female labour is available from the OBC & SC families of the village. But in a dry region even in the FC families both male and female labour is required for purposes of cultivation. Some of the FC families from dry regions settled down in Nandivada village over time. As they did not suffer from any social taboo with regard to female

participation in dry land agriculture, it has been in practice among these FC castes even in Nandivada. However, even here the economic position of the family becomes an important factor in determining to whom the female labour works for. If she comes from a very poor FC family, then she works for any farmer irrespective of his social class or caste status- FCs or OBCs. If her family is slightly better off then she would work only for the FC farmers. If the female worker comes from a still better off family, then she would work only on the family's farms. Finally, if her family is economically well off and can afford to employ wage-labour, she ceases to be an agricultural worker and remains a house-wife. This is also true with regard to the Yadava (OBC) and Mala (SC) households. Table 4.14 gives the female work participation among the social classes.

Among the individual backward classes female work participation is high: Malas (84.74%), Koppula Velamas (90.91%) and Yanadis (90.91%). Among the OBCs, Yadavas have been experiencing an upward economic mobility. Only two-thirds of the Yadava females work in the farms. As for the FCs, only 11.34% of the Kamma and 25% of the Reddy females work in the farms (Table 4.14).

**Table 4.14**  
**Proportion of Households Reporting Participation of Female Agricultural Labour across Castes, Nandivada, 1997.**

| Caste Name          | HH Reporting<br>Female Participation<br>(1) | Total Number<br>of Households<br>(2) | 1 as % of 2  |
|---------------------|---|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| <b>FCs</b>          | <b>33</b>                                   | <b>184</b>                           | <b>17.93</b> |
| Brahmin             | -   | 6                                    | 0.00         |
| Kamma               | 11  | 97                                   | 11.34        |
| Kapu                | 8   | 13                                   | 61.54        |
| Komati              | -   | 12                                   | 0.00         |
| Reddy               | 14  | 56                                   | 25.00        |
| <b>OBCs</b>         | <b>197</b>                                  | <b>266</b>                           | <b>74.06</b> |
| A.Kshatriya         | 1   | 1                                    | 100.00       |
| Carpenter           | 2   | 3                                    | 66.67        |
| Goldsmith           | -   | 3                                    | 0.00         |
| Gowda               | 5   | 8                                    | 62.50        |
| Haridas             | -   | 1                                    | 0.00         |
| Kummari             | 4   | 7                                    | 57.14        |
| Kvelama             | 30  | 33                                   | 90.91        |
| Mangali             | 18  | 23                                   | 78.26        |
| Muslim              | 4   | 6                                    | 66.67        |
| Padmasali           | 1   | 2                                    | 50.00        |
| Rajaka              | 6   | 16                                   | 37.50        |
| Turpu Kapu          | 23  | 26                                   | 88.46        |
| Uppari              | 50  | 57                                   | 87.72        |
| Yadava              | 53  | 80                                   | 66.25        |
| <b>SCs</b>          | <b>164</b>                                  | <b>194</b>                           | <b>84.54</b> |
| Madiga              | 3   | 4                                    | 75.00        |
| Mala                | 161   | 190                                  | 84.74        |
| <b>STs (Yanadi)</b> | <b>43</b>                                   | <b>46</b>                            | <b>93.48</b> |
| <b>Total</b>        | <b>437</b>                                  | <b>690</b>                           | <b>63.34</b> |

Source: Census (complete enumeration) of the Village (1997)

### *iii Welfare Programmes of the State*

During an eight year period the IRDP loans were advanced to 93 beneficiaries, of which 12 were from FC, 31 from OBC 48 from SC and 2 from ST classes. 83 percent of the total loans (Rs 7.07 lakhs) were advanced to the backward classes of which the subsidy element

formed nearly 38 percent. More than half the total number of beneficiaries were from the SCs.

Table 4.15 gives caste-wise details of the IRDP loans distributed in Nandivada village between 1989 and 1997. From the Table it is clear that the largest number of beneficiaries in Nandivada were the Malas (SCs). Out of a total of 93 beneficiaries in the village, as many as 45 are Malas. Nearly 48 percent of the total loans were claimed by them. Also, next to Madigas (SCs), the largest component of subsidy element (44.5 percent) went to Malas.

**Table 4.15**  
**Number of IRDP Beneficiaries and Loans Advanced to Different Castes, Nandivada, 1989-978.**

| <b>Caste Name</b>        | <b>Number of Beneficiaries</b> | <b>% of Total Loan Advanced</b> | <b>Subsidy Element (in per cent)</b> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <b>FCs</b>               | 12                             | 12.71                           | 30.57                                |
| Kamma                    | 5                              | 6.02                            | 31.77                                |
| Kapu                     | 1                              | 0.57                            | 34.15                                |
| Komati                   | 2                              | 1.13                            | 28.13                                |
| Reddy                    | 4                              | 4.99                            | 29.27                                |
| <b>OBCs</b>              | 31                             | 33.89                           | 29.60                                |
| K.Velama                 | 3                              | 2.97                            | 26.58                                |
| Nayi Brahmin             | 4                              | 3.82                            | 33.33                                |
| Muslim                   | 1                              | 2.11                            | 26.74                                |
| Padmasali                | 1                              | 0.71                            | 33.32                                |
| Rajaka                   | 3                              | 2.80                            | 29.63                                |
| Tkapu                    | 5                              | 3.82                            | 31.11                                |
| Uppari                   | 7                              | 9.19                            | 27.28                                |
| Yadava                   | 7                              | 8.48                            | 31.22                                |
| <b>SCs</b>               | 48                             | 49.45                           | 44.72                                |
| Madiga                   | 3                              | 1.98                            | 50.00                                |
| Mala                     | 45                             | 47.47                           | 44.50                                |
| <b>STs (Yanadi)</b>      | 2                              | 3.95                            | 42.92                                |
| <b>Total</b>             | <b>93</b>                      | <b>100.00</b>                   | <b>37.73</b>                         |
| <b>Total (in Rupees)</b> |                                | <b>(707480)</b>                 | <b>(266910)</b>                      |

Source: Bank of Baroda, Nandivada.

Note : Figures in parentheses are absolute figures in rupees.

*a Housing Scheme*

During 1985-86 under the Rural Permanent Housing Scheme (RPHS) the unit cost was estimated to be Rs 6,000 of which loan was Rs 3,000; subsidy Rs 2,750 and the beneficiaries' contribution Rs 250. The loan had to be paid in equal installments and an interest rate of 7 per cent per annum was charged. Over the years the subsidy as an element of Unit cost has been decreasing (Table 4.16).

Table 4.16  
Cost Structure of Housing Schemes Across Periods: (1983-97).

| Scheme's Name | Period               | Unit Cost (Rs) | Loan (Rs) | Subsidy (Rs) | Subsidy as a % of Unit Cost | Beneficiaries Contribution (Rs) |
|---------------|----------------------|----------------|-----------|--------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| RPHS          | 1983-84 to 1985-86   | 6000           | 3000      | 2750         | 45.83                       | 250                             |
| RPHS          | 1986-87 to 1993-94   | 8000           | 4000      | 3750         | 46.88                       | 250                             |
| RPHS          | 1994-95              | 10000          | 5000      | 4750         | 47.50                       | 250                             |
| RPHS          | 1995-96 to till date | 12000          | 7000      | 4750         | 39.58                       | 250                             |
| IAY           | 1993-94 to 1995-96   | 12500          | -         | 12500        | 100                         | -                               |
| IAY           | 1996-97 to till date | 16500          | -         | 16500        | 100                         | -                               |

Source: District Manager Housing, Krishna.

Table 4.18 gives the information about the types of houses in which different households of the village reside. About 23 percent of the houses were constructed under the housing scheme sponsored by the government. About 9.7 percent of the houses are the colony houses which were constructed by the government to the SC/ST households. Hence, one-third of the houses were built at the initiative and assistance the State. The main beneficiaries of these houses are the SC/ST, OBCs and FCs in that order.

Some of the colony houses which were meant for the SC/ST had overtime, passed on to the OBCs and FCs. Of all the 67 colony houses 55 remained with the SC and ST households. The remaining 12



houses were sold to the Koppula Velamas (6), the Kapus (3), the Reddies (1), the Rajakas (1) and the Turpu Kapus (1). The reasons for the SCs/STs selling the colony houses are many. Firstly, because of debts some of these households sold their houses. Secondly, since they already have a house and this happened to be sanctioned by the government on request for a house in the name of their son saying that their family is a nuclear family whereas in reality it was not so. After the house is being sanctioned they usually started selling it away. Thirdly, some of the STs prefer to stay in the fields. The 'kapalaavallu' or watchmen as they are called sell the house after it was sanctioned. Fourthly, there are certain households who migrate from the village after a period of time because of various reasons. Such households sell away their houses before they leave the village.

Some of the houses that were constructed under the housing scheme presently do not look like the two roomed which they were supposed to be. Now they are houses with four rooms. The original house was expanded over a period of time by spending the surpluses that they receive from different sources (wages, lease-in, agriculture etc) or by borrowing money under the assumption that they can pay off the debts in due course of time. These houses are indeed constructed with high specifications like beams and pillars. But under the government's plan the pillars and beams do not figure in their specifications. The subsidy that the government gives is sufficient for foundation of the building (till beams and pillars but not the slab). It clearly shows that the people going for these houses are investing their surpluses in the house in addition to the subsidy that is given.

Table 4.17 also gives a detailed break-up of residential houses in Nandivada village according to caste. It appears that the housing schemes of the state government had benefitted primarily the SCs and to some extent the OBCs and FCs.

**Table 4.17**  
**Distribution of Households by Type of Dwelling Unit, Nandivada, 1997.**

| Caste                             | Building Scheme House | Colony House | Tiled House | Thatched House | Thatched House <sup>1</sup> | Rented House | Asbestos House | Total       |               |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|-----------------------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|
| <b>FCs</b>                        | <b>26</b>             | <b>31</b>    | <b>4</b>    | <b>64</b>      | <b>42</b>                   | <b>8</b>     | <b>7</b>       | <b>2</b>    | <b>184</b>    |
| Brahmin                           | 1                     | -            | -           | 2              | 2                           | -            | 1              | -           | 6             |
| Kamma                             | 20                    | 17           | -           | 25             | 23                          | 6            | 4              | 2           | 97            |
| Kapu                              | -                     | -            | 3           | 8              | 2                           | -            | -              | -           | 13            |
| Komati                            | -                     | 1            | -           | 7              | 3                           | -            | 1              | -           | 12            |
| Reddy                             | 5                     | 13           | 1           | 22             | 12                          | 2            | 1              | -           | 56            |
| <b>OBCs</b>                       | <b>19</b>             | <b>38</b>    | <b>8</b>    | <b>31</b>      | <b>137</b>                  | <b>28</b>    | <b>5</b>       | <b>-</b>    | <b>266</b>    |
| A.Kshatriya                       | -                     | -            | -           | -              | 1                           | -            | -              | -           | 1             |
| Carpenter                         | 2                     | 1            | -           | -              | -                           | -            | -              | -           | 3             |
| Goldsmith                         | -                     | -            | -           | 1              | 1                           | -            | 1              | -           | 3             |
| Gowda                             | 3                     | 1            | -           | 1              | 2                           | -            | 1              | -           | 8             |
| Haridas                           | -                     | -            | -           | -              | -                           | -            | 1              | -           | 1             |
| Kummari                           | -                     | -            | -           | -              | 1                           | 6            | -              | -           | 7             |
| Kvelama                           | 3                     | 4            | 6           | 2              | 10                          | 7            | 1              | -           | 33            |
| Mangali                           | 2                     | 8            | -           | 4              | 8                           | 1            | -              | -           | 23            |
| Muslim                            | -                     | 3            | -           | -              | 1                           | 2            | -              | -           | 6             |
| Padmasali                         | -                     | -            | -           | 1              | 1                           | -            | -              | -           | 2             |
| Rajakas                           | -                     | -            | 1           | -              | 14                          | 1            | -              | -           | 16            |
| Turpu Kapu                        | 1                     | 2            | 1           | -              | 19                          | 3            | -              | -           | 26            |
| Uppari                            | 2                     | 8            | -           | 8              | 36                          | 2            | 1              | -           | 57            |
| Yadava                            | 6                     | 11           | -           | 14             | 43                          | 6            | -              | -           | 80            |
| <b>SCs</b>                        | <b>5</b>              | <b>69</b>    | <b>34</b>   | <b>9</b>       | <b>62</b>                   | <b>9</b>     | <b>5</b>       | <b>1</b>    | <b>194</b>    |
| Madiga                            | -                     | 1            | -           | -              | 1                           | 2            | -              | -           | 4             |
| Mala                              | 5                     | 68           | 34          | 9              | 61                          | 7            | 5              | 1           | 190           |
| <b>STs (Yanadi)</b>               | <b>-</b>              | <b>20</b>    | <b>21</b>   | <b>-</b>       | <b>3</b>                    | <b>2</b>     | <b>-</b>       | <b>-</b>    | <b>46</b>     |
| <b>Total</b>                      | <b>50</b>             | <b>158</b>   | <b>67</b>   | <b>104</b>     | <b>244</b>                  | <b>47</b>    | <b>17</b>      | <b>3</b>    | <b>690</b>    |
| <b>Percentage in Total Houses</b> | <b>7.25</b>           | <b>22.90</b> | <b>9.71</b> | <b>15.07</b>   | <b>35.36</b>                | <b>6.81</b>  | <b>2.46</b>    | <b>0.43</b> | <b>100.00</b> |

Source: Census (complete enumeration) of the Village and Andhra Pradesh Housing Development Corporation, Gudivada Division.

Note : Thatched houses with mud walls

### *b Subsidy Rice Scheme*

After Telugu Desam came into power in 1983, Chief Minister Mr.N.T. Rama Rao, came up with a slogan of two rupee Kg rice. Under this scheme all the people having white cards i.e., whose annual income was less than Rs.6000 were declared eligible to receive a maximum of 30 Kgs per family of rice at Rs 2 Kg each. Presently, the same scheme is continuing with minor alterations such as Rs.3.50 a Kg and 25 Kgs per card.

In spite of some drawbacks this scheme was one of the major contributory factors for the economic mobility of rural households. The positive effect of this scheme is reflected in the declining poverty ratios of Andhra from 1984 onwards (Appendix 4.2). Because of the subsidy rice scheme there was an escape route for the poor from the debilitating inter-locking of labour and land lease markets with those of output and credit. The subsidy rice scheme was immensely helpful to the village poor in Andhra.

Table 4.18 shows that there are 887 cards in all including white and red cards which is much more than the number of households of the village (690). This discrepancy is found because as the government gives subsidy rice even the members of the family coming under one consumption unit request to be divided into 2 or 3. This entitles them to claim more rice. In spite of these loopholes on the whole the subsidy rice scheme has been successful in bringing down the poverty ratios in Andhra Pradesh, which is found to be second lowest, next to Punjab with 15.96 (Appendix 4.2).

Table 4.18  
Number of Ration Cards in Nandivada, 1996.

| Type of Card | No. of Cards in 1991 | New Cards Sanctioned in 1996 | Total Cards in 1996 |
|--------------|----------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| WHITE        | 504                  | 104                          | 608                 |
| RED          | 259                  | 20                           | 279                 |
| TOTAL        | 763                  | 124                          | 887                 |

Source: Mandal Revenue Office, Nandivada.

To sum up, housing schemes along with the subsidy rice scheme enhanced the economic position and morale of the poor. Earlier on they used to depend on the land owning classes for help in times of economic distress. Such a patron-client relationship definitely got weakened, if not eliminated altogether.

## PART C

### 4.3 Economic Mobility of Households: Case Studies

#### *1 Upward Economic Mobility of FCs*

##### *Case Study 1 Kamma (FC) Household*

It is important and relevant to put forward two case studies which explain the perception of education in the Kamma community. There is a rich Kamma family which owned more than 100 acres of land in 1932. The head of the family had two daughters who were married to relatively poor young men belonging to the near by village. All the grand children were brought up together.

The eldest daughter had two sons and four daughters who are presently aged above 55 years. All these grand daughters of the land lord were sent to Guntur for good education around fifties. They could study up to matriculation. One of the daughters who happened to complete her graduation was married to a principal of a prestigious college in Prakasam district. All the other three daughters were married to engineers. Among the sons one became a homeo-pathy doctor and retired as a principal of a Govt homeo-pathy college. The other who was trained as a Physical Education Teacher, refused to take up a job did railway contracts which he found non-profitable. He sold the land in the village and migrated to Rayagada in Orissa where his in laws had settled down. He bought some land in early Eighties which by Nineties got very much appreciated in value.

The youngest daughter of the land lord had three sons of whom one became a doctor. The doctor was married to a doctor. Together they set up a hospital in Gudivada by selling a part of his land in the village and became one of the leading practitioners. Of the other two, one was admitted in an engineering college in 1958 at Rewa in Madhya Pradesh. He did not complete the course. The other passed PUC. The one who did not complete engineering, entered film industry and developed some acquaintance with N.T.Rama Rao when he was in the film industry. The third son who was educated till PUC equivalent to 12th class started a medical shop in his brother's hospital. He also sold away 5 acres of land of his own to establish medical shop.

In these cases, when some one is in a weak position, there was a helping hand given by the relatives or family members, which was visible in case of the person who has gone to Rayagada and the one who established a medical shop in the brother's hospital.

All the grand children of the two sisters were educated with a minimum of graduation with Ph D, medicine, engineering, MBA, Chartered Accountancy and Cost Accountancy etc. Among them as many as three had settled down in USA. Presently, the family as a whole owns 40 acres of land as against 100 acres in 1965. Now all these grand children have assets spread over in Gudivada, Vijayawada, Visakhapatnam and Hyderabad which may total to more than a few crores. Dowry was prevalent in all the marriages. One of the grand son was given a dowry of more than one crore because of educational qualifications.

*Case Study 2*  
*Kamma (FC) Household*

It is a case study of a middle class Kamma household, where importance of education was realised much earlier. A couple had two sons, of which the eldest son studied medicine, for which the family had to sell part of their land. The son finished medicine and went abroad in late sixties. He sent money from USA with which the family bought 25 acres of land in mid-seventies. He has a brother. Now he is giving a helping hand to the children of his brother for settling down in the USA.

If the family has more children, especially so, if there were daughters, it could not have been financially possible for the family to send a son abroad. Hence, the small size of the family appeared to have helped children's education.

*Case Study 3*  
*Kamma (FC) Household*

It is relevant to bring out one of the interesting case studies of the field survey where the household made a significant economic mobility by adapting new agricultural technology in its initial phase of introduction. A kamma family had 7 acres of land in mid-fifties. The head of the family had three sons who are also agriculturalists. They bought a tractor in early sixties, which was operated by the three sons. They used their tractor not only in their fields but also for hiring out. The rental income, was adequate to meet the cost of cultivation of the 7 acres. They also used to hire out the services of their tractor in the neighbouring

Guntur district. From this work they used to get about Rs 15000 as profit after meeting all the expenses including their maintenance. With that money they used to buy 15 to 20 acres of land every year. This process continued till 1972. By early seventies the family owned 120 acres of land. Under the Land Ceiling Act they lost about 8 acres of land after they have made all legal adjustments. From that time onwards they did not buy a single acre of land. The surpluses that they obtained from 1971 onwards were diverted to house construction by building three beautiful houses in the village for the three sons. After the marriage of the youngest son they got partitioned.

The eldest son migrated to Visakhapatnam in mid-Eighties by selling 20 of 40 acres of land that he got as his share after partitioning. He started finance business along with the son who studied engineering in Karnataka for whom capitation fee for engineering seat was paid. Recently, they have also started contracts. His daughter was married to an engineer who was given a dowry or Streedhanam of 10 acres of land in the village.

The second son involved himself into politics in 1983 when N.T.Rama Rao started a political party called 'Telugu Desam'. He spent a good amount of money for the party and became president for co-operative bank in the village. Whatever the income he got from agriculture supported the family and his political expenses. His only daughter was given to a post-graduate who is successfully running a medical shop in Gudivada town. Presently, he has leased-out all his land and involved himself in finance and operating four lorries that he owns.



The third son has a daughter and a son. The daughter is a graduate and married to a bank officer working in Madhya Pradesh. She was given a dowry of 12 acres and one lakh cash in 1985. The son is an engineer from Karnataka now looking after 10 lorries that he owns. He stays in Vijayawada and also does finance. The father who stays in the village like his brother spent money in politics. Now he leases-out the land and looks after finance business.

All the three sons got good dowries. All the sons have given dowry to their daughters and received them for their sons. The dowries also comprised of gold.

To conclude, the family experienced an upward economic mobility because of adoption of new technology. By mid-eighties they diversified their activities (finance, contracts, politics etc.). By late eighties all the three started leasing-out the land. All the three sons could offer (professional) education to their children with economic power that they have attained. Their children stay no more in the village, diversified themselves into various activities such as finance, contracts etc.

*Case Study 4*  
*Kamma (FC) Household*

This is a case of a Kamma landlord which clearly depicts his diversification process. This family had 50 acres of land in 1950s. They bought a tractor in early Sixties and ploughed back surpluses into agriculture. For fear of Land Ceiling Act they did not buy any more land because the head of the family had only one son who was

aged 30 in early Sixties. Instead of buying land they sold 25 acres of their land in late Sixties when the Andhra Pradesh Government was coming up with more stringent land reforms. The money capital from land sales was used for setting up a small scale industry in Gudivada which manufactures tractor trailers and tractor bodies. By early Seventies after the death of the father, his only son had taken over the business. He became a working partner in a cinema hall in Gudivada by mid-Seventies. He purchased some plots in various cities of Andhra such as Hyderabad and Visakhapatnam. It should be noted that as he is the only son the property did not get divided and large scale economies had accrued. He had one son and two daughters. The daughters were married into rich families. By mid-eighties the respondent shifted his residence to Gudivada, but the son who was educated only till graduation was asked to remain in the village to look after the boiled rice mill worth more than Rs one crore in the village which was started in mid Eighties. By early Nineties he bought another rice mill in Gudivada town. He accepts deposits and lends money amounting to one crore both ways. He gives 20 % rate of interest per annum on deposits generally deposited by middle and large Kamma & Reddy farmers. He charges 30 % rate of interest on the loans generally taken by all the needy people for agricultural purposes. When the harvest comes every one sends their produce to his mill where he deducts the loan from the value of the produce and gives the rest. Even though, it is not a pure case of inter-locking of markets the mill owner is assuring procurement of paddy to the mill by advancing credit to the farmers.

To sum up, the above respondent could diversify on a large scale because there was no 'demographic differentiation'. The property in fact got multiplied over time.

*Case Study 5*  
*Kamma (FC) Household*

This is a case where cyclicity is observed in the overall mobility of the household across generations. It is a case of an old woman aged 74 years, staying alone in the village. Her husband died 25 years ago. To start with, they were an economically well off family having 20 acres of land. They had 3 sons and 3 daughters. They wanted to educate and give a better living to the children. But they realised that the income from 20 acres was not sufficient. Hence, he ran a bus from to Kankipadu and also carried on a commission business in late fifties. Here one has to remember that the diversification of activities is not the outcome from the agrarian surpluses, instead in most cases it has come out of the urge to have a better living. He incurred losses in both the activities and sold 8 acres of land in order to come out of debts. All the sons and daughters were given education, with a minimum of graduation. All daughters were given good dowry (around Rs. 10,000 each in mid-Sixties) and were married to job holders who are doing well. Similarly sons also got good dowry and they started business like tyre dealership, exide battery dealership, press and contracts in Vijayawada and Hyderabad. Now some of their children are in USA and Switzerland. In all, the children of old women are well-off economically and leading a better quality of life. To sum up, even though diversification of activities did not fetch good returns at

one stage, it yielded better results at another stage and led to a steep upward economic mobility.

*Case Study 6*  
*Reddy (FC) Household*

This is a case of a Reddy respondent aged 52 years who has a daughter and a son. As the only son to his father he became the head of the household in 1990 after the latter's death. In 1970 the family had 10 acres of land. The respondent had a son aged 22 years who passed 10th class. The son assists the father and the daughter was married to a teacher in 1988. The daughter was given 2 acres of land and Rs 70,000 cash as dowry. The respondent is a owner-cultivator from 1970s onwards. In addition to this when the respondent's father was alive they did a Commission business, where they incurred losses, hence, they sold away 2 acres of land in 1979. The respondent started finance shop in 1990 at Gudivada town, 10 Kms away from Nandivada village. Both the respondent and his son look after finance shop. Finance shop in Gudivada town is running well and could generate surpluses. He bought 5 acres of land in 1993. Presently, the respondent has 13 acres of land and in addition has a finance shop where he rotates Rs 10 lakhs. Recently, he purchased a site in Gudivada. When asked about their out-migration from the village, he said they would prefer to stay in the Nandivada village as the son has limited opportunities, in the town.

To sum up, this is a case of economic diversification not associated with out-migration. It is also noticeable that surpluses

from non-agricultural sector are channelled into agriculture, but not in improving the technology but improving the production base deeming land not so much as an income generating source but a fixed asset, whose value might go up in future.

*Case Study 7*  
*Reddy (FC) Household*

It is a case of upward mobility of a landless labour from a Reddy caste 30 years ago. They are all three brothers and a sister. After the marriage of their sister they lived in a joint family. They used to regularly lease-in 20 to 25 acres of land belonging to Kammas and Komaties who out-migrated from the village from mid-sixties. Till 1988, they have leased-in and bought 18 acres of land. Every two years they used to buy 2 acres from 1966 onwards. After 1988 they got partitioned and each got 6 acres of land. Even though two of them are engaged in lease-in they could not buy a single acre of land for the reason that they had spent a good part of their economic surpluses on their children's education.

Presently, their sons are doing M.Sc in Electronics, Master of Business Administration (MBA) and Master of Computer Applications (MCA). All these courses are self-finance courses for which the fee ranges from Rs. 10000 to 15000 per annum. This is a case of diversification of agrarian surpluses in developing human resources.

*Case Study 8*  
*Reddy (FC) Household*

This is case of a Reddy household acquiring land at one stage from agricultural surpluses and alienating the same for Childrens' education and family maintenance. The respondent aged 56 years became head of the household in 1964 when the family was partitioned. He inherited six acres from the family property. From agricultural surpluses the respondent purchased 2 acres in 1968 and 3.20 acres in 1975. He has two sons and one daughter. As the childrens' expenses started increasing he was compelled to sell 3 acres in 1985 and 3 acres in 1995. The land that he had sold in 1995 was for his daughter's marriage who did M.Phil in Commerce and registered for Ph.D. She is now working as a lecturer in a Government College. She was married in 1997. Of the two sons one has finished Chartered Accountancy Intermediate and is trying to finish the final by studying in Hyderabad. The other son aged 25 years finished his 10th class and discontinued his studies. He is now looking after agriculture staying in the village. The respondent remarked that it was their negligence that for want of resources and proper care the younger son did not do well in education. Presently, the family has 5.20 acres of land which is less than their ownership in 1964 (6.20 acres). But the members of the family made a remarkable progress in education.

To sum up, even though the family acquires landed assets at one time and lost landed assets at another, it should not be understood as downward economic mobility. The utilisation of such funds should be critically evaluated.

## *ii Downward Economic Mobility of FCs: Case Studies*

### *Case Study:9 Kamma (FC) Household*

This is a case of a Kamma household which spent a good deal of money on education the results of which are in vain. The head of the household aged 36 years was married and set up a new family in the same village. He has a mother and brother who stay in the same village. He also has a sister who studied M.Sc Home Science and married a Brahmin boy. Her family now stays in Hyderabad and is doing economically well. The respondent's father passed away when he was 10 year old. The family was well-off owning 30 acres of land till his father's death. Both the brothers (respondent and his brother) after completing 10th class chose to do a diploma course in an Industrial Training Institute (ITI). For doing ITI they stayed in Vijayawada spending money rather lavishly. The surpluses that they derived out of 30 acres were spent on education for the two sons and the daughter. Although the daughter studied M.Sc the family spent only a moderate amount of money on her education. The income-expenditure of this family did not match for expenditure exceeded income. Hence, to pay off the debts they had to sell away 6 acres of land. This is a case where even though elders realised the importance of education, the sons' irresponsible behaviour led to a downward economic mobility of the family.

*Case Study 10*  
*Brahmin (FC) Household*

This is a case of a Brahmin household. The head of the household aged 55 is a priest (poojari) in the village. He has two brothers who have taken up government jobs. His father was a Deputy Tahsildar and the family was very prosperous when he was in service. According to the respondent they had two good houses in Eluru town (Head Quarters of West Godavari district) and certain amount of cash. They sold the property for his sisters' marriages, which were elaborate affairs spread over five days. It should be noted that among the Brahmins the marriage expenses are very high and the dowry or 'Streedhanam' used to be meager. The two sons of the respondent have taken up private jobs. Both the sons got married and as per the custom the bride's side met the expenses. There was no element of landed or fixed property given to them. Presently, the respondent depends on seven acres of land which his fore fathers have donated (in writing) to the Devasthanam (Temple). But, when these people approached the court for the donated property, the court gave hereditary rights after meeting the expenses of the temple. That means they do not have the complete rights of utility over the land.

To sum up, the Brahmin families who took up Govt. jobs and moved away from villages are settling down well as per those who remained in the villages. Also, there is a downward mobility observed in terms of their economic positions or opportunities.



*Case Study 11*  
*Reddy (FC) Household*

This is a case of a Reddy head of the household aged 31 years. He leased-in lands on a large scale and carried on cultivation only with wage labour. Unfortunately the family fell into debts. The family got partitioned in 1989 and the respondent inherited 10 acres of land as his share. They are three brothers and the other two stay in Gudivada town. He used to lease-in about 40 acres of land from 1989 onwards of which 15 acres belong to his brothers and 25 acres to a Kamma out-migrant who settled down in Vijayawada looking after his pipe manufacturing company. The respondent says that because of increase in wages and costs of inputs like fertilizers, pesticides etc and coupled with labour problems, the cost of cultivation went up steeply. He also says that the unit price of agricultural output did not increase to the same extent as rise in cost of cultivation. In order to come out of debts he sold away 3 acres of land. From the last four years onwards he has been leasing-in land from a Kamma. This lessor has been lenient in matters regarding the terms of lease, especially in years of poor harvest. He gave up leasing-in his brother's land by 1992.

To sum up, this is an indication that the lease-in activity was not profitable in case of non-deployment of family labour especially after liberalisation (1991), with the increase in cost of cultivation in comparison to unit cost of output.

*Case Study 12*  
*Reddy (FC) Household*

This is a case of a Reddy household. Where respondent / head is aged 50 years. He is an Andhra Pradesh Road Transport Corporation (APSRTC) driver. He inherited 1.50 acres of land when his family got partitioned in 1977. He sold away the land in 1980 to clear some debts. Once again he fell into debts as he was jobless between 1979 and 1981. Prior to 1979 he used to be the driver of a private bus. But the government cancelled licenses to the private buses in some routes in 1979. He did not find any suitable job to take up. He along with the other drivers who were affected by such cancellation of route licenses without providing some alternative employment for them went to Court. In 1982 the APSRTC had recruited him into its organisation. Between 1979 and 1981, his family expenditure exceeded the farm incomes. It is to be noted that there was no deployment of family labour in agriculture which this household considered as a social taboo. The economic position of the household got stabilised only in 1982 when he got a job in APSRTC. By then the family lost all the landed property.

To sum up, this is a case of downward mobility in terms of landed property which occurred due to State's role coupled with insufficient economic resources. Also, some of the prevailing taboos (against employment of female members of the family in agriculture) prevent such households to go for any alternative employment to met the expenses. In such households employment opportunities become limited since they attach social status to the job available in the labour market.

### *iii Upward Economic Mobility of OBCs & SCs: Case Studies*

#### *Case Study 13 Yadava (OBC) Household*

This is a case of Yadava household even though lost a part of their land in politics at one time moved politically upwards, later which is historic in one sense. The respondent aged 37 years became the head of the household in 1978. He has 3 sisters, each was given 1.50 acres as dowry. He inherited 5.50 acres of land which is the remaining land after the marriage of his sisters. He was married in 1979 and received a cash dowry of Rs 20,000. He bought 2 acres of land in 1980 with the dowry money and later in 1986 sold away 3 acres of land. He joined Telugu Desam Party (TDP) IN 1983; his expenses in politics increased. He started showing less interest in income earning activities. Even though, he was an active leader in TDP he never got any party ticket to contest. But in the 1995 Panchayat Elections when the State Government followed reservations in the local bodies, Nandivada village was reserved for OBCs. Since Yadavas are OBCs he was recognised as TDP candidate in Nandivada village and he won the elections with ease and became Panchayat president (Sarpanch). The respondent's social position was elevated and the so called FCs do approach him for some purpose or the other. On the other hand, the Yadavas' morale went up high in the village. The under current of implementation of reservations in local body elections is felt in bringing a social transformation at a faster rate in the village.

To sum up, more than the economic mobility, it is political mobility that brings a drastic change in the life style. It should

be noted that such political mobility was possible because of implementation of reservations for OBCs in local bodies.

*Case Study 14*  
*Yadava (OBC) Household*

There is a Yadava household head whose father expired when he was 16 years. He studied till Intermediate. He got married in 1979 when he was 21 years of age got a dowry of Rs. 20000. He has taken up commission business and started operating in small scale. Initially he has some odd experiences, but he never gave up the business. By mid eighties he attained enough experience and started earning huge profits. He bought 14 acres of land regularly buying 2 or 3 acres of land for every 2 years from 1987 onwards. He also bought a site in Gudivada. He also invested about 2 lakhs of rupees in Shares. When enquired he told that he wants to settle in Gudivada within an year or so for the sake of children's education. The process that this Yadava household is under going happened in many of the Kamma households some 20-30 years ago.

*Case Study 15*  
*Yadava (OBC) Household*

There is an Yadava household who used to participate in labour market and lease market. They bought 5 buffaloes for which they could get a loan of Rs. 19200 from the Bank of Baroda, Nandivada. They bought 6 acres of land from the surpluses that they have generated overtime. Their two daughters were given 2 acres each as a dowry. They also incurred heavy expenses for performing the marriages. Their only son went to nearby district West Godavari to

study ITI (Industrial Training Institute) for which he spent about Rs. 50000 for two years. Hence, they sold one acre of their land in order to come out of debts. Now they are left with only one acre. A kind of cyclicalality is observed in this case.

*Case Study 16*  
*Uppari (OBC) Household*

Alcohol consumption among the earth-worker caste of uppari is generally high. Where the members of the family abstain from drinking alcohol there is a scope for an upward economic mobility. An Uppari family with female participation in work and leasing-in of cultivable land coupled with abstinence from alcohol, registered an upward mobility. This is a case of a family of six members- husband, wife, two daughters and two sons. Both the daughters used to work as farm labourers till they got married. They used to lease-in 3 to 4 acres of land every year from early seventies onwards. From the economic surpluses that they could generate, this family could so far buy 11 acres of land and make an upward mobility till 1985. The younger son got married in 1986 and there occurred a partition in the family. Each son was given 4 acres each as their share. The eldest son who abstained from drinking alcohol could buy five more acres to his account by 1997. Presently, the wife of the eldest son participates in the farm activities exclusively in their own fields. The younger son was dragged into drinking alcohol by his friends after two years of his marriage. Heavy drinking on his part put him in debts and sold 2 acres of land in 1994.

*Case Study 17*  
*Koppula Velama (OBC) Household*

This is a case of a Koppula Velama household who migrated from Bobbili (Northern part of Coastal Andhra Pradesh). The respondent aged 50 years told that they migrated from Bobbili (Vizianagaram district) 30 years back. He has five brothers and two sisters, of which four brothers stay in Nandivada village and the other in Tadepalli Gudem (West Godavari district). After all brothers were married the families were nucleated. At that time no one has any land; they were all agricultural labourers. The respondent had only one son. The family composition helped the respondent to accumulate incomes from their labour force. They started leasing-in 3 acres of land from a Reddy landowner for 6 years in Eighties. This added considerably to the family surpluses. In Eighties they bought 2 acres of land and in early Nineties a house from Yanadis' colony for Rs 25,000. The son stopped going for agricultural work which he used to go before and started going as a cleaner of a lorry.

To sum up, family composition and incomes from labour and lease-in led to an upward economic mobility.

*Case Study 18*  
*Mala (SC) Household*

This is a case of a Mala family belonging to (SC) who has shown a remarkable upward economic mobility in all spheres of life, key factor for their mobility being leasing-in land. The head of the household now aged above 55 years had leased-in, 18 acres of land in 1981 from a Kamma who had settled in Gudivada by establishing a

Fertilisers & Pesticides shop. Before the Kamma ryot has moved to Gudivada, the person who leased-in the land was the *peda paleru*<sup>2</sup> of the house having one acre of his own land in 1980. As a preference the Kamma ryot has given the land for the *peda paleru*. From 1981 onwards the *peda paleru* leased-in the land till today. He accumulated surpluses from the leasing activity over time. He has two sons and two daughters. One of the daughters had undergone a nurse training course and married to a teacher. The other daughter was married to a clerk in a government office. Both the daughters were married to government employees by giving a handsome dowry, cash equivalent to 1 acre which was really high among the Malas.

The elder son had undergone a teacher training course after his SSLC. Now he is a teacher in a nearby village. The other son who was not educated looks after the farm. The head of the household acquired 6 acres of land from the accumulated surpluses generated from leasing-in activity for a long time of 18 years. Now they live in a decent building having six rooms. They have TV, fans and gas connection etc. All the grand children of the head of the household go to convent education in Gudivada town.

*Case Study 19*  
*Mala (SC) Household*

This is a case of a Mala household where respondent aged 45 years, is a owner-tenant owning 0.50 acres of land. The respondent has 4 brothers and 4 sisters, all of them were engaged in agricultural

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<sup>2</sup> Peda paleru is the head among the attached labour.

work in the early years of their carrier and later diversified occupationally. Because of large size of the family they could not accumulate any surpluses. The incomes sustained the family maintenance with some increase in quality of life. The family could marry off the daughters with great difficulty. The partition took place among the brothers' in late Seventies after the marriage of all their sisters. The respondent leased 5 acres of land for 8 years. This generated sizeable surpluses and bought 1 acre of land in 1985. He has three brothers - two elder and one younger. Of the two brothers who are elder to him, one is an employee in Railways and the other an attender in a Bank. The younger brother stays in Nandivada village. As the Malas fall under SCs they had better access to Govt. jobs which they could utilise to their advantage. Among all the castes the Malas are the biggest beneficiaries of job reservations in the village.

To sum up, when the joint family size was large, there were no surpluses from incomes. When the families got nucleated, they generated surpluses taking advantage of the manageable size of the family in some cases and reservations in some other cases.

#### *iv Downward Economic Mobility of OBC & SCs: Case Studies*

##### *Case Study: 20 Mala (SC) Household*

This is a case of Mala household which has economically stagnated due to excessive drinking of the head of the household. The head of the household is an employee in Indian Railways drawing a salary of around Rs 7,000 per month in addition to many other benefits.



He gives only Rs 2,000 to his wife for meeting the family expenses. Three years ago when he was drunk he threatened his son " If you do not pass your 10th class- I will kill you". Unfortunately the son failed his examinations and committed suicide. He did not give up the drinking habit. He spends lavishly on drinking both for himself and his friends. Recently when he retired all his friends celebrated his retirement by garlanding and taking him out in a procession with band in the village. The expenses must have been borne by the respondent himself. He has a daughter to be married off. The family is economically worse off.

*Case Study 21*  
*Kummari (OBC) Household*

This is a case of an artisanal class (Kummari / potter) who shifted his occupation. The respondent aged 40 years left his traditional occupation and became a tenant-cum-agricultural labourer. He had two sons and a daughter. The eldest son aged 20 studied till 4th class. He got married and remained as an agricultural labourer. The other son is studying intermediate. The daughter aged 18 stays in his in-laws place. This was done to reduce the financial burden on the family. The respondent had 2 acres of land in 1970 and lost it to Government as they planned to build a school in the same field by giving compensation. In order to support the family they (respondent, his wife and eldest son) chose to go as agricultural labourers. They also leased-in 2 acres of land. They have two buffaloes, the income from which would meet their additional expenses. The respondent says that as there is a drastic decline in the demand for their traditional work they chose to work as agricultural labourers as a survival strategy.

To sum up, the shift from agriculture to non-agriculture or vice-versa is not determined by the terms of income of both the sectors but by the very nature of activities. This is a case of shift from non-agriculture (pottery) to agriculture (agricultural labourer).

Appendix 4.1  
Agricultural Wages in Andhra Pradesh, 1955-1990

| Year | Money Wages In Rs | Index of Money Wages | Consumer Price Index | Index of Real Wages | Index of Real Wages by PG and AK (1970-71=100) |
|------|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--|
| 1955 | 1.29              | 92.14                |                      |                     |  |
| 1956 | 1.20              | 85.71                |                      |                     |  |
| 1957 | 1.32              | 94.29                | 92.00                | 102.48              |  |
| 1958 | 1.26              | 90.00                | 90.00                | 100.00              | 95.63  |
| 1959 | 1.38              | 98.57                | 97.00                | 101.62              | 93.9   |
| 1960 | 1.40              | 100.00               | 99.00                | 101.01              | 93.29  |
| 1961 | 1.55              | 110.71               | 100.00               | 110.71              | 104.36   |
| 1962 | 1.52              | 108.57               | 102.00               | 106.44              | 98.12  |
| 1963 | 1.54              | 110.00               | 102.00               | 107.84              | 97.03  |
| 1964 | 1.62              | 115.71               | 113.00               | 102.40              | 84.27  |
| 1965 | 1.80              | 128.57               | 129.00               | 99.67               | 85.42  |
| 1966 | 2.02              | 144.29               | 150.00               | 96.19               | 83.66  |
| 1967 | 2.26              | 161.43               | 159.00               | 101.53              | 91.27  |
| 1968 | 2.37              | 169.29               | 163.00               | 103.86              | 92.27  |
| 1969 | 2.46              | 175.71               | 172.00               | 102.16              | 90.89  |
| 1970 | 2.63              | 187.86               | 173.00               | 108.59              | 100  |
| 1971 | 2.69              | 192.14               | 177.00               | 108.56              | 95.57  |
| 1972 | 2.87              | 205.00               | 191.00               | 107.33              | 91.03  |
| 1973 | 3.06              | 218.57               | 222.00               | 98.46               | 82.21  |
| 1974 | 3.57              | 255.00               | 280.00               | 91.07               | 72.09  |
| 1975 | 4.03              | 287.86               | 327.00               | 88.03               | 90.04  |
| 1976 | 4.55              | 325.00               | 268.00               | 121.27              | 104.91   |
| 1977 | 4.77              | 340.71               | 297.00               | 114.72              | 104.43   |
| 1978 | 4.99              | 356.43               | 293.00               | 121.65              | 115.05   |
| 1979 | 5.49              | 392.14               | 289.00               | 135.69              |  |
| 1980 | 5.96              | 425.71               | 325.00               | 130.99              |  |
| 1981 | 6.80              | 485.71               | 391.00               | 124.22              |  |
| 1982 | 7.95              | 567.86               | 411.00               | 138.16              |  |
| 1983 | 9.20              | 657.14               | 423.00               | 155.35              |  |
| 1984 | 10.26             | 732.86               | 447.00               | 163.95              |  |
| 1985 | 11.09             | 792.14               | 461.00               | 171.83              |  |
| 1986 | 12.21             | 872.14               | 475.00               | 183.61              |  |
| 1987 | 13.34             | 952.86               | 503.00               | 189.43              |  |
| 1988 | 14.70             | 1050.00              | 586.00               | 179.18              |  |
| 1989 | 17.01             | 1215.00              | 621.00               | 195.65              |  |
| 1990 | 18.42             | 1315.71              | 619.00               | 212.55              |  |
| 1991 | 21.14             | 1510.00              |                      |                     |  |
| 1992 | 24.50             | 1750.00              |                      |                     |  |

Source: Government of Andhra Pradesh, Season and Crop Reports, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Hyderabad.

Government of India, Agricultural Wages in India, Ministry of Labour, New Delhi.

Chandhok H L and Series, India Database, Bombay

Parthasarathy G (PG) and Adishesu K(AK)(1982)

Note: The Wages are for Male Field Labour.  
The base year is 1960-61=100

Appendix 4.2  
Rural Poverty Ratios by States

| States                          | 1973-74 | 1977-78 | 1983    | 1986-87 | 1987-88 | 1988-89 | 1990-91 | 1992    | 1993-94 |
|---------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Andhra Pradesh                  | 48.41   | 38.11   | 26.53   | 14.62   | 20.92   | 19.49   | 22.13   | 27.38   | 15.96   |
| Assam                           | 52.67   | 59.82   | 42.60   | 39.72   | 39.35   | 35.23   | 33.67   | 51.68   | 44.95   |
| Bihar                           | 61.99   | 63.25   | 64.37   | 50.12   | 52.63   | 52.44   | 46.34   | 61.13   | 57.97   |
| Gujarat                         | 46.35   | 41.76   | 29.80   | 30.33   | 28.67   | 14.79   | 21.56   | 33.70   | 22.17   |
| Haryana                         | 34.23   | 27.73   | 20.56   | 19.49   | 16.22   | 13.31   | 19.46   | 17.66   | 28.72   |
| Karnataka                       | 55.14   | 40.18   | 36.33   | 36.62   | 32.82   | 45.44   | 34.90   | 45.45   | 28.18   |
| kerala                          | 59.19   | 51.48   | 39.03   | 33.46   | 29.10   | 34.36   | 30.34   | 25.96   | 25.96   |
| Madhya Pradesh                  | 62.66   | 62.52   | 48.90   | 47.76   | 41.92   | 39.46   | 42.44   | 47.86   | 40.83   |
| Maharashtra                     | 57.71   | 63.97   | 45.53   | 44.63   | 40.78   | 34.79   | 35.88   | 53.58   | 38.60   |
| Orissa                          | 67.28   | 72.38   | 67.53   | 55.16   | 57.64   | 52.90   | 36.53   | 49.02   | 49.87   |
| Punjab                          | 28.21   | 16.37   | 13.20   | 12.95   | 12.60   | 3.17    | 9.30    | 10.17   | 12.46   |
| Rajasthan                       | 44.76   | 35.89   | 33.50   | 29.16   | 33.21   | 26.08   | 25.92   | 31.70   | 27.45   |
| Tamil Nadu                      | 57.43   | 57.68   | 53.99   | 41.18   | 45.80   | 38.40   | 37.53   | 44.27   | 32.64   |
| Uttar Pradesh                   | 56.53   | 47.60   | 46.45   | 36.60   | 41.10   | 30.53   | 34.78   | 47.94   | 42.64   |
| West Bengal                     | 73.16   | 68.34   | 63.05   | 47.30   | 48.30   | 37.20   | 49.35   | 43.97   | 40.33   |
| India                           | 56.44   | 53.07   | 45.61   | 38.30   | 39.18   | 34.41   | 35.04   | 43.96   | 37.53   |
| India(Absolute)<br>In Millions) | 2586.96 | 2598.18 | 2477.39 | 2200.57 | 2298.32 | 2087.86 | 2165.03 | 2790.68 | 2448.70 |

Source: Chandrasekhar and Sen (1996).

## Chapter V

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

#### 5.0 Introduction

During the pre-colonial and colonial periods in India, access to economic, political and cultural resources was normally associated with the status of castes. By and large, the higher the caste status, greater was the access to politico-economic and cultural resources such as land, livestock, cash, power, education etc. However, there were some differences in the scenarios obtained during the pre-colonial and colonial periods.

With the advent of colonialism the hitherto stagnant and subsistence agriculture was subjected to the influence of slowly rising agrarian markets. This was especially so, from the second half of nineteenth century. With the widening of output markets due to rise in productivity and production in agriculture, reduction in the rent-burden consequent to rising prices, development of infrastructure (irrigation, transport and communications), a higher level of monetization, rise in the pressure of population on land leading to growth in land and land-lease markets, the process of commercialization in agriculture became an important feature of the Indian economy.

#### 5.1 Krishna District of Delta Andhra

In Delta Andhra, with the provision of canal irrigation under the Krishna and Godavari anicuts (dams) from 1850s onwards, expansion

of and commercialization in agriculture got anchored to paddy cultivation. Krishna district in Delta Andhra has been in the forefront of commercialization from 1860s onwards. Historically, the three prominent communities which have had the greatest access to economic, political and cultural resources in Krishna district were the Brahmins, Velamas and Kammas. Whereas the Brahmins were a rent-seeking non-cultivating caste, the Kammas and Velamas are "peasant castes", so called belonging to the fourth category in the Hindu caste pyramid. There were *agraharam* (Brahmin settlements) villages in the district wherein Brahmins held either rent-free lands or lands with light tax under the Inam (land) tenures. Nearly half of the cultivable land in Krishna district was under the Permanent Zamindari Settlement; the rest under Ryotwari and Inamdari Settlements. Besides one Brahmin Zamindari ( of Kandregula Jogipantulu), all other Zamindari were held either by the Velamas or the Kammas. The major working peasant castes in the district have been Kammas, Kapus, Reddies, Gowdas and Yadavas. The Velamas were, however, more prone to be a "rent-seeking" peasant caste. By and large in the colonial period they were averse to directly participate in cultivation. The numerically predominant (non-Reddy) Kapus in the district were by and large small and marginal farmers. Even Ryotwari lands were mostly held by the Brahmins, Velamas and Kammas.

## 5.2 The Proposition

The present study started with the proposition that economic dominance in the countryside - measured mainly in terms of land ownership - is a transitional phenomenon across generations and

castes. In India economic dominance changed hands from the elite castes (Brahmin, Kshatriya and Bania) to the dominant peasant castes to start with. Over time, this phenomenon has recurred slightly differently. This time land transfers took place from the more dominant peasant castes to the less dominant ones. This exercise, based on a village case study, is an empirical investigation of the economic mobility of castes in Delta Andhra. It is primarily based on an intensive field survey carried out in Nandivada village of Krishna district.

### **5.3 Economic Mobility**

Economic mobility has been selected as a basic tool of analysis in the study. Economic mobility of rural households is essentially measured in terms of land ownership of families, castes and social classes.

### **5.4 Caste and Social Classes**

In their analyses, Indian economists have by and large neglected Caste as a socio-economic institution. It is the sociologists and social anthropologists who have been intensively analyzing this phenomenon. An attempt has been made in the present exercise to consciously incorporate the phenomenon of castes into an analysis of land transfers and economic mobility. We are however, aware that caste-based analysis is not a substitute for a (Marxist) class-based analysis. We also believe that they are not mutually exclusive; they supplement each other. The analysis here ran in terms of both the performance of individual castes and "social

classes"(in a restricted sense) such as Forward Classes (FCs), Other Backward Classes (OBCs), Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) in economic mobility.

### **5.5 Objectives of the Study**

The objectives of the study are as follows.

- (i) To analyze changes in land ownership pattern across social classes and castes in an irrigated village over six decades.
- (ii) To analyze the functioning of land market amongst the social classes and castes in the village during the post-1970 period.
- (iii) To analyze the socio-economic reasons for the economic mobility of social classes and castes in the village.

### **5.6 Census and Sample Survey in Nandivada Village**

Information collected both in a Census of and a sample survey in Nandivada village has been analyzed in the study. Nandivada, the village selected for an intensive study, has 690 households belonging to 24 castes, spread over all the four social categories of FCs, OBCs, SCs and STs. The village has had paddy as the predominant crop under canal irrigation for well over 130 years. According to oral history, Brahmins were the dominant land owning caste in the village during the last quarter of the 19th century. But by 1932, Kammas acquired the status of dominant landholders in



the village. Between 1932 and 1970, Reddies also became a significant landowning community. Between 1970 and 1997 (the year of present investigation) interesting changes occurred in the inter-caste economic balance in Nandivada Village.

The investigation started with a household census survey. Information was collected on size of householdings, occupation, age, sex, education, caste, migration, type of residence etc. The total arable area of the village is 2797 acres, of which 1190 acres are held by 690 resident households. The rest of the land is held by absentee landowners. Among the residents land is unevenly distributed. As many as 349 or 50.58 per cent of households in Nandivada village are landless. At the other end, one per cent of the resident households at the top own nearly 17 per cent of the total arable land held by residents (1190 acres).

From a total of 690 households 103 are selected by a stratified random sampling method without replacement, the strata being (i) size of land ownership and (ii) caste.

Of the 103 households selected for an intensive study, as many as 49 are land less households, 11 from land size class less than one acre, 15 from one to two acres, another 15 from two to five acres, 8 from five to ten, 3 from ten to twenty and 2 from twenty acres and above size classes. From these 103 households, retrospective information on land transfers, tenancy, labour market, credit, rural non-farm activities, cost of cultivation, out-migration etc was collected.

The numerically and economically dominant peasant communities in the village are Kammas and Reddies from the FCs, Yadavas and Upparies from OBCs and Malas from SCs.

### **5.7 Land Ownership in Nandivada, 1932 & 1997**

According to the oral history, Brahmin families of Nandivada owned substantial portion of village lands during the last quarter of 19th century. But by 1932, as per the Re-Settlement records, their share in the village lands was only 15 per cent. Kammas' share was close to 54 per cent of the total village lands in 1932. In other words, during the first quarter of the 20th century, land transfers took place between Brahmins and the two dominant peasant castes of the village viz., Kammas and Reddies. Kammas seem to be the big gainers of land. Reddies' share was close to 14 per cent. In all, the FCs (Brahmins, Kammas, Reddies, Kapus, Komaties and Velamas) claimed as much as 86.72 per cent of the total arable land of the village in 1932.

As per the 15 OBC castes, their share in the village lands was a mere 10.34 per cent. The share of the Yadavas was 5.85 per cent of the total. Whereas the share of the Malas in village lands was 2.86 per cent, that of Madigas was a meager 0.09 per cent (Table 2.2).

Between 1932 and 1970, there were changes in the shares of social classes and castes in the arable land ownership in Nandivada. Whereas the share of FCs decline by 3 percentage points, the gainers were the OBCs and SCs. The STs had no share in the village

lands. But, within the FCs there were substantial changes in land ownership; some castes had gained and others lost lands. Whereas Brahmins, Kammas and Kapus lost lands, Komaties, Reddies and Velamas gained lands. But the really significant land transfers were the loss of lands by the Kammas by 13 percentage points ( from 53.75 % in 1932 to 40.60 % in 1970) and a simultaneous gain (15.79 percentage points) of land (from 13.64 % in 1932 to 29.43 % in 1970) by the Reddies. The gain of individual castes among all the backward classes (OBCs and SCs) was small (Table 2.2).

Between 1970 and 1997 the loss in land ownership by the FCs and the gain by the backward classes was substantial. Among the FCs, Brahmins, Kammas and Kapus continued to lose lands. But the Reddies who gained land substantially between 1932 and 1970 have slightly lost land between 1970 and 1997. Among the gainers during this period, Yadavas ( from 6.63 % in 1932 to 12.60 % in 1997) and Malas (from 3.36 % in 1932 to 8.37 % in 1997) stand out conspicuously.

### **5.8 Female Land Ownership**

In 1932 only 13 per cent of the total village lands were owned by females in Nandivada. By 1997 this percentage got more than doubled, to 26.67 per cent. Going by social classes, one finds that females from FCs held only 13.47 per cent of land in 1932. By 1997 it increased to 29.63 per cent. The share of OBC females in land ownership increased from 8.82 per cent in 1932 to 21.64 per cent in 1997. Similarly, the share of SC females increased from 10.10 per cent to 15.50 per cent during this period (Table 2.15).

As early as in 1932 over 17 per cent of lands in the Kamma households were in the names of females. By 1997 this percentage got doubled. Among the major communities (in terms of number of households and land owners) female land ownership varied between 20 and 30 percentage points among Brahmins, Reddies and Yadavas. Among the Kammas, Komaties and Velamas, the female land ownership exceeded 30 per cent of the total land controlled by these castes in 1997. "Streedhanam" (property given to women) has been the dominant socio-economic institution among the Kammas for a long. This explains why the share of the Kamma females is close to 35 per cent of the total land in 1997 (Table 2.15).

#### **5.9 Non-Resident Land Ownership, 1997**

A little over one-third (34 per cent) of lands in Nandivada were owned by people who do not reside in the village. Non-resident land ownership across social classes is highest among the FCs. Close to three-fourths of the lands of Brahmins and Komaties are owned by the non-residents. Nearly 40 per cent of the Kammas' lands are held by non-residents. Absentee landownership indicates the occupational diversification and spatial mobility of people of Nandivada.

### **5.10 Operation of Land Market, 1970-1997**

Over a period of 27 years (1971-97), about 2274 acres of land was transacted in Nandivada. Whereas the net loss of lands to the FCs was 409 acres, the net gains of the OBCs and SCs are 267 and 139 acres respectively (Table 3.4). Among the individual castes, Brahmin and Kammas were the major losers of land. Next come the Reddies, Kapus and Komaties. The major gainers of land are the Yadavas, Malas and Upparies (Table 3.6). Interestingly, intra-caste land transactions have been numerous, indicating a preference to deal with fellow caste people in the land market. This is especially so among the Kammas and Velamas (Table 3.7).

By and large females seemed to have better land retaining capacity than the males. This is quite prominent among the Reddies (FCs) and Yadavas (OBCs).

### **5.11 Sources of Income for Land Acquisition, 1971-1997**

From a sample of 103 households, there were 109 cases of land acquisition between 1971 and 1997. Of these as many as 45 had income from (owner) cultivation as the source of acquisition. Land-lease and wage income formed the sources of income for 19 and 18 cases respectively. Thus, for as many as 82 out of 109 land purchases agricultural income - either through cultivation or wage - provided the sources (Table 3.8).

As for the reasons for land sales, debts (35) and out-migration (33) were the major factors (Table 3.9). Sales by small and middle farmers are the major factors in land sales (Table 3.10).

### **5.12 Economic Mobility of Social Classes and Castes**

Economic mobility refers to changes in the economic lot of families, castes and social classes such as Forward Classes, Other Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Access to economic, political and cultural resources coupled with demographic factors would create conditions for an upward or a downward economic mobility. In this exercise economic mobility of families, castes and social classes are primarily seen through the land ownership of land holdings in the village.

The village scenario has been situated in a long period of commercialized agriculture anchored to specialization in paddy cultivation since 1860s. A canal irrigation-based stable agriculture in the villages attracted the labouring families from FCs (Kammas) from the dry zone of Krishna district and OBCs (Koppula Velama and Turpu Kapus) from North Coastal districts of Coastal Andhra.

#### *1 Economic Mobility of FCs*

From the oral history on land ownership it is revealed that Brahmins who owned substantial segment of arable land of Nandivada during the last quarter of 19th century had lost their lands mostly to the Kammas. Thus, Brahmins went through a downward economic

mobility. By 1932, the Kammas became the premier landholding community in Nandivada village. Between 1932 and 1971, Kammas alienated about 368 acres of land. The reasons for this were the need to meet the expenses on children's education, sale on the eve of out-migration from the village and investment in agro-industries. The alienated lands accrued to Reddy and Kamma families. Between 1932 and 1971, the upward economic mobility of Reddies and sections of Kammas was conspicuous. The Kammas' land alienation continued even during the subsequent sub-period i.e., 1971 and 1997. However, land acquisition by the Reddies which was so prominent during the period 1932 and 1971 seemed to have slowed down subsequently. More importantly, the passage of land reform legislation in 1960s and early 1970s, had dampened the enthusiasm of the FC families to acquire more land. From the investible surpluses which accrued to the land-owner households, expensive children's education (especially engineering and medicine) formed a major leakage. The inability of the Reddy households to further consolidate their land ownership is partly explained by these leakages from their investible surpluses.

Both among the Kammas and Reddies - the leading landholding FCs of Nandivada - occupational and spatial diversifications of the siblings of the respondents suggest the possibility of non-agricultural activities becoming the major sources of income in future. With an increasing importance attached to education, an increasing number of youngsters would in future, move away from agriculture thereby creating space to be occupied either by the poorer sections of FCs and/or the Backward Classes. In other words, intra caste and inter caste economic balances are likely to change

with the spread of education, out-migration, occupational diversification and spatial mobility of the families from the present day dominant castes.

Dowry as a socio-economic institution is conspicuous among the FCs, especially the Kammas and Reddies. Land transfers to female members of the families, however, take place via the institution of Streedhanam (woman's property). A bride's share in the family's property is offered to her as streedhanam. Composition of both dowry and streedhanam over time has been changing in that their landed shares have been on the rise. Most often, streedhanam now is in the form of land. It is also found that over time female ownership of land has been on the rise. Besides, the land retaining capacity is high among women as compared to men.

Social networking is found to be high among the Kammas. Fraternal feelings lead to mutual help. This goes a long way for the poor among the Kammas to make a slow but steady upward economic mobility. This cultural specificity of Kammas affects their upward economic mobility rather significantly.

#### *ii Economic Mobility of the Backward Classes (OBCs & SCs)*

The factors which affect the economic mobility of the backward classes are (a) an active land lease market; (b) rise in real wages and incomes and; (c) welfare programs of the state.



*(a) An Active Land-Lease Market*

From the status of tenant cultivators, sections of backward classes (Yadavas Upparies and Malas) have graduated to the position of land-ownership. Absence of a taboo on female participation in cultivation, deployment of family labour in agriculture and consequent reduction in wage costs provide some scope for the OBC cultivator families to accumulate some surpluses to buy by bits and pieces of arable land.

From 103 households studied, there were as many as 85 cases of lease-in and 10 cases of lease-out. A large part of land leased-in belonged to the absentee landholders. The average years of lease-in (at a stretch) is 6.2 years and average acreage 6.37. Thus, there exists an active land lease market in Nandivada which provides not only sustenance but also scope for an upward economic mobility for sections of the OBCs.

*(b) Rise in Real Wages and Wage Income*

Between 1957 and 1975, real wages in agriculture in Andhra Pradesh were near stagnant. But from 1976 onwards, they had been consistently on the rise. It is suggested here that from among the OBC families, the accumulated savings from the rising real wages had helped sections of the landless and part-time labourers to attain some upward economic mobility.

In a rising real wage scenario, existence of female farm employment would be a contributory factor for the sustenance of the families

and possible upward economic mobility. Whereas at one level the incidence of female labour in agriculture indicates the economic vulnerability of the family, in a favourable (rising real wage) scenario, it also opens up some opportunities for the laboring families to accumulate some savings and possible acquisition of some lands.

In Nandivada village the incidence of female labour in agriculture varied across social classes. Incidence of female labour in agriculture starts rising as one moves down the social hierarchy. Whereas it is only 18 per cent among the FC families, it is 74 per cent among the OBCs, 84 per cent in the SCs and 93 per cent in STs. Barring the Kapus (62 %), among all FC families in Nandivada, the incidence of female employment in agriculture is less (nil in Brahmin and Komaties 11.3 % among the Kammass and 25 % among the Reddies). Among the Koppula Velamas, Mangali, Turpu Kapu, Uppari, Madiga, Mala and Yanadi families, it varied between 78 to 93 percentage points (Table 4.14).

### *(c) Welfare Programs of the State*

Housing Schemes, Subsidy Rice Scheme and IRDP loans comprise the major welfare programs undertaken by the government of Andhra Pradesh from early 1980s onwards. Notwithstanding the weaknesses visible in their operation, they went a long way in stabilizing the incomes of the poor, especially those from the Backward Classes (OBCs and SCs).

With the advent of Telugu Desam Party (TDP) in early 1980s, greater emphasis was laid on cultivating OBCs politically with their increasing assertion in the political arena, the backward classes were successful to some extent claim the benefits under the welfare schemes. One social class which continued to remain at the rock bottom of the village economy and society in Nandivada is that of the Yanadies. In terms of land ownership, their position (of landless-ness) continued to be stagnant. However, under the welfare programmes, they did benefit in terms of "colony houses".

An analysis of the 21 case studies of upward and downward economic mobilities of families from among the FC, OBC and SC classes is helpful in comprehending the role of the factors contributing towards economic mobility. Spread of education, occupational diversification, spatial mobility, female employment in agriculture, self-exploitation, active participation in land-lease market, thrift, caste network and state patronage are some of the important factors to understand the phenomenon of upward economic mobility. Inability to take advantage of education, loss in business, partition of the family property and irresponsible behaviour of the head of the family are some of the factors resulting in the downward economic mobility.

Overall one can say that in a scenario of stable agriculture, opening up of economic opportunities outside agriculture ( non-farm employment and investment) and political assertion and lobbying by the hitherto less dominant classes and castes, the intra caste, inter-caste and inter (social) class economic balances are likely to change. This is observable not only at a micro (village) level but also at macro (regional-Delta Andhra) level in contemporary Andhra Pradesh.

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