

**LIBERALIZATION AND LABOUR RIGHTS:
A STUDY OF PALAMUR MIGRANT
LABOUR (1980-2005)**

*Dissertation submitted to the
Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the award of the Degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

VENKATESH



**CENTRE FOR POLITICAL STUDIES
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This dissertation entitled **LIBERALIZATION AND LABOUR RIGHTS: A STUDY OF PALAMUR MIGRANT LABOUR (1980-2005)** is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of **MASTER OF PHILOSPHY** of this University. This dissertation has not been submitted in part or in full for any other degree or diploma of this University or any other University and is my original work.



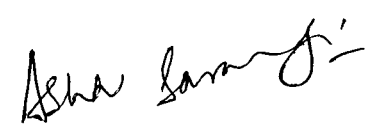
(Venkatesh)

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Dedicated

To

The memories of my Mother
&
A million Palamur Labourers

Acknowledgment

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PREFACE

Examining labourers' state of affairs in the context of expanding capitalism through market economy is an interesting area of research. Especially, the finance capital has made the world economy 'a wireless-economy'. Organised sector's depletion is very much perceptible and important development in this process. The present capitalist economy is expanding through two means coercion and consent. The developed countries are still reluctant to cope up with this expansion. They subtly follow the protectionist policies. The integration of Indian market with the world market economy has been producing robust growth in the Gross Domestic Product. It is happening against the earlier decade's 'Hindu rate of growth' (less than 3 percent). And this is the growth of service sector at the cost of other sectors. The agriculture and manufacturing sectors are subjected to the 'survival of the fittest' mantra. In the post- 1990 India there is also an argument that 'de-industrialization' has set in. It is in this sense that the given situation of 'fierce competition' in the international market, Indian industries are unable to compete with aggressive foreign Multi-National Companies. As a result, many industries in the country have been forced to close down. Because of the incompatibility of the traditional safeguards in a free labour situation, the contractual rights of labourers are done away with gradually. Consequently, this organized sector labour had to shift to the already crisis-ridden unorganized sector.

In the last decade of the twentieth century, emphasis was given to Human Rights education and awareness programmes. The assumed cause behind the universalisation of human rights was the concern against greater anxiety and fear by the marginalized communities about their being excluded from the developmental process, therefore, also from historical process. The economic growth process was greatly emphasized at the cost of the social good. Needless to say that growth-oriented development process might exclude this section on draconian terms. The same may rob the dignity off the labourers leading to 'dignity-deficit'. It is in this context that the Human rights discourse is assumed to save the day infavour of labourers. But it

seems that human rights speak in one dimensional language and may not be sufficient to restore the dignity of labour across the world. The cause for this apprehension is that the present discourse of human rights language speaks only of the individual through an egoistic language of civil and political rights. It gives a blind eye to the community-based socialistic versions of social, economic and cultural rights. The Third World Countries aspire for an equitable distribution of world resources in the form of right to development; become the victims of this myopic vision of rights.

Migration labour, as an analytical category forms a major issue in the unorganized sector. Migration could be better understood through the structure and agency analysis. Migrants are a heterogeneous configuration drawing people from different locations, communities and occupations to a destination. At international level Indian un-organised sector has been exposed to economic restructuring programme without providing proper safety nets is no less a cause of concern. This lack of safety nets popped up a score of crises in rural-agrarian economy and unorganized sector. This was only to provide new structural causalities for migration in the post-reform times. What followed next is a 'new-push' to migration, and they were thrown to the periphery of the economy. In this so grave a situation taking recourse to only civil and political rights may not suffice, for what is at stake are their social and economic rights. Without this being accommodated, their exercising of civil and political rights seems to be a farce. For instance, their absence at the time voting does not make any sense even though they have a political right to vote. What is more, the state's failure to allocate resources and values and subsequent transferring of this role in favour of market which is devoid of ethics is alarmingly a matter of concern.

It is at this juncture that the distressed migrant labourers from a troubled region form an appropriate subject and site of reference. Palamur the old name of Mahabubnagar district of Telanagana region sends migrant labourers throughout the country; they are called 'palamur labour.' Structurally the district is a chronically drought-prone, receives scanty rain fall, falls under semi-arid zone, and ill-irrigated. Historically, it formed part of erstwhile Hyderabad princely state and culturally it had the legacy of caste-feudalism and was also deprived of 'colonial modernity.'

Politically, the district produced very weak leadership in state politics. All these structural reasons have been pushing the district people to migrate seeking various public works across the country as a survival strategy. The economic hardships are obvious when the labourers become the victims of various human rights violations. The palamur labourers in the globalised human rights regime are unable to exercise their first generation rights. The reason behind this is that their second generation rights, social security rights have been emphasized scantily. For example the right to life, the core of civil right is not just confined to the absence of physical harm but has deeper implication of fulfilling other second and third generation rights so that the right to life could be enjoyed to its fullest. In the ultimate analysis the major cause of concern is the dubious role played by the state, in that it has been retreating from its duty to providing the basics of survival to the victim-claimants. The only consolation lies in hoping if the state is capable of promoting all the rights together to make this victimized section of the population, part of the present historical process or it just confines its role to promoting first generation rights.

New Delhi

Venkatesh

Date- 20th July, 2007.

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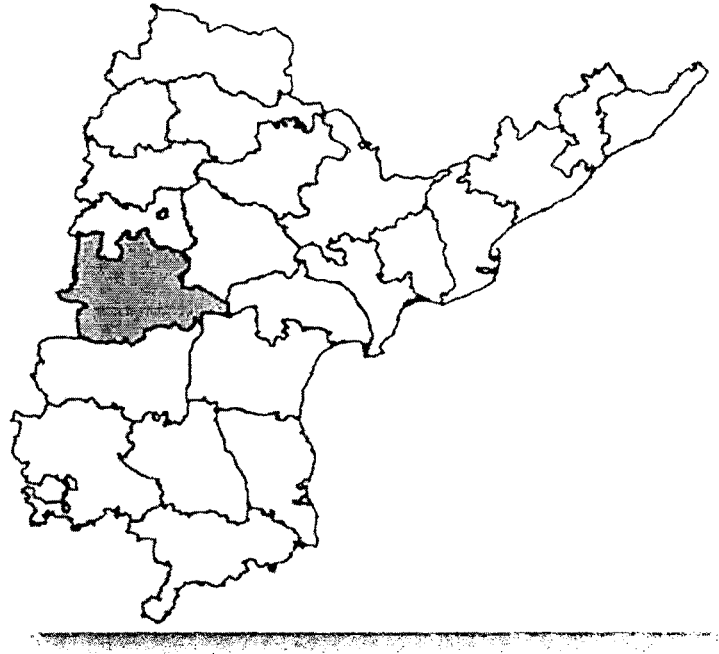
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TDP	- Telugu Desam Party
TINA	- There Is No Alternative
UK	- United Kingdom
UNO	- United Nations Organization
USA	- United States of America
WB	- World Bank
WTO	- World Trade Organization
WUA	- Water Users Association

ANDHRA PRADESH



MAHABUBNAGAR (PALAMUR)



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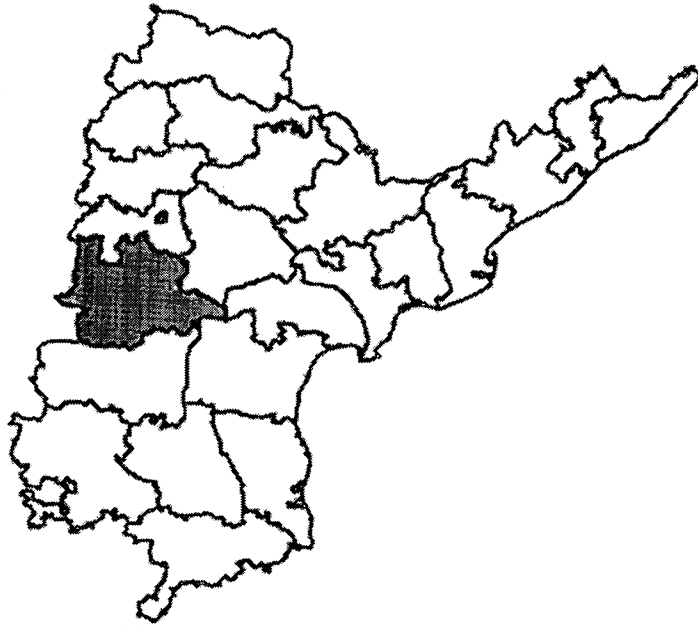
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ANDHRA PRADESH



MAHABUBNAGAR (PALAMUR)



I

INTRODUCTION

The latest phase of capitalist expansion involving the shift from international to transnational network of trade, investment, finance, and movement of economic resources, is understood increasingly to be outside the control of any state. It is this phenomenon that has come to be called “globalisation”. The doctrinal basis of today’s globalization is neo-liberalism. This represents the revival of economic liberalism, which advocates the minimization of the governmental intervention in economic matters. It tends to propagate free trade as the best way for the nations economic development. “Governments have learned that they can’t hold back market forces. High regulation or high taxation may deter inward investment.”¹ Globalization by way of economic liberalization has been restricting the role of the state in the economy and this implies unrestricted freedom to individual agents from the governments’ control. This syndrome has been marked as the “withdrawal of the state.”² Current phase of globalization is distinctively different compared to globalization which existed prior to First World War period, which was an extensive phase. The present globalization is intensive phase.³ The present phase of globalization has the “speed” component, technological sophistication, economic integration, and ideological universalism. It adheres to efficacy of market over the state.⁴

Globalization takes place in different spheres, among them the economic globalization has received much attention which refers to the increase in worldwide movements of information, commodities, capital. This new avatar of capitalism having its synonyms in capitalism, imperialism, neo-capitalism, modernization,

¹ Singh Hoshiar, (2004) “Retreating State and Common Man” *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Meerut. Vol LX (3). July- Sep. p-71.

² Ibid. p-72

³ Nayar, Baldevraj (2004), “The *Geo-Politics of Globalization*”, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, p-16.

⁴ Nasirul-Haq. (2004) “Globalization towards a New Perspective on Political Economy” *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Meerut. Vol LXV, No.3.July- Sep, p-89

developmentalism has been affecting far reaching socio, economic, cultural, political trends on global scale. It has a natural tendency of establishing a global village and is characterized by commonality, speed mass communication, and transport. Thus, globalization comprises all the processes by which the people of the world are incorporated into a single world society. According to Baldevraj Nayar, economic globalization is nothing but the expansion of the market so as to encompass the entire globe within its sphere. It represents the integration of different regional market into world market. For Tomlinson Globalization refers to the rapidly developing process of complex inter connections among societies, cultures, institutions and individuals worldwide. It is a social process which involves compression of time and space, shrinking distance through a dramatic reduction in the time taken to communicate either physically or virtually to cross them. There by making the world smaller and in a certain sense bringing human beings closer to one another.

Globalization every where is a source of debate. It is a new industrial revolution driven by powerful new information and communication technologies. Within a country and among the marginalized communities there is a double anxiety on account of globalization .Amongst these communities there is a fear of inclusion on draconian terms ,and there is also fear of exclusion from the process of development and upliftment. For these communities exclusion from the development process means exclusion from the history itself. For example Liberalization is linked to the more rapid growth; however this doesn't mean that it is an effective instrument for reducing poverty. Growth strategy based on trade openness, export-oriented development strategy may lead to significant worrying of income inequalities of households at the bottom of the income strata.⁵ It can be rightly said that "attitude towards globalization is closely defined by structural position, and distributive consequences. Globalization ideology and its universal appeals are grounded in mystifying its profound class roots and class inequalities. It strengthens powerful ties between the nation state and the ruling classes within those states. Here state role shifts from the developmental and upliftment agency of the underprivileged to the facilitator allowing the capital inflow from outside the nation .it concentrates more or less on the infrastructure development. The cost of this could be reduction of the

⁵ Padhi Ranjana Narayana, (2006) "Endemic to Development, Police Killing in Kalinganagar", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 21,Jan, p-187

budget allocation to the social service sector. Gradually, even social service sector has been opened up to private investment in the guise of augmenting services. So ultimately commercialization becomes the cornerstone of the civilization. It affects marginalized sections in a negative sense.

In India, the process of globalization is multidimensional, and has different connotations. Here globalization has been primarily associated with the process of economic liberalization which was set in to motion when the Indian economy faced a crisis in July 1991. It is also led to the implementation of Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) involved liberalization of trade and gradual opening of the economy by means of program of privatization.⁶ Globalization is a process that facilitates integration of national economy into global economic system. But the implications are not same for all the states and all the people who are living in a state. Economic power gradually shifts into the hands of Multinational companies (MNCs). The state becomes vulnerable when it lacks economic sovereignty. What is at stake is not merely the 'sovereign' authority of the state, but also the welfare of the communities living within the territorial boundaries of a state. The same is applicable to India in regard to economic liberalization in the country. It has adopted comprehensive liberalization policy since July 1991. It has eroded the role of planning process and aggravated the social problems of unemployment and poverty, and also increased the external vulnerability. In a dualist economy like India where organized and unorganized sectors co-exist, organized sector employment is steadily declining (in 1981 in organized sector which constituted 97.49% work force declined to 6.38% in 1999) and this has resulted in the increased magnitude of unorganized labour segment at 93% of Indian labor force.⁷

The liberalization is showing negative impacts on income distribution in the country. The shift of the state's role from the developmentalist state to minimalist state meaning withdrawal of the state from its agent change to that of facilitator has been exerting enormous pressures on the regimes.⁸ In India localization of politics

⁶ Bhattacharya, Purushottama. Chaudhari, Avajita Ray (ed.), (2000): *Globalization and India: A Multi Dimensional Perspective*, New Delhi, Lancer Book. P.23.

⁷ Dutta Dilip, (2004) "*Effect of Globalization and Poverty in Dualistic Economy: The Case of India*" www.econpapers.repec.org/paper/pasasarce/2002-08.htm.

⁸ G. Krishna Reddy. (2002) 'New Populism and Liberalization: Regime Shift under Chandra Babu Naidu in A.P, *Economic and Political Weekly*, March, , p.873.

contributed a greater say for the states in the federal structure. It provided an appropriate ground for international financial institutions like World Bank, and International Monetary Fund (IMF) to push forward their agendas at the state level after liberalization. Andhra Pradesh was the first state to provide a political context for implementation of the neo-liberal policies since ChandraBabu Naidu assumed power in 1995. Under his regime, World Bank directed policies were implemented rigorously. In the recent past state is withdrawing its protective measures in the wake of the economic liberalization. The changing role of Indian state is a cause for this. In order to accomplish for economic growth it is allowing MNCs to extract resources from the hinter lands. It is increasing vulnerability of those communities, who suffer from the chronicle unresolved issues like displacement, land alienation, indebtedness, shifting cultivation, and deprivation of forest rights. New type of land alienation and livelihood deprivation has been forced in to the lot of marginalized people. As a result people are forced to migrate. This has been aggravating the problems in migrant-prone areas. And this results to violations of fundamental human rights.

1.1. Explaining Migration

The migrant labourers that have been migrating from Mahbubnagar district are called palamur labour. To examine the migration process and assess the palamur labour situation from the economics point of view, it is very important to situate them in the theories of migration. Migration is a universal phenomenon. Ever since the human have started their civilization, migration has been taking place. But the mass migration is the post-industrialization phenomenon. Palamur migration could be analyzed from both neo-classical and Marxist approaches. “Migration involves the permanent movement of individuals or groups across symbolic or political boundaries into new residential areas and communities”⁹ defines, oxford dictionary of sociology. To understand the whole range of migration one is require to have an eclectic approach to it. “Migration is too diverse and multifaceted to be explained by a single theory.” Here both the dimensions internal (within a national boundary) and external (international) have been discussed. Migration could be analyzed from the pull and push factors. All these factors are influenced by the existing structural reasons. The

⁹ Oxford Dictionary of Sociology, p-25.

argument here is that the migrating agency (micro-version) is influenced by the structures (macro-version). In both the versions if the agency is free to choose his/her destiny for migration in this case, pull factors are more to maximize his/her well beings. If the agency is compelled to migrate out of the existing distressed socio-economical, cultural, and historical reasons then in this case push factors work more.

1.1.1 Neo-Classical Explanation

This theory represents the micro version of migration. It emphasizes on individual's rational-decision making in the migration process and macro version emphasis on the structural determinants. Palamur labour could be analyzed from this model also. In the course of the third quarter of the twentieth century, rapid and sustained economic growth happened. The internationalization of economic activity; de-colonialisation, and the emergent process of economic development in the third world, all brought about an intensification of migration. In this period theorizing of migration should come from Economics. There was much focus on economic motivation from the desire inherent in most men/women to "better" themselves in material respect". Another predecessor of the neo-classical theory is Arthur Lewis and his model 'economic development with unlimited supply of labour' which is an influential model of development, argues that in a dual economy migration plays an important role. Dual model is an economy in to making, a post-colonial economy two sectors coexist side by side. Modern industrial sector having contact with the outside world and another side agriculture sector with subsistence existence relies on traditional methods of operations. When modern sector expands it draws labour from agriculture. The wage difference would be very high between both the sectors providing necessary conditions for migration of labour. For the advanced sector, having its disposal on unlimited supply of migrant labour makes it possible to expand while keeping wages low, thus secure high rates of profit. "For the traditional sector out-migration is the only way to get rid of surplus labour and to proceed in the production function towards higher capital, embarks as the preconditions for the development"¹⁰. So this model is crucial in developing economy as a whole. Both the

¹⁰ Lewis.W.A, (1954), '*Economic Development with unlimited supplies of labour*', Manchester School of Economics and Social Science, 22: pp-139-91.

sectors would benefit through receiving and sending remittances. Yet this model was seen as developmental model rather than a theory of migration.

Neo-classical theory emanates from neo-classic economics, based on tenets of rational choice, utility maximization, expected net returns, factor mobility and wage differences. It has combined micro-perspective of personal decision-making and a macro-counterpart of structural determinants. At the macro level it is a spatial redistribution of factors of production. Migration results from the uneven geographical distribution of labour and capital where capital is available and labour is scarce. People move from scarce capital available area to capital available area. The micro version of neo-classical theory of migration is given by Todaro, discussing the reasons why individuals respond to structural differences between countries or regions. Migration is the result of individual decisions made by rational actors who seek to improve their well-being by moving to places where the reward of their labour will be higher than the one they get at home, so it is an individual, spontaneous voluntary act. Migration constitutes a form of investment in human capital. Opposite to this ideological spectrum, Marxist perspective see migration as a social process of conflict rather than equilibrium or peace, this has been embodied in the dependency theory. Capitalism has given way to an international order composed of core industrialized countries and peripheral agrarian ones linked with uneven and asymmetrical relations. The advancement of the core rests on the exploitation of the periphery, whose development is hampered by the subordinated status underdevelopment, and is the out come of development itself. This theory has to do little about the rural-urban migration. The major problems with this theory are that it is ignorant of political decision in curtailing out migrations through the policies, encouraging the selective migration. It also down plays non-economic factors, particularly cultural determinants.

1.1.2. Todaro Migration Model

The micro version of neo-classical theory is represented by Todaro migration model, contrary to the macro structural model of neo-classical theory which rests on structural factors as the determinants in the migration pattern. Todaro's migration starts from the assumption that migration is primarily an economic phenomenon.

Individual migrant can be a quite rational despite the existence of urban unemployment. It postulates that migration proceeds in response to urban-rural differences in expected income rather than actual earnings. The migrant consider various labour market opportunities available to them in the rural and urban sectors and choose one that maximizes their expected gains from migration.

The worker should seek the higher paying urban job. This migration model was developed largely in the context of advanced industrial economies and hence implicitly assumed that existence of full or near – full employment. It assumes that it is an individual agent's response to migrant from lower paid job to higher paid urban centers, also assumes should it lead to a reduction in wage differentials through supply and demand, at both areas of emigration and immigration.¹¹

Unfortunately, this model is not a realistic model in the institutional and economic frame work of most developing nations. Firstly, these countries are beset by a chronic unemployment problem that a typical migrant cannot expect to secure a high-paying urban job immediately; unskilled migrants may become total unemployed also. So in deciding to migrate, the person must balance the probabilities and risks of being unemployed or under employed.

Todaro's theory might at first seem to devalue the critical importance of rural-urban migration, by portraying it as adjustment of labour through migrating to urban areas. But it has important policy implications. Firstly, it draws our attention towards imbalances in urban-rural employment opportunities caused by the urban bias, it is important to reduce the imbalances between economic opportunities in rural and urban sector and seeks this gap be minimized. The second implication is that creations of urban jobs are not the sufficient solution for the urban unemployment problem. Rather it is also very important to create rural employment to a maximum extent. Third, indiscriminate educational expansion will lead to further migration and unemployment. So there should be curtailment on investment in excessive educational expansion or there should not be direct linkages between education and employment. It suggests us to choosing appropriate labour – intensive technologies of production, for providing fuller employment to the surplus available labour force. There is need

¹¹ Michael, P., Todaro, and Smith C., Stephen, (2005) '*Economic Development*', Delhi Pearson Education, pp. 123-147.

for even reducing population. While framing policies, policy makers must keep in mind in order to reducing imbalances between rural and urban centers.

1.1.3 The New Economics of Labour Migration

This is one of the migration-specific theories. It has been developed out of neo-classical theory. It gives improved and flawless version of neo-classical tradition. It could be seen as a criticism to the micro version of neo-classical theory and as well as refined version of it. This theory shares in common with rational choice theory, but differs from it in that the actor who seeks to enhance its utility is more family or the household than the individual migrant. Migration is a family strategy geared not to maximize income as to diversify sources of income, but to maximize risks such as unemployment, loss of income, or crop failures – and loosen constraints. Income maximization may not take place in an absolute way but rather in relative terms:

Can be inferred that more unequal the income distribution in a given community, the more relative deprivation will be felt, and the more incentives will there be for further migration to occur.¹²

This theory presents a number of improvements over neo-classical theory. It down plays wage differential as central factor; rather highlights family and household's role underlining the importance of remittance, pays more attention to information and to the complex interdependence between migrants and the context in which they operate. It has been criticized that it concerns itself only with the causes of migration at the sending side.

1.1.4 Marxist Structural Approach

Apart from the individual decision-making agency approach of Todaro and new economics of migration, Marxism has its own explanation of migration. This approach basically is a macro level explanation of migration. It emphasizes on historical, social, cultural, and political forces acting to determine the demand for the labour. It argues that uneven development of capitalism, both globally and nationally

¹² Arango, Joaquin, (2000) 'Explaining migration a critical view' *International Social Sciences Journal*, 165, Sep. pp.285-296.

promotes labour mobility. "It considers migration as a subsistence or survival strategy"¹³. Migration can not be explained without its relation with the capitalist system of production. Capitalist system depends upon the law of uneven development. Migration takes place from lagging behind capitalist areas to developed areas as discussed earlier. According to this perspective such migration serves the purpose of exploitation and subordinates the labour to capital. Thus migration subserves purpose of high exploitation and subordination of labour. It helps to reorganize the capital according to the spatial requirements. In India, it has been observed that inter regional disparities, and disparities among different communities are major factors contributing and inducing migration. This model is more suitable to analyze the palamur labour situation. In the chapter further more emphasis has been given to the structural causes that influences migrating agency for survival.

1.1.5. Coping and Accumulative Migration Streams

Labour migration, both seasonal and circular for employment has become one of the most durable components of the livelihood strategies of people living in rural areas. There are two very important migration streams; one is positive or accumulative and second is negative or coping migration. In the Indian context caste and gender differences emerge as important determinants to decide who is excluded from positive migration streams. "Migration analysis is basically preoccupied with 'development-induced' economic migration which resulted from unequal development trajectory."¹⁴ This lead to one way migration from less developed areas through the 'push' created by poverty and lack of work and the 'pull' created by the better wages in the destination. Even the theories of, urban expansion were in agreement' with this analysis of migration. There are motivations for migration. Two extreme versions are the forced or distressed migration and the voluntary migration. For the majority migration becomes survival strategy. Seasonal migration is helpful in improving economic position of the household. For example Priya Deshingkar divides

¹³ K. Gopal Iyer, Veer Singh et al., 'Distressed Migration: Causes and Consequences', in K. Gopal Iyer (eds), (2005), *'Distressed Migrant Labour in India: Key Human Rights Issues'*, Kanishka Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, p-82.

¹⁴ De Haan, A. (1999) 'Livelihood and Poverty: the Role of Migration a Critical Review of the Migration Literature', *Journal of Development Studies*, 36 (2): pp. 1-147.

three kinds of migrations type first one is migration for coping and survival, type second is migration for additional income/ work, type three is migration for better remuneration or environment of work. Some time coping migration can become accumulative migration. In recent past, theories of migration have shifted beyond structuralism and neo-classical economics interpretations by adopting a livelihoods and social exclusion perspective. This approach departs from earlier narrow economic approaches to understand the importance of access to resources as well as the institutional and policy context within which migrants must function – caste discrimination, the labour market and labour laws.

As the human history shows, migration is almost in all the cases in various locations began as a consequence of push factors created by lack of employment opportunities at home and pull from work availability elsewhere. The negative kind of migration streams, involve a more opportunistic search for work. Often, there is no stable relationship with any particular employer. It is called coping migration stream. It happens when migrants are relatively new poor and unskilled or when traditional forms of discrimination works against them so that they may never graduate into better paid work. Even though they live in areas which regularly import labour, they do not get enough work during the peak seasons to tide them over the lean season and are forced to migrate the most part of year. It is more prevalent in the drought hit areas. Wages can be reasonable, but work is not available every day. In fact labouring groups in need of work often travel for days on the basis of rumors of work only to discover that the work is non-existent, no longer available or that there are many more people waiting before them. Even if they get work, there is often no guarantee of getting it regularly, at the reasonable wage level. It leaves them at the subsistence level.

Any migration starts with coping and may term in to accumulative migration. This kind of migration is viewed very positively in terms of economic impact, it facilitates to accumulate income and generate assets. They are less vulnerable compared to coping migrant variants. It helps them to enhance there economic well being. It becomes possible when migrants are skilled workers, when they establish good relationship with Employers and in return employer provides them reliable

conditions. Accumulative migration also has high risk bearings. Always it doesn't result in accumulation.

1.1.6. Recent Developments in Migration Trends

Some evidence suggests that internal migration can play an important role in poverty reduction and economic development. Migration is an important livelihood strategy for poor groups across the world and not just a response to shocks of economic and natural disasters. Commuting is a neglected area so far as migration studies is concerned. It involves movement of migrant's from one place to another in search of work. The cycle of activity takes within one day unlike temporary or permanent migration. It has become a future in many peri-urban and villages near cities and metropolises and the phenomenon are growing as Dyson and Vasaria argued that;

*There has been a marked increase in commuting but they provide no numbers. There is serious shortage of Data commuting. A good proxy indicator for commuting is urbanization and the emergence of large cities.*¹⁵

In the recent past female migration has also increased for work as not just accompanying spouses but individual migrations. This is called "autonomous female migration" and has been increasing because demand for female labour in certain services and industries is also increasing. In fact feminization of population movement is a recent phenomenon observed by many scholars. According to Deshingkar "Migration can be an option to escape social control or gender discrimination as well as prejudice in their home community if they pursue socially stigmatized work"¹⁶ Socio-religious seclusion and other cultural restriction is on women's mobility continue to constraint mobility but are gradually breaking down as the gains from migration become evident. At the same time norms and gender stereotyping may exclude women from higher return works. In South Asia women migration has increased, but it is still not on the scale of South America and South

¹⁵ Dyson, T. and P Vasaria, (2004), 'Migration and Urbanization: Retrospect and Prospect'. in Heir (Eds). *Twenty First Century India Population, Economy, Human Development and the Development*, Oxford University Press, p.43.

¹⁶ Deshingkar, Priya and Grimm Sven, (2004) 'Voluntary Internal Migration an Update' Overseas Development Institute, September, , <http://www.odi.org.uk/livelihoodoptional/paper/wp220web.pdf>.

East Asia, and cultural factors may be reason. For this some areas cultural barriers are breaking down because migration is offering greater opportunities, especially for those skilled women. Thus migration may help for women who are more vulnerable in bearing the migration risk. There is a clear segmentation of migrant labour market along ethnic and gender lines-women are mostly accommodated in the service sector and work as waitresses in bars and restaurants. Many studies show that female workers mobility is often related to sex work. Infant migration allows such socially stigmatized work to be under taken at a safer distance. It is advisable that female migration should lead liberation of women not for reproducing stereotypical role and patriarchy. The women distressed migrants from palamur are not autonomous migrants but to complement the earnings of her husband in family maintenance. In many cases they are more vulnerable for sexual exploitation compared to their counter parts of urban educated female migrants. All types of migrations whether structural determined or individual-rational choice may affect the different rights of migrants. The migrant labourers who migrate out of distressed reasons for survival are more prone to be the victims of rights violations.

1.2. Conceptualizing Rights

“Globalization of human rights by making it universally accepted eradicating the global inequalities is the clarion call of the current human rights movement.¹⁷ Along with the globalisation, human rights discourse also has reached the new heights of importance. In other words rights and rights language has been globalised. The globalisation of rights has its own politics. It has accompanied the end of history discourse and ‘There Is No Alternative’ (TINA) factor. It means the rights globalisation politics has been targeted very much against the socio-economic and cultural rights of second generation rights resembling with the erstwhile USSR’s emphasized rights. At the same time there was active promotion of civil and political rights. The present human rights resemble with these rights. Paradoxically, the promotion of these rights some times requires the violation of these rights. On the other hand, liberal growth oriented economy and liberal rights have been globalised.

¹⁷ J.S. Verma (2004), “*The New Universe of Human Rights*”, Universal Law Publishing Co. Pvt.Ltd, New Delhi, p.3.

For promotion and observation of rights of migrant labour, the liberal rights may not be sufficient but requires positive rights to be promoted and protected.

All rights are moral standards and these norms are to be recognized, observed and promoted by the individuals and the institutions. Rights-theorists frequently address themselves to the problems such as what beings can have rights; why human beings have them; what the ground or base on which human beings can claim or be allocated rights; and what kind of rights exist. "The spectrum of definitions pertaining to a right is broad and illuminating in its different implications and ideological positions"¹⁸Different approaches to rights indicate this point. "One approach sees rights as 'normative attributes 'belongs to self-conscious human beings'. Another approach regards them as entitlements to choose have, enjoy or have done. One more approach explains that rights as 'the valid claims'¹⁹.Some see human rights as the subset of rights but Freedman see in its reversed order to say that human rights are the most basic, pertaining to what is essentially human, while other categories of rights are more specific, limited and derivative. Labour rights in general and migrant labour rights in specific are part of it. ; rights are not only directed towards protecting individual from the state arbitrary power but more so to create the societal conditions by the state in which individuals may develop their fullest potential "Human rights have become a universal ideology."²⁰

*Hence, Human right is a conceptual device, expressed in linguistic forms, that assigns priority to certain human or social attributes regarded as essential to the adequate functioning of a human being; that is intended to serve as a protective capsule for those attributes; and that appeals for deliberate action to ensure such protection.*²¹

This definition was further interpreted, like rights are to be translated into public language and that language needs public acceptance. Individual rights are linked to this process, so he calls it 'reasoned recognition' by others. It also need deliberate action and non-action includes self-restraint or forbearance. Rights

¹⁸ Michael Freedman, (1998) 'Rights', World View Publications, New Delhi, p.6

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p.7.

²⁰ Jayant Chaudhary, (2004), 'Hand Book of Human Rights', Dominant Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, p.49.

²¹ Michael Freedman, (1998), *op.cit.*, No.18, p.7.

involving protection of certain human and social attributes will be having deeper implication for the right bearers and those who exercise rights. “Rights are rational/logical derivation of human and social attributes and also the alternative would ground on axiological or deontological foundations but some would refer to ideological considerations”²² Many philosophers would argue for formalization or institutionalization of rights but freedom says that whether it has attained institutional status through legal recognition or not. Still rights exist independent of it. Rights and human rights of all shades are requiring equal consideration and protection. Protection may be through formal institutions or public opinion moral imperatives are needed. Rights recognize individuals in their protective capacity and works as a signal towards the passive individuals. It also prescribes the behaviour of ‘right’ towards rights in the form of duties. The abundance of human rights is self destructive but not logically impossible would deprive the community its rational goal. Rights are equal claims and all individuals of the society require recognition of each member as right bearer and enjoyer.

Freedom also proposes that the exclusiveness of the concepts of rights lies not in what it protects-choice capacities or welfare-but in its being simultaneously a prioritizing, protective and action- demanding concept. According to him the basic rights theory has to attain three propositions before it is elevated to the level of rights. On the philosophical dimension it will have to meet the minimum rational and logical standard by couching the ideological and cultural boundaries. Legally it has to be translated into the enforceable code of action. And last one is to encoding the rights into different categories.

The philosophical basis of human rights is grounded in universal values and absolute priorities, with all states having undertaken solemn legal commitments to recognize, respect, protect and fulfill these rights. In Lockean rights theory the basic argument was that all individuals are endowed with nature with right to life liberty and property. To protect these rights they entered in to a contract. The duty of the rulers is to protect these rights. Rulers can break the contract by taking the risk of violating the fundamental natural rights. In this proposition two things comes into

²² *Ibid*, p.8.

observation. “First the individual as an autonomous being capable of exercising choice and, Second, the legitimacy of government depends upon will of the people as well as governments’ willingness and ability to protect those individual natural rights.”²³

French revolution and French declaration of rights of men in eighteenth century gave place for immense debate throughout Europe. Conservative thinkers like Edmund burke challenged the declaration which was the documental expression of the basic human rights of modern liberal variety. While professing he made his stance clear that the Lockean natural rights tradition could not be translated into political and civil rights. This declaration was a challenge to the traditional political power ‘offspring of tradition’. According to him “convention was the accumulated wisdom of the ages could not be challenged by the exercise of individual, rational and equal will.”²⁴ Contrary to him Thomas Paine in his *Rights of man* provided a rebuttal to this argument. He saw rights origin in divine, by the equal rational human beings. They are imprescriptibly-rights which were ‘those which appertain to man in rights of his existence’. So in support of the revolution and declaration of rights Paine asserts that ‘each generation had the right to make rational decision for itself’²⁵. His rights includes Lockean natural rights to life, liberty, property all intellectual rights and pursuit of individual happiness without harming others’ natural rights.

1.2.1 Natural Rights

“Human rights as conceived of in contemporary moral and political theory are what were traditionally called natural rights”²⁶. If rights had to work as the protective capsule it has to show number of properties. It has to be uncontested it means that it should have one single valid point, also it should be non-negotiable and unrenounciable. It also had to show its strength. It is possible when it over comes in its competition with other contesting concepts. The human rights proposition of

²³ Jayant Chaudhary, (2004), ‘*op.cit.* no. 20, pp.53-54.

²⁴ Michael Freedden, 1998, *op.cit.*, no.18, p.16.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p-17.

²⁶ Carl Wellman, (2001) ‘The Universal Declaration: Ambiguous or Amphibious?’, In Alexander Brostl and Amrijan Pavcnick (eds.), ARSP, ‘*Human Rights Minority Rights and Women’s Rights*’, Franz Verlag Stuttgart, Newyork , p.18.

incontestability, infallibility had been grounded in seventeenth and eighteenth century natural rights theory. “The natural rights doctrine serves as a paradigm for a theory of rights.”²⁷ A natural right attaches the nature to the rights discourse. Natural rights suggest that rights are products of their natural behaviour, existed independent of their recognition. So invention is not attached to this concept. The philosophical implication for this is the sequencing from natural rights or natural law to positive law. In fact Natural rights theory offered a powerful theoretical basis for the existence of rights.

First it argues that “human beings are born with the rights. They can not be alienated, if human rights minus human seized to be called human. Secondly they are pre-social in the sense they are not the product of any artificial edifice or contract. They are self evident. But political society may recognize them and can give legal status, but not be created by any political society. Third they are absolute non-negotiable, non-compromised or non negotiable. Fourthly they are universal also. Irrespective of their contextual backgrounds all human beings possess them.”²⁸ Natural rights themselves are contradictory. the following concepts in natural rights theory was contested like innateness, self evident ,inalienability, indefeasibility, pre-sociality, absoluteness, universality and so on, especially by the cultural relativists, post modern thinkers in the present context. Even utilitarian thinkers like Jeremy Bentham also attacked natural rights as, rhetorical nonsense, nonsense upon stilts’. He was critical about quasi-empirical language that is used just a flat assertion that human beings have rights. His assertion was that rights can not exist outside the political society. They need recognition by the governments. Legal rights, he called as good fiction and natural rights as bad fiction and first category of rights are needed for human beings.²⁹As a legal positivist Bentham regarded law as rational human contrivance necessary for social and political life. “Rights could only exist within that frame work and not anterior to law. Rights, the substantive right, are the child of law, law of nature. Come from imaginary rights.”³⁰ Human right just remains a moral claims until it has been recognized as a different kind of law. Positive law is based on

²⁷ Michael Freedon, 1998, *op.cit.*, no.18, p.24.

²⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 26-27.

²⁹ *Ibid*,P.18.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p.19.

natural law. Natural law is based on existence of certain basic assumptions. There are certain practical as well as moral principles which are good for pursue and practice' both natural law and positive law are basis for the human rights have both positive and negative points. "Natural law perspective is precisely the assertion of universal rights against local custom, it provides basis for critique of it."³¹

Marx attacked both the natural rights and legal rights. According to him these liberal bourgeoisie rights are part of "false consciousness". Human rights as a part of civil society, consider individual as self interested, egoistic and separates individual from the community. Of course in the mid 20th century communist block also came up with certain positive rights. Main attack was on the liberal version of civil and political rights only. 'Marx reinterpreted the right to liberty as that of separation of individual from the community, "the right to property as that to the arbitrary disposal of private possessions, and right to security as guaranteeing those commercial and capitalist arrangements"³². In sum rights represent the false nature of human being as only the self-interested one, it makes individuals one-dimensional workers only, and neglects the community living. Despite the criticism natural law and natural rights, however exercise powerful influence over the development of human rights.

Irrespective of their philosophical justifications the rights discourse has the liberative force in its content. For that negative rights are not sufficient but can provide necessary condition and positive rights are a must. Irrespective of their formal legal recognition universal community has evolved certain rights as human rights for individual and communal co-existence. The documental expression of human rights was done at the global level through the Universal Declaration Of human Rights (UDHR), subsequently the two covenants and many declarations have had shown their thrust on promoting human rights consciousness and practice. The culmination of all rights came in the form of Right to Development declaration in 1986 in United Nations General Assembly combining the aspirations of developing nations. Even the constitutions of different nations reflect these aspirations. Indian constitution also

³¹ Jayant, Chaudhary, 2004, Op.cit. No.4, pp-4-5.

³² K. Marx, (1977) 'On the Jewish Question', Karl Marx Selected Writings as Cited in .D.Mc Lellan Ed, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp-172-83.

belongs to the family of rights upholders. Migrant labourers as a category have certain specific rights to be claimed. There are efforts by the state to protect the rights through the formal legal mechanisms. Many times they prove in-capable of protecting rights of the most needy of the rights. Palamur labour belongs to this category.

1.3. The Structure of Palamur Labour

The impact of Telangana region's backwardness is visible on Mahabubnagar district also. Empirically, it is evident that this district is one of the most backward districts in the country. The feudal socio, economic structures are very prominent in the district. Naturally this district receives very low average annual rain fall. But also it has a long flowing river Krishna in its territory. But it receives very minimal irrigation water from the river from its legitimate sharing. 69% catchment area of Krishna River is in Telangana southern districts. But it gets only 27% water from the river. Discrimination in the water sharing causes artificial drought in the district. As a livelihood strategy people forced to migrate outside the district. In this situation poor are the most affected as they are forced to migrate for survival. Their hard working nature, surplus labour, illiteracy, displacement, and lower wages are reasons for their decreased bargaining power at the work places across the country.

Mahabub Nagar is one of the drought-prone and migration prone districts in the country. Here, all types of migration take place. The most prevalent is the "Rural to Urban migration". Poverty and migration are interrelated. Migration has become an important livelihood strategy for many groups across the world³³. Migration could be analyzed from the push, and the pull factors. Push factors like demographic pressure, decline agriculture production, deforestation, water scarcity, and soil erosion are viewed as the "ecological refugees."³⁴ In a dual economy type rational utility maximizing labourers moves from a lower paid agriculture sector to highly paid industrial one on a voluntary choice, is an individual response to "urban pull". In the pull model individual has all freedom to choose himself/herself. But this model is not

³³ Priya Deshingkar, Sven Grimm, (2004), *op.cit*, No.16, www.odi.org.uk/pbg/RESOURSCES/report/0509_voluntary_internal_migration_update_pdf.

³⁴ Mosse. D.S. etal (2002) "*Brokered Livelihoods, Debt, Labour Migration and Tribal Western India*" Journal of Development Studies 38(5); June, pp 59-89.

applicable in the Mahabub nagar migrant labour case. They are migrating out due to distressed conditions. So push model is more applicable to palamur labour. However the Marxist model stresses on the structural factors rather than migrant agency. Because of the efforts of the dominant classes to proletarianise and depeasantise the affected rural population they have been pushed out to peripheral areas. This contributes to the under paid surplus labor in urban areas. Labor migration from Mahabub nagar is also akin to this model. For some migration is forced livelihood strategy.³⁵ Migration may not in fact improve income or security, may indeed perpetuate debt and dependency. Yet it continues as a strategy of survival. The district migrant labourers chose migration so as to avoid the starvation. It seems from the beginning State is very passive in providing alternative livelihood option to the migrant labour and to stop the mass migration from the district.

1.4. Problem of the Study

Mahabubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh in India is a non-industrialized, chronically drought-prone and unirrigated region popularly known for *palamur* labour. The district has more poverty than other districts in the state. According to 1987-88 estimates 75% people live below poverty line. For the year 1993 80% of the district was officially declared as drought affected. Cultivation in this district is possible only three to four months in the *kharif* season (August to December), leaving a slack season of over eight months. Such districts have provided cheap labor for country, which Migrate seasonally for survival and who will work for extremely low wages. Migration from Mahabubnagar can be classified in to three groups *firstly* those who migrate for seasonal agricultural work in cotton, paddy, and sugarcane growing areas; *secondly*, who migrate to near by cities like Hyderabad, Pune, and Mumbai to work in the construction industry, usually seasonally; *thirdly*, those who migrate under contract work. The *thirdly* type of migration is very prevalent in the district. This practice involves in all major construction, and public works like canal construction, irrigation dam, road construction etc. Government recognized contract labor as the bonded labor, exists within the capitalist patriarchy. Among those who struggle for subsistence as migrant laborers tribal migration is predominant along with

³⁵ Ibid. p.60.

the Dalits, landless laborers and lower caste people, constitute major chunk. The district has provided a cheap labor for construction of the major irrigation dams in the country. The prevalent contract labor system in the district violates the labor laws. The contractor who is called “*Maistrei*” exploits the laborers. It contravenes the bonded labor abolition act 1974, the interstate migration workmen act (regulation of employment and conditions of services) 1979, and the minimum wages act 1974 of government of India³⁶.

The people in the district are highly disadvantaged and hence subjected to forced and distressed migration. It is happening from the lack of political will, weak leadership from the district, absent of people’s movement, apart from the natural causes. Among the migrants, women and children are the most vulnerable groups. Women are subjected to sexual harassment; childrens are denied their right to education. Migrations lead to deterioration health. There is no health insurance coverage for them. In the absence of alternative livelihood options their bargaining power is very low. The labour of Mahabubnagar migrants were used as the source of cheap labor for building various major dams. During the pre- liberalized years the government paid little attention to change the migration conditions. Apart from the making several laws to give protection, state have done nothing. State intervention and response (was) is very passive. Instead of taking migration question as a holistic approach the problem was taken an individualistic one. The problem might need multi-dimensional solutions. “In the very first decades after independence while there were some attempts to bring about certain agrarian changes, soon there was compromise.³⁷” When the Indian state was a responsive and a development state at that time, nothing has been done to give a respectful livelihood to the marginalized migrants of the district. During 1980s itself there were policies towards liberalization, it was liberalized after 1991. Privatization, liberalization and, globalization process was set on the motion. State retreated from the social service sector as is visible from the data on government budget allocations. After liberalization Indian government’s

³⁶ Olsen, W. and R. V. Ramana Murthy (2000) ‘Contract Labour and Bondage in Andhra Pradesh. (India): Case Study of Palamur Contract Labour’, Journal of Social and Political Thought, 1(2), 2 June., <http://www.Yorku.ca/jspot>.

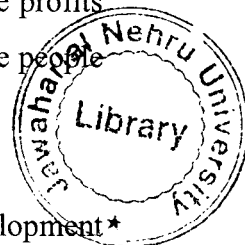
³⁷ Hara Gopal, G. (1997), “*Political Economy of Human Rights: The Emerging Dimensions*”, Himalaya Publishing House, New Delhi, p-123.

share of social sector expenditure has not been increased, and expenditure was lower during 1990s than in 1980s.

Andhra Pradesh became a laboratory for the neo-liberal policies, and had very low social service expenditure during 1990s. Its social sector expenditure on health and family welfare was 1.06% in 1990-91 of NSDP; it became 0.84% on 1995-96.³⁸ LPG entered India with a lot of promises. But all sections of the population are not the beneficiaries from this process. There are globalization winners and losers. Poor nations and poor people within a nation are the losers. Indian Constitution was aware of the persisting inequalities. It stood for the upliftment of the disadvantaged people and incorporated “social justice” provisions in the preamble and subsequent articles. It stands for providing minimum desirable standards to achieve the social justice and protection of human rights not only in the development concerns, but also in getting due shares in the development process. But state’s development persuasion in the post reform time goes against this spirit.” The current phase of capitalist expansion with the mood of reforms makes matters easier suppressing resistance. Repression is other face of globalization. As these policies are solely in the interest of the private profits by claiming community resources”. It is deprived in the name of development.

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Development means stability with growth. The development discourse incorporated the philosophy of “social justice”. Hence development with justice is integrated to the hitherto neglected, underprivileged, marginalized sections in the main stream of the society by providing various states sponsored economic and social benefits to them, poor people as the targeted beneficiaries. From the mid 1980s there is a shift in the development discourse i.e.; empowerment with development, which recognizes that human person as central to development. Economic development gets priority over human development. Individual welfare assumes important over community welfare. After this shift many communities are left behind. State is more concentrating on facilities like infrastructure development than upliftment. It has become unaware of its historical role of giving good life for its citizens. A democratic state must protect and safeguard interest of all. It must deal

³⁸ Mahadev, and Moiji, (2002), Social Services Expenditure in 1990S, *Economic and Political Weekly*, p-855.

with the conflict between capital and labour. It can not subject its people to 'Social Darwinism'. Globalization presence means great prosperity for the few and continuing inequality and poverty many, so the common man needs state and state intervention"³⁹. In this back ground what happens to the lives of the migrant labourers. Mahabubnagar has been contributing cheap labour to the country in the form of vulnerable migrant labourers. During the initial decades of independent state intervention was positive and very high. Till the 1980s Indian state was very active in intervening for the improvement of lives of the marginalized sections of the society. Why could not the state do any thing to change the lives of the migrant labourers, whose condition was well known during that period also? Why was the state playing discriminatory role in utilizing its legitimate natural resources for the people of the district? After liberalization, state intervention has been reduced to a considerable level. Data shows that during 1990s migration has increased. In the absence of state intervention before and after liberalization their vulnerability increased. The migrant labourers are subjected to violation of their human rights. Susan Muller Oakum defines Human rights as claims to some thing (whether a freedom or a good or benefit) of crucial importance for human life. The Indian government development policies based on privatization of economy might have a negative impact on human rights. Contributing to increasing inequalities, dismantling social service sector with adverse effects on the poor and restricts the labour union rights. Indian unorganized sector is now adversely affected after liberalization of economy. Agriculture, traditional manufacturing sectors are now to compete with the highly subsidized imported goods. In Agriculture sector capital investment is declining. The cost of farm input has been increasing because government is slashing on fertilizer, electricity, irrigation subsidies ever since reforms began. Minimum support price is also low. Now agriculture and traditional manufacturing sector have come under stress. For livelihood strategy migration from this sectors have been increased. Some people also committing suicides. All this evidences shows that basic human rights violations are taking place. After migration they are subjected to other types of rights violations. They are excluded from the welfare schemes at the place of origin and destination. Their civil, Political, Socio, Cultural and Economic rights are violated. It

³⁹ Singh Hoshier, (2004), op.cit. no.1, p-73.

includes right to livelihood right to development and basic right to life. This case study of this research broadly focuses on the twenty-five years (1980-2005) of time. Because, in India the gradual liberalization policy orientation was happened during the decade of 1980s, and a comprehensive policy shift like a 'big-bang' was happened in the decade of 1990s. To capture the near the complete phenomenon of this policy effects on the palamur labour it was suitable to take this time frame.

1.5. Hypotheses

The following hypotheses are to be tested in the research, which are as follows:

- 1) *Low average rain fall, Drought, distressed economic conditions created by lack of state intervention in the utilization of the legitimate water resources are the main causes for the prevailing distressed conditions in the district. Apart from that the historical, social, cultural and economical reasons are working behind the labour migration from Mahabubnagar district. During the post-independence situation the place had been kept backward by exploitation of it's natural resources' to the advantage of the capitalist agriculture development in other well-off regions of the state. The district was soon turned in to a place of cheap labour for the capitalist agriculture development. As a consequence the right to livelihood is been violated at their native places. Subsequently their civil, political, social, cultural and economic rights are also been violated.*
- 2) *After liberalization, new push has been created by changing economic policy priorities of the state. As a consequence the conditions of labourers are aggravated in their native place and as well as at the place of migration.*
- 3) *State policies, which are keen to take human rights perspective are incapable in reducing the magnitude of migration and have not, addressed the problem of palamur migrant labour.*

1.6. Objectives of the Research

The present research focuses on the following objectives:

1. To study socio-economic and political conditions of Mahabubnagar district.
2. To examine the major causes that lead to labour migration from Mahabubnagar to other parts of the country.
3. To examine the state intervention in mitigating the distressed migration during the liberalized period.
4. To analyze various types of human rights violation of the palamur migrants.
5. To see the extent at which state plays a role in providing irrigation facilities to the district.
6. To examine the state response to the distressed labour migration of the district.

1.7. Methodology of the Research

The research is pursued on the basis of descriptive and analytical methods. The study is based both on primary and secondary sources of information including the review of government reports and documents. Secondary resources include various books and articles that exist both in English and Telugu literature. To understand the liberalization process on the migrant labourers and their human rights, the study would focus on comparative aspects of two decades of 1980s and 1990s. More focus is on distressed migration. The research design of the study emphasizes on exploratory and research technique on case study. The research will be interdisciplinary in approach.

1.8. Organisation of the Study

The present research has been organised into five chapters which are as follows:

I. Introduction: The first chapter starts with an introduction giving an overview of the topic, review of literature, objectives, hypothesis and methodology of the present study.

II. Contextualizing Globalization in India: The second chapter on “Contextualizing Globalization in India” gives the conceptual analysis of the term globalization and

liberalisation. It gives an historical account of the process of economic globalization and the market integrations. The chapter also critically analyses the latest phase of capitalist expansion through the conditionalities of international financial institutions. There is also a critical analysis of Indian economic development since independence. The last part of the chapter focuses on the changing federal relations in India in the context of state of Andhra Pradesh's initiative towards market integration.

III. Palamur Labour in Liberalized India: The third chapter "Palamur Labour in Liberalized India" focuses on the structural causes of palamur labour migration. It discusses the historical, social, cultural and economic situations of the district. It also analyses the physical aspects regarding rainfall, drought situation and provisioning of irrigation in the district. Also has been discussed the effects of these factors on the livelihoods of the people and the parallel impact of economic liberalisation policies on migrating population of the district.

IV. Globalised Rights and Localized Violations: Situating palamur Labour Rights: The fourth chapter "Globalised rights and Localized violations: Situating palamur Migrant Labourers' Rights" starts with the general description of human rights discourse and proceeds with a critical analysis of globalisation of economy vis-a-vis universalisation of human rights. In the following section some evidences of rights violation of palamur labourers has been presented. What follows next is a discussion on rights of palamur labourers enshrined in various documents. Lastly, there is an appraisal of universal rights in relation to palamur labour rights violations.

V. Conclusion: the concluding chapter gives an overview of the research including summarization, observations and recommendations.

II

CONTEXUALISING LIBERALISATION IN INDIA

Since the last decade Globalization has been a buzz word dominating academic discourses across the world. Globalization as a process has not integrated the whole globe uniformly. Some countries are more integrated and some are less. It differs in degree, quality, and quantity. There are few countries still reluctant to integrate. However, for practical reasons 'liberalisation' which is much small a category of analysis has been preferred to globalisation. 'In response to the contemporary globalization process, economic liberalization has been taking place in India.'¹ There is a causal relationship between economic liberalization and economic globalization. Liberalization comes as an economic policy initiative to restructure the economy from inward-looking (import substitution) to out ward oriented (export led growth). Still it is an empirical question as to what extent India has been integrated into globalization process? Hence, the meta-category 'Globalization' doesn't capture the very concrete integration better than liberalisation. So liberalization is the appropriate category to assess the integration of an individual economy's integration, especially with regard to the least developed economies.

Globalization has been defined differently by different scholars. For liberals, it is an integration of markets of different spaces coming under a common umbrella of 'global market economy'. This integration is beyond control of any nation- state. This integration for them produces stability and harmony in the world. But on the other hand Marxists would see it as an expansion of capitalism through its expansionist dynamism. It causes asymmetry in the world and produces domination. According to them earlier the domination happened through colonialism, now it is through neo-colonialism. The solution for this is 'doing away with the market'. To begin with, this

¹Dutta Dilip, (2004) "*Effect of Globalization and Poverty in Dualistic Economy: The Case of India*" www.econpapers.repec.org/paper/pasasarce/2002-08.htm.

chapter discusses various definitions of globalization and, in particular at least four significant perspectives on it, namely economic nationalist, liberalist, Marxist and feminist on international political economy, in which liberal economy assume greater importance over other perspectives. Feminist perspectives act as a critique of and reflective on this process. Globalization as an ideology has both the components of 'description and prescription'. But the cluster of ideologies is very inconsistent and contradictory in its application in the real world. Liberalisation is a policy of indicating macro restructuring process of economy of the countries to orient themselves toward world market. It would happen through the conditionalities of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Their conditionalities have two components - 'macro economic stabilization and structural adjustment programme (SAP)'. The major globalizers are western developed countries. They could manage it through their controlled international financial institutions. There is also an alliance that has emerged between them and the indigenous elites. The major losers are developing countries, workers, farmers, small business groups, and adivasis etc.

India after attaining political independence, aimed at gaining economic independence too, and there fore upheld the doctrine of economic nationalism. It was set to be achieved through centralized planned economy. The theoretical basis was prepared by 'Mahalanobis'. This model of development was called Mahalanobis model. This model could not visualize the difficulties in the balance of payment situation was tentative on international trade. It ambitiously aimed at achieving socialism through democracy as an instrument. India also could not pay much attention towards agrarian land reforms. It failed to maintain 'monopoly restrictions' among the capitalist class. All these factors cumulatively pressurized Indian state to succumb to liberalization policy. Prior to new economic policy (NEP) of 1991, there was a gradual change in the economic policies; in 1991 it came as a big bang or as a shock therapy. Henceforth, Indian State started "*withdrawing it self from the commanding heights of the economy*" (emphasis is mine). This withdrawal has its own implications on India's federal structure, which was earlier characterized as '*cooperative federalism*', it now changed to '*federal market economy*'. Politically, it also characterized an end of the one party dominance and emergence of regionalization of Indian politics. This gave an opportunity to the states to have direct economic contacts with international financial institutions. In turn, World Bank also

found a good opportunity to lend money with conditionalities to the states. It approached Andhra Pradesh (AP) first. The unique political and economic context provided conclusive opportunities for the economic regime change under Chandra Babu Naidu, the then Chief minister of AP. The pressure exerted on the political regime from the popular assertion and electoral compulsions made the regimes to pursue populist programmes. The liberalization in Andhra Pradesh was projected as a success but it did start showing its negative effects soon afterwards.

2.1. Defining Globalization

Different definitions try to capture the phenomenon of economic globalization. Samir Amin's analysis is that the present economic globalization is based on certain economic conditionalities such as deregularised and more flexible labour markets, unlimited privatization, cuts on social spending, emphasis on fight against inflation, and uncontrolled openness to international capital transfers, which are enforced by the international financial institutions. According to him "as globalization advances, so does the subordination of national policies made uncontrollable through fundamental neo-liberal choices".² For James Petra and Chronis polychromous, globalization from the beginning was associated with imperialism. Pre-world war-II expanded through European capitalist accumulation and third world countries resource exploitation. Present phase of globalization is also the continuation of continuation of imperialism but in a more sophisticated manner. Accordingly, this process is neither linear nor homogeneous. The globalization of the past and present phase always confined to particular geographical spaces. The ascendancy of globalization is a product of "capitalist forces defeating indigenous working class, peasants, small businesses, political forces, capturing the state and enforcing the anti welfare policies".³ According to A.K. Bagchi globalization has fragmented meanings but two generic connotations are attributed to it. one connotation is non-economical as spreading of human civilization, art facts, institutions pattern of living, information and knowledge and the other is that a deliberate policy initiative by the individual countries aimed at

² Samir Amin. (1998) "Globalization and Alternative for a Progressive and Democratic New World Order", *Indian Journal of Human Rights*, 1 (2), July-Dec, p.1.

³ James Petra, and Chronis poly Chronious, (1997) "Critical Reflections on Globalization", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Sep 6., pp. 22-49.

spreading certain institutions, modes of doing business, producing and trading commodities, service and information across the states of the world.⁴ There is greater integration taking place among human, as well as capital, commodities and services. Anthony Giddens defines economic globalization and analyses its progress. According to him, what has happened is based on a kind of marriage of information technology and computerization linked to the emergence of global monetary system which hadn't existed earlier. He views that 'technological determinism' causing this process. There is an emergence of global information society and global information economy which he calls 'weight less economy'. It is really a transformation in communication structures with the help of global satellite system. There is an emergence of global cosmopolitan society.⁵

For Baldev Raj Nayar economic globalization provides challenges as well as opportunities. Also he says that “economic globalization and economic nationalism are two fundamental forces that have been shaping the world’s economic terrain over the last few centuries.”⁶ It means these two forces are playing an important role in shaping the trajectory of the world economy. While defining the Economic globalization, he makes clear that, "It is the expansion of the market so as to encompass the entire globe within its sphere"⁷ This is a process of integration of national economy in to the world economy, and a process of market integration. Market and capitalism have very close relationship, which have the tendency towards relentless expansion so as to bring the entire globe under their reign. Nayar describes two phases of globalization, and distinguishes between present phase of globalization with earlier phase. The Earlier phase of globalization was a widening phase or extensive phase during the years 1870-1914 that brought the entire planet under its way of market and was shattered with the First World War. Post world war-II phase could not pick up partially because considerable part of the globe was under the communist regimes. The current phase of globalization started in the last quarter of

⁴ Amaya K. Bagchi, (1999) “Globalization, Liberalisation and Vulnerability; India and Third world”, *Economic and political weekly*, 34 (45), Nov 6., p. 3219.

⁵ Anthony Giddens (2001) a lecture delivered at the London school of Economics, 'Politics After Sociolism' 5 – 20 January

⁶ Baldevraj Nayar. (2003) “Globalization and India's National Autonomy”, *Common Wealth & Comparative Politics*, 41 (2), July, p.15.

⁷ Baldev Raj Nayar, (2005) “*The Geopolitics of Globalization*”, New Delhi, Oxford university Press, p-12

the twentieth century and still continues. It was followed by dramatic advancement in technology, transport, communication, jet aircraft in aviation etc. He argues that 'technological determinism' at work has given rise to this phase and 'accommodation or adjustment to globalization is thus an imperative for states'.⁸ According to Riyaz Punjabi, globalization has been defined as a network of interdependent relationships across the 'multinational distances' and a phenomenon that can be contrasted with localization or regionalization. It also means unrestricted flow of capital goods services, ideas and increasing mobility of people across the globe.⁹ Rakesh Gupta argues that 'Globalization is a very old process of integrating and fragmenting the world: integrating on the basis of hegemonic power-designed by the western capitalist countries, and challenges to the hegemonic power'.¹⁰ It also means penetration of the more advanced regions in to the peripheries. For Nirmal Jindal, the term globalization refers to integration, interdependence, multilateralism, openness and interpenetration with peace and stability in international system.¹¹ For him, it is not only the function of technological determinism at work, but it is also partly a function of political powers and political choices. It is all about breaking down the territorial boundaries to promote global connectedness. The state withers away and remains a minimalist state. But David Held does not agree with this proposition. For him far from globalization leading to 'the end of the state', it is stimulating a range of government and governance strategies and, in some fundamental respects, a more active state.¹² State is needed because markets are more liquid and enhance source of instability. Financial and industrial capitals are more prone to exit quickly. According to him, 'the wired world' disturbances of any sort travels rapidly across the globe'.

Edward goldsmith argues that according to Marxism the liberal model of development is imperialism. It is also continuity of the colonial era and the era of development in the post-colonial world. In his words "if development and colonialism are the same process under a different name, it is likely that they share the same

⁸ Ibid. p.19.

⁹ Riyaz Punjabi. (2000) "Globalization: The New Buzz word" *Journal of peace studies*, 7(5) September-October, P-1.

¹⁰ Rakesh Gupta. (2000) 'Globalization and Localization: A critical Analysis, *Journal of peace studies*, 7 (5) Sept.-Oct., p-3.

¹¹ Nirmal Jindal: (2000) Globalization and Security: Different Dimensions' *Journal of peace studies*, 7 (5). Sep-Oct., p-25.

¹² David Held "Regulating Globalization the Intervention of Politics", p-393.

goal"¹³ They achieve this goal by indigenous elites through consent and coercion. For Edward, the present phase of globalization is multi-national corporations (MNCs) led process, and therefore it is called 'corporate colonialism',¹⁴ is more ruthless and cynical. According to James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer, globalization as an 'ideology'¹⁵ is both description and prescription. As a description it refers to international trade, capital, information flow widening and defining the 'global village'. It also refers to 'changes in the capitalist organization of production and society, extension of a process of capitalist accumulation hitherto played out largely at the national level and restricted to the confines of the state.'¹⁶ As a prescription, it involves the liberalization of the local market for the flow of trade, and information for growth and human welfare. But in reality for them, it is a 'class project' and 'imperialism' which attempts to contextualize the flows locating them in a setting of unequal power among conflicting states, classes, and markets.¹⁷ According to them, the political big push towards globalization was a result of a dramatic change in political power away from leftist, populist and nationalist governments toward globalist government. Globalist not only shows the 'failure' of leftist regimes but try to achieve their predictions, no matter if it is through coercion also. Economically it was achieved through 'economic reforms.'¹⁸ For Akhilesh, globalization refers to "transformation of national capitalism to global capitalism."¹⁹

The three cardinal elements of economic reforms or new economic policy are globalization, liberalization and privatization. Globalization is the process of integration of national market in to the world market as discussed earlier, it is happening through the reduction in import duties and export restrictions, promotion of foreign trade, and permission for the flow of foreign technology and skills. On the other hand, liberalization "aims at dismantling bureaucratic regulations and control on

¹³ Edward Goldsmith, (2000) "Development as Colonialism", *World Affairs*, 6 (2) April-June, p. 25.

¹⁴ Corporate colonialism involves informal political control, innovation partial loss of economic sovereignty by the corporate capital recipient country.

¹⁵ Ideology to refer to system of thought and belief by which (individual and groups) explains....how their social system operates and what principles it exemplifies.

¹⁶ James Petras, and Henry Veltmeyer, (2001), '*Globalization unmasked imperialism in the 21st century*', New Delhi, Madhyam books, p. (1).

¹⁷ Ibid. pp-11-12.

¹⁸ Ibid. P. 26.

¹⁹ Akhilesh Chandra Prabhakar (2002) "Inequality in the Global Village: The Future Ahead", *World Affairs*, 6 (2) April-June, p.66

private corporate enterprises"²⁰ The third element is that privatization as a process involves private sector ownership of state owned undertakings which leads to denationalization of important state owned sector of the country. Liberalization particularly involves economic policy changes towards the removal of lingering constraints to industrial growth, also removal of export, and import restrictions of quantitative nature. Even to the "export promotion" reduction of both corporate and personal tax rates, by the concerned governments in order to integrate in to the globalization process is needed. Liberalization is also about deregulation of industrial and financial sectors under structural adjustment programme (SAP)²¹ dismantling of the regulatory system to facilitate increasing competitiveness, with the thrust for the benefits of the common people. According to Sushil Khanna there are three types of major reforms taking place in the country, first, in the financial sector, second, in the external sector reforms or liberalization, third, in the Industrial sector reforms, was all part of new economic policies in India.

Liberalization as a process is also a part of following the rules framed under General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT) which the Third World Countries are coerced to obligate. Some of the obligations under this agreement are to accepting all investment from abroad to boost up the trade policies; giving 'national treatment to the foreign corporations establishing themselves within a country's borders and involving in agriculture, mining, manufacturing or service industries; eliminating tariffs and import quotas on all goods, including agriculture produce; abolishing 'non-tariff barriers' to trade such as regulations to protect labour, health or environment, that might conceivably increase corporate costs.²² Liberalization also urges for increasing foreign direct investment (FDI), increase in total port-folio equity investment including foreign institutional investments. In the Indian context the entry of globalization process was set in to motion in the name of economic reforms that came in to existence in 1991. It was based on the following four important measures, fiscal policy reforms, monetary policy reforms, exchange rate adjustment and realistic wages and income policies. The second phase reforms including the financial social and public sector reforms, capital market, trade policy and investment reforms.

²⁰ Dilip Dutta, (2002). *Op.cit.* no, 1, p.5

²¹ Sunil Khanna, (1999) "Financial Reforms and Industrial Sector in India", *Economic and political weekly*, 32 (20-21), November 6, p. 32-31.

²² Edward Gold Smith, (2002). *Op. cit.*, no. 13, p. 34.

2.2. The Major Perspectives on Economic Globalization

The attitude towards globalization is clearly defined by structural position and distributive consequences. Globalization ideology and its universal appeals are grounded mystifying its profound class roots and class inequalities²³. In this context the political economy is seen as "the reciprocal and dynamic interaction of pursuit of wealth and the pursuit of power"²⁴ Each perspective prescribes the arrangements and restructuring of market, state and society. If economic globalization is all about market economy, which engages in a critical relationship with the state, it has impact on the international relations. Markets are 'self-regulating and attain their own perfection in the assumption of the liberal economists. At the same time, minimal intervention of the state in the economic affairs is deserved. It was mentioned earlier that globalization is all about integration of different markets, because market is not only confined to the capitalist economies, but even the communist regimes had markets. The dynamism of capitalist system is driven by the profit motive, and it must compete in the market and service. Competition weeds out the inefficient rewarding efficiency and innovation. Mc Neil argues that "in the absence of market, capitalism loses its creativity and vigour".²⁵ The market economy is one in which goods and services are exchanged on the basis of relative prices. In the absence of any constraint, markets have the tendencies to expand. The three characteristics are responsible for the dynamism of the market. Firstly, the critical role played by relative prices in the exchange of goods and service. Secondly, there is the centrality of competition as a determinant of individual and institutional behaviour in the market. Thirdly, efficiency determines the survivability of economic actors.²⁶ Market Also has tendency to change every relationship in to a market relation. This commercialization even brings all traditional societies into the orbit of the price mechanism. It has this tendency to inclusion of some and excludes some on the draconian terms. However, the concern of the state is different. Its origin was to represent the "collective and social good" of the society.

²³ James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer, (2001), *op.cit.*, no.16, p. 34.

²⁴ Robert Gilpin ' *Political Economy of International Relations*, Princeton, Princeton University Press 1987, p. 11.

²⁵ Mc Neil " *The Pursuit of Power: The Technology, Armed Forces Since A.D*", 1000, Chicago, University of Chicago Press; as mentioned in Robert Gilpin, 1987, *op.cit.*, no.22, p. 18.

²⁶ Robert Gilpin, (1987), *op.cit.*, no. 22, p. 19.

The first perspective is of *economic nationalism* or originally known as mercantilism also known as statism, protectionism etc. The central idea is that economic activities are and should be subordinated to the goal of state building and the interests of the state. International relations are to be determined for economic benefits. The defensive economic nationalism exists in the less developed countries; they pursue protectionist related policies to protect their nascent and emerging industries. Self-sufficiency attainment assumes importance than economic dependence. Their production is meant for self-reliance and import substitute policy. The second perspective is *liberal perspective*, in reaction to the first perspective. For liberals, economy and politics exists in the different spheres. According to its particular rules and logics, liberal economy is committed to free-markets and minimal state intervention. They emphasize on individual liberty, equality, individualism, free market and private property. Liberal economic principles are for organizing market economy to achieve higher economic growth, individual welfare and maximum efficiency. They believe that individuals always maximize their utility. Their behaviour is structured by certain economic laws which are impersonal and politically natural (apolitical). The state is needed when "the market failure" happens, in order to provide the public good."²⁷ There would be harmony in the long run in the society. They do not believe that any causal relationship exists between advancement of capitalism and the imperialism. 'They believe that economics is progressive and politics is retrogressive.'²⁸ According to this perspective, trade and economic integration becomes the source of peaceful relations among the nations. The third perspective is that of the *Marxist perspective*. "Marx himself viewed capitalism as a global economy"²⁹. This perspective essentially was a reaction to the liberal economy. According to this perspective, 'private ownership of means of production, and wage labour existence are the main characteristics of capitalism. The inherent problem in capitalism is that over production and under consumption and anarchy causing periodic depression and economic fluctuations. The motive for profit leading to over-accumulation leads to impoverishment of majority population in the face of unemployment and declining wages. Capitalism draws the global periphery in the market economy. The end of market would be the only means to do away with

²⁷ Olisan, (1965), "*The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*", Cambridge, Harward University Press, as mentioned in Rabert Gilpin, 1987, *op.cit.*, no.22, p. 29.

²⁸ Robert Gilpin, (1987), *op.cit.*, no. 22, p.35.

²⁹ Ibid, p.29

uncertain liberal economy. But it did not happen, partially, because the success of liberal economy and subsequent imperialism.

The fourth perspective is of the *Feminist perspective*; it reflects its contribution to globalization in three sub-perspectives. Their reflection is on global economy's capacity to work as a unit in the real time, neo-liberal ideologies and belief in guiding this process, culture being homogenizing and heterogenizing.³⁰ *The first* sub-perspective is gender and political economy of development, with its focus on the effects of the structural adjustment program (SAP) on the shaping of gender relations. It takes inspiration from socialist feminist tradition and argues that global market system has been "hyper-masculinised" which recognizes certain knowledge as valid. Women in this manner systematically have been excluded. The labour is also feminized and ghettoized. At the same time, there is consolidation of "private sphere" through emergence of neo-nationalisms. Their mobility is regularized. According to Rege's understanding, "the history of economic inter-nationalization through a gendered base lays the nexus between patriarchies and the capitalist enterprises makes both as an operational reality and an analytical strategy".³¹ *The second* sub-perspective is of post-colonial/transnational analyses as to how inequalities of class, gender, nationality, sexuality and ethnicity were created over time and space in particular ways. The emphasis is was on 'the diversity of womanhood tries to understand specific process of domination and subordination'.³² It studies the incorporation of third world women in the global division of labour. According to this perspective, what is inherent to globalization is that 'the redomestication of women is made apparent in home based works. The migration also assigns gender specific labour. However *the third* sub-perspective transiology or post communist perspective is less documented. It emphasis on the loss of former socialist rights to employment, living wages, child care and other public services as disproportionately affecting women. The diffusion of western type of democracy is masculinising the public sphere. Gurrappa Naidu also argues in these lines only that, the conditionalities of SAP required policy-prioritization, not according to the loan recipient country's

³⁰ Sharmila Rege, (2003) "More Than Just Tacking Women on to the 'Macro Picture' Feminist Contributions to Globalization Discourse", *Economic and Politic and Weekly*, 38 (43), October 25, p. 4556.

³¹ Ibid. p. 4559.

³² Ibid. P. 4559.

interest. These countries priorities are like eradication of poverty, employment, generating improvement in social infrastructure, health services, and equitable distribution of wealth etc. The sole goal of profit motivated MNC's is to capture the national economy. In this process national priority would lose to MNC's. Agriculture sector faces a challenge from general agreement on trade and tariff (GATT) and world Trade organization (WTO). There is abandonment of channelizing the trade to determine the value or the nature of the import and exports, dismantling quantitative restrictions. There is commercialization of agriculture taking place and negligence of this sector. Small and marginal farmers are affected by a reduction in the fertilizer and chemical subsidies and budget in the poverty alleviation programmes, and dislocation of rural economy hitting the rural poor directly. SAP necessarily entailed costly food for the 'working people' because of the reduction of magnitude of food subsidies.³³ He also argues that the gender discrimination against women is growing in the following manner. *First*, economically, through discrimination in work, in favour of male workers, marginalization, through unpaid and informal labour, there is also ghettoisation through feminization of work in the market place, *second*, exploited through informalisation of traditional sectors? *Third*, politically, it is through exclusion from the domestic political process, and loss of control to global pressure. *Fourth*, it is cultural through losing their identity and autonomy to a hegemonic global culture. There is increasing commodification of women's body; even migration policies favors to trafficking of women.³⁴ In India Dalit women are unable to purchase basic items in the face of sharp rise in prices, and decreasing opportunities of income generation.

The ideology of globalization consists a set of political ideas and beliefs. Manfred makes six claims in this regard. According to him, these ideas are enough to preserve the class relations. It confines to a set of complex and contradictory social processes leading to post modern condition of globality. The main component of this ideology is that decontestation of the different claims, which gives legitimacy to this process. The six claims, the globalist proposes, are for gaining political gravity and public policy formation. These claims are Firstly globalization is about the

³³Y. Gurrappa Naidu; (2006) "Globalisation and Its Impact on Indian society", *Indian Journal of political science*, LXVIII (1), January-March, p. 64.

³⁴ *Ibid.* pp --

liberalizations and integration of market, capitalism, freedom and democracy as the related ideas. Secondly, globalization is inevitable and irreversible is a determinant language, and conservatism. Thirdly, nobody is in charge of globalization; market is self-regulatory and leader less. Fourthly, globalization benefits every one (... in the long run). Fifthly, globalization furthers the spread of democracy in the world. But, on the contrary she opines that through cohesion market entering in some areas. Sixthly, globalization required war on terrorism which is in proximity with militarism, and nationalism³⁵.

2.3. The Major Globalizing Institutions

Is globalization, as a process was an automatic development? Some scholars would see it as a natural process. For example for 'Technological determinists' it is a natural outcome of technological developments, which was taking place during the second half of the twentieth century, taking the process beyond control of any country. There is shrinkage of 'time and space', faster and bigger semiconductors, fiber optics, and internet have radically cut the costs of transmitting information.³⁶ E-commerce has become a possibility because of these changes. Some times it is becoming impossible to any nation-state government to have a control over finance capital, which is volatile. The limitation of technological determination is that it is strong regarding international finance, But weak in trade and multi-nationalization of production. The other view point regarding this process is that, it is neither technological determinism nor a natural process, but there are some forces pushing forward this process with the help of technological sophistication. According to Samir Amin, the globalization is actively promoted by the 'triad' United states, European union and Japan because they enjoy five monopolies, that is, the monopoly of finance, science and technology, access to planetary resource, access to means of communication and information, and weapons of mass destructions³⁷ are actively promoting peripheries and to join in this process. The technological determinism suits their interests. That they use the institutions like world Bank (WB), International

³⁵ Manfred B. Steger. (2005) "Ideologies of Globalization", *Journal of political ideology*, 10 (1)

³⁶ Geoffrey Garret, (2000) "The Causes of Globalization", *Comparative political studies*, 33 [6/7], Aug. /Sep., pp. 955-958.

³⁷ Samir Amin, 1998. *op.cit*, no.2, p. 1.

monetary Fund (IMF) as the promotive mechanisms or instruments, through their conditionalities, to fulfill the aspirations of these countries.

Joseph E Stiglitz argued that, the promise of globalization has been broken. The rules globalization game is not in favour to the poor nations and people. He is skeptical about globalization's potential to change and enrich every one in the world specially the poor people. If it is the case then, how globalization has managed the imposition of international trade agreements on the poor nations. He also argued that, the terms and conditions of the global expansion are not for helping the developing countries. But it has been expanding on the basis of ideology and politics of the particular country. The policies of the international financial institutions especially, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund are based on the assumption that there is transparency. But these institutions are least transparent that became evident from their most opaque and hypocritical gestures when East Asian countries faced economic crisis. These institutions are undemocratic in their functioning. Stiglitz is very critical about the integration of the developing economies, because the markets of developed economies have become inaccessible to the poor countries.³⁸

Prabhat Patnaik and C.P. Chandrasekhar argued that the role played by these two institutions, in pushing the economy towards structural adjustment programme (SAP) and the loan packages with conditionalities, The WB is promoting the international division of labour which it inherited from colonialism and semi-colonialism. The late industrialized countries needed active state intervention. The Bank has remained absolutely faithful to this position of opposing state-intervention sponsored industrialization.³⁹ Gradually its packages insisted state's rolling back from industrialization to the removal of trade restrictions, government control and integration of global finance and domestic economy. The case of IMF was that, earlier it was concerned with stabilization and no modeling of SAP. After oil shocks of 1970's, it started imposing conditionalities for receiving funds such as privatization of public assets, opening up of financial market, and removal of exchange restrictions.

³⁸ Stiglitz E. Joseph, (2002) "*Globalization and its discontent*", Penguin

³⁹ Prabhat Patnaik and C.P. Chandrasekhar, (1995) "Indian Economy under Structural Adjustment" *Economic and Political Weekly*, November 25, p. 3003.

World Bank's conditionalities are Globalization, Liberalization and Privatization (LPG) also includes SAP loans with conditionalities from IMF. It would be proper to focus on the genesis, promotion, and implementation of the conditionalities of these institutions. Biplab Das Gupta asserts that in order to take SAP loans from WB and IMF, the recipients have to accept conditionalities. These two institutions are responsible for implementation of conditionalities in the world. These two institutions were started to help and ease the 'balance of payment difficulties' of the member states, funding the economic reconstruction or war ravaged Europe and to maintain buffer stock of primary goods in order to satisfy their prices. But these institutions never engaged in the task that they were supposed to do. Later USSR and allied countries stepped out from these institutions plus the voting power linked with the contribution or "quota" of the members brought the twins under the clear domination of the rich western countries and gave these pro-market and anti-state interventions on focus.⁴⁰ The IMF focus was to preserve the gold standards prescription was for the devaluation to encourage exports at a cheaper price and to discourage imports now available at a higher price, in case of imbalance persisted and reflected a fundamental disequilibrium. From the early days the conditionalities were oriented towards improving macro-economic management. The long term financial seekers went to WB which acted as an international Banker, assessed the viability of a project in terms of its capability of repaying the loan with interests and offered loans on the basis of guarantees provided by the governments.⁴¹ Now it has been backed by the integrated global capital market through the modern means of communications, rich countries with their good credit ratings in the twin institutions. Their role has grown especially in the Less Developed Countries (LDCs) since the 1970's. The conditionalities accompanying their loans now shape the economic policies of the recipient countries. But these countries do not have any saying in the decision making process, because their quotas are very minimal. In IMF, 'China's voting power is 3.72% India's 1.95%, but America alone has 17.10%⁴² G-7 countries account for roughly half the voting power which virtually control these institutions.

⁴⁰ Biplab Das Gupta, (1997) "Structural Adjustment Programme: Issues and conditionalities: Global Review", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (20-21), May 17-24. p. 1091.

⁴¹ Ibid; p. 1092.

⁴² The Hindu, September. 19, 2006, p. 9.

The political economy of SAP is to be understood at the following levels. In their operation they are concerned for the well-being of the less developed countries, or strong ideological commitment to free-market because of their belief that it is good for the mankind. To the contrast their action in the less developed countries by rational self-interested behaviours furthers the economic interests of the rich countries. The interest of the two institutions and the rich countries converges, therefore acting in the interest of the rich countries cornering, the interest of poor countries through self-centered policies. The genesis of SAP as a loan package was introduced by WB in 1970 and IMF began offering from 1986. These packages were the outcome of the 1970's economic upheavals promoted by two oil crisis in 1973 and in 1979-80. Lead by organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and supported by the developing countries, the OPEC countries earned petro-dollars, were deposited back to the west. So the banks were flushed with the funds willing to lend funds to anybody obviously. Major loss accorded to the LDCs, had forced to borrow funds from there. The formal official motive for launching this programme was to rescue the hard-pressed debtor countries through 'stabilization programme'. The other motive was consistent with rich country's self-interest, in order to find new market in the developing countries for the MNCs based in the west, were particularly went in favoring of those countries where the markets and governments were weak. The conditionalities became the means for the penetration of MNCs. The loan packages accompanied with conditionalities reflected the common market oriented approach of these twin organizations. Biplab Das Gupta makes a point as to how the conditionalities were being incorporated in the package in a subtle way to avoid hurting national sentiment and compromising the legitimacy of the recipient country.

The formal loan applications are proceeded by detailed negotiations between two (IMF and WB) and the government concerned. In the course of the negotiation various conditionalities are spelt and disputes are solved, eventually a policy framework paper (PFP) is prepared formally signed by the concerned country.⁴³ Whether politically acknowledged or not coercion is often applied. Some countries anticipate conditionalities and go for policy reforms. These conditionalities depend upon

⁴³ Biplab Das Gupta, (1997), *op.cit.*, no. 39, p. 1095.

the ideological orientation of the government, quantum of the loan that they are willing to take, and the type of loan as long or short term etc.

The IMF conditionalities are of different kinds. They are Firstly, devaluation of currency to bridge the gap between official and market exchange rate of the currency of the country concerned. Secondly, demand management by way of reducing government expenditure to reduce domestic effective demand and consequent inflationary pressure (c) Reduction of fiscal deficit as a proportion of GDP between 4% in phase.⁴⁴

World Bank conditionalities are less specific and aimed at reorienting the incentive structure in tune with market-centered economy and achieving LPG. Liberalization idea is that economic management should be left for the market. The prices should be determined by the interaction of demand and supply forces if commodities, labour power, capital, and land should be flexible. The allocation should be optimal and efficient to ensure that markets are allowed to do their jobs, and controls and regulations are done away. State should take back steps to allow the market play its invisible hands efficiently, even if it is in the form of subsidies and selective protection. If not, it would distort prices and make the resultant allocation inefficient. Privatization follows the economic philosophy that whatever public sector economic activities are in operation should be closed down, and public ownership should be confined to those natural monopolies and strategically important industries. On the other hand globalization is all about the idea that free and more trade is better for all the parties concerned. Tariffs, controls and restrictions raises the cost of domestic production comes in the way of those export items that could be treated in the global market on the basis of the country's comparative advantage. Inward looking economic activities hinder economic development and isolate in the global market. But according to Ismail, Bretton Woods system tragically did not reach its original goal of helping the developing countries, but worked in favor of advanced nations. These twin institutions did not bring any prosperity to the majority of the world's poor people. The present expansion of market and exploitation is done through the global capitalism and neo-imperialism, and these institutions pushing through the idea of

⁴⁴ Ibid. p.1097.

globalization.⁴⁵ Many scholars opine that the major promoters of globalization are powerful companies backed by the imperialist states⁴⁶ for their own economic interest.

According to James and Henry the big pushes towards globalization are political and economic. Politically, it was dramatic change in political power away from leftist, populist and nationalist regimes towards globalist governments. In social terms, the 'push' resulted from the defeat and retreat of trade unions and the declining influence of the working class, lower middle class and peasantry. "The ascendancy of the social classes engaged in international networks of capital and trade and particularly the financial sector".⁴⁷

2.4. Hyper Globalizers & Globalization Skeptics

Attitude towards globalization is defined by the structural position of the agent that could be a caste group, class, gender, and region and so on. This process is a source of great debates. The distributive consequence determines the individual position for or against. Globalization, ideology and its universal appeal are grounded in mystifying its profound class roots and class inequalities, because globalization is all about universalisation of markets and capitalism for a greater integration. The three groups have been emerging in these debates, globalizers; anti-globalizers and neutrals. For Anthony Giddens, hyper globalizers and globalization skeptics are projecting half the truth, and take the midway by acknowledging the process.⁴⁸ According to Baldev Raj Nayar, there are three major reflective groups they are agnostics, enthusiastic and critics.⁴⁹ Who are the winners and losers in this process? Is the game of globalization a win-win or win-loose game? In this situation of 'survival of the fittest' who are the winners and who are the losers? Does this game stand for

⁴⁵ Ismail Sharif and David Mlitting. (2002) 'Globalisation Old Wine in to New Bottle' *World Affairs*, April-June 6(2): p. 41.

⁴⁶ The globalisation caused sharpened the inequalities an analysis of long term trends in world income distribution shows that the ration between the richest and the poor was about 3 to 1 in 1820, 11 to 1 in 1913, 35 to 1 in 1950, 44 to 1 in 1973 and 72 to 1 in 1992. In 1992 it was 74 to 1 and 78 to 1 in 2001. See for further details; A.C. Prabhakar 'Inequality in the global village': The future ahead, *world affairs*, Apr. -June 2002 6 (2). pp. 65-66.

⁴⁷ James petras and Henry Veltameyer, (2001), op.cit. no,16, P. 47.

⁴⁸ Anthony Giddens, *Politics after Socialism*, (2001), op.cit, no.5, p.

⁴⁹ BaldevRaj Nayar; (2003), *op.cit.*, no.6, p.3

'winners takes all? Who are the major beneficiaries and marginalized. Through the view points mentioned by the developed and developing nations at the international level shows their difference in interest.

The hyper globalizers or globalization-enthusiastics represent the developed countries' view points. They would argue that, this process will help in bringing considerable capital investment for both institutional and individual development and increases employment opportunities to citizens of developing countries. Also it helps in increasing the possibilities of improvement in the well-being of masses through expansion of education facilities, therefore stimulating infrastructure development. It increases technological sharing from the advanced nations to the developing nations 'at no cost' it will eventually lead to equalizing working conditions, standards, attitudes and values globally. It also encourages MNC's to establish their subsidiaries in developing countries to facilitate import substitution to solve the problem of balance of payment. This process also generates new source or revenue for developing countries in the form of royalties and taxable incomes. It also promotes global peace given multitude of problems in the developing nations must deal with; they can cope up with the help of developed nations, through strong relations.

On the other, the globalization skeptics' point of view is represented by the developing countries. They argue that globalization is delivering considerably less than what it has been promising. The main critical points here are globalization has been decapitalising the developing countries by taking out more money in profit than what has been invested in these countries. Instead of bringing resources, MNC's tend to borrow money from the local creditors, thus depleting the scarce capital resources that might have been used by local businesses. The technological exchange creates in the long run dependency on the developed nations. With this MNCs with their eye-catching advertisements induce consumerism, will reduce domestic investments, and hinder domestic economic growth. MNC's can counter mercantilist restrictions in order to establish subsidiaries, would allow them bypass trade barriers continue their production, and collect their profit at the expense of the developing countries. Under the veil of this process, MNC's would discourage industrialization in the developing countries, which they think will compete with them. Instead they prefer that these countries concentrate on supplying raw materials and cheap labour. They are deprived

of added value derived from processing their own resources. The finished products must be imported which add to the costs of processing, transporting and profit to the final bill. MNC's are creating an elite class of wealthy individuals in developing countries, who are increasingly detached from the concerns of impoverished masses in their own societies. MNC's are becoming more footloose than ever, it is in response to changing economic conditions. These MNC's are creations of their home countries, which are thought to be thinking globally and acting locally.⁵⁰

These are the two contrary positions taken by the developed and developing countries. Many scholars would argue that globalization usually benefits the people, who can compete and play the game, and the chances are very less for the resourceless, uneducated, and marginalized in the structure, hardly earning livelihood through traditional production activities and therefore, they have been under pressure. Along with women the other globalization losers are adivasis, in the economic reform period in India and else where. Their dwelling forests and forest sectors are the most affected. Liberalization is mostly beneficiary when the economy is mostly organized, efficient and capable to compete in the local as well as in the world market. The economy of adivasis is less organized making them vulnerable and victims of the market economy.⁵¹ SAP accompanying liberalisation of financial and trade resulted in increasing volatility of employment, shrinkage of organized sector, resulting in the decreasing bargaining power of workers. Since the 1980s there have been direct assaults on labour in terms of labour conditions and benefits as well as its capacity to organize and negotiate contracts. Since then there is a decline of share of labour in national incomes of various countries, for example in Chile it has fallen from 48 percent to 38 percent, in Argentina 41 percent to 25 percent, In Mexico 38 percent to 27 percent".⁵² The digital divide is resulting in massive affluence for few and pauperization for many. Poor people those who are not having any access to productive resources are deprived. World's informal sector and low-income activities are growing. There is visibility in the decline of real wages and incomes. If this is the situation then it is an impediment to the world majority to lead a dignified life. The

⁵⁰ Ismail Shariff and David Mitting, (2002), *op.cit.*, no. 44, pp: 48-50.

⁵¹ Pushpa, Indukar, (2003) "*self-reliance and self-sustenance of tribal community, in the content of globalisation in post Economic reforms scenario of Indian economy*" Mukta Sahagirdar and Sushma Deshmukh (eds.), Amarvati Centre for economic social studies, , pp: 66-67.

⁵² Henry Veltmeyer, (2001) "Labour and World Economy", *Canadian journal of development studies*, 20, special issue, as mentioned in James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer, , *op.cit.*, no.16, P.123.

capitalist development process has separated large number of direct producers from their means of production. The technological development has created a pool of surplus labour. It has also led to the growth of relatively small elite of well-paid software engineers, executives and elite of 'information processors'. The wage earners seeking employment has increased and simultaneously impoverishment also. The winners always advocate for this process by saying it is an inescapable, inevitable and has potential for grand equalizing in terms of material prosperity and quality of life to all. But Riyaz Punjabi would argue that 'this process would reduce the people of the developing countries to mere helpless consumers, perpetuating a system of slavery, where the vast multitudes in these countries would be at the receiving end of the emerging economic order at the mercy of the developed world.'⁵³ Not only has that it served the interest of the mighty and well-off in the realm of economy. The richest 200 people's assets are more than the combined income of 41 percent of world's people. The assets of the three richest people are more than the combined GNP of all 48 least developed countries, which constitute a population of 600 million. There are 152 developing countries accounting for only 20 percent of the world's export during 1999. However, the developed countries accounted for 71 percent. Higher income economies control 78.3 percent of world GDP with only 15 percent of the world's population. Their share in the world exports has increased from 72.5 percent in 1983 to 76.2 percent; especially G-8 countries constitute 64.8 percent of the worlds GDP and 49.9 percent of worlds export with only 11.6 percent of the world population. During 1999 India being a low-income country of the world with per capita GNP of US \$ 430. It account for 16.6 per cent of the world population and 1.3 percent of world GDP in 1998. It shares in the world exports account only 0.6 percent. It shows hat how vulnerable these countries to the globalization process. The ILO report (1990-99) shows that world's 25 percent to 30 percent, labour are under employed, 140 million workers are fully unemployed. As many as 1.3 billion people over a fifth of the world's population survive on one to two dollars a day. Financial volatility, job-income insecurity, crime, food insecurity, loss of cultural diversity, community disintegration and environment degradation has been increasing. According to Akhilesh Chandra, 'the greatest losers are "the poor". During late 90s, 1/3 of the

⁵³ Riyaz Punjabi, 2000, *op.cit.*, no.9, p.1.

worlds willing to work population was either unemployed or under employed resulting in a greater income inequality.⁵⁴

In the world political economy, there are three classes of advocates and beneficiaries of globalization. The proponents always are from ascending countries within the world economy and the hegemonic states. Given the 'comparative advantage,' they gain much than lose from opening economy. Within the ascending nations the large dominant enterprises prosper and support it. James and Henry argue that the ascending powers proclaim universal principals of free trade, free market and free remittances. But they restrict entry frequently to promote and protect political allies of their regime; they establish privilege trade zones to exclude competitors. They further argue that 'hence globalization is both an imperialist and a class phenomenon the asymmetrical income flow affects the growth of the internal market as a whole but favour the rapid growth of export enclaves and the enrichment of local classes in the global circuit.'⁵⁵ According to the third group, globalization has its protagonists in high level state functionaries, academicians, publicists linked to the international circuits accompanied by the votaries of the same such as bankers, financiers, importers and exporters of goods and services. These, together manufacture and finance theories and concepts that could be used in justifying the process of globalisation.

The major adversaries are those groups who lack in financial power. In the developing countries the major adversaries have been the peasants. The big exporters gained credit and technological assistance at the expense of small producers. The introduction of technology by corporate agro-producers on extensive holdings have replaced the labour of local peasants and created a mass of displaced producers. The one more group adversary to this process is of workers in all countries against threat of plant relocation, cuts in pensions, health plans, and massive growth of job insecurity, low wages, despotic working conditions, and declining social benefits. Another group is small business group affected by subsidy cut back and de-industrialization etc. The advocates have their own international forums and organizations and act in common. But the exploited adversaries remain fragmented.

⁵⁴ Akhilesh Chandra Prabhakar, (2002), *op.cit.*, no. 17, pp: 68-70.

⁵⁵ James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer (2001), *opi.cit.*, no.16, p. 32.

2.5. Brief sketch of India's Development Trajectories since Independence

After waging a long battle against colonial rule, India attained independence on 15th August 1947. During the transition it had to pass through much turmoil. The aim of the national leaders at that time was not only to attain political independence but economic independence also. After consolidation of the political power rehabilitation of the economy from the ravages of world wars and partition, India chose to make a sharp break with the inherited colonial economic policy of *Laissez-faire*. That break was aimed at planned development oriented towards economic policy change, autarky and building socialism. It was said that "planning as an assertion of economic nationalism, ultimate control and direction of the national economy".⁵⁶ This was aimed at socialism through the political means of democracy. Economic nationalism was subsumed under socialism. India's development pattern until 1991 had consisted three dimensions. *First*, there was emphasis on capital goods, metal making and heavy engineering industries. Prominence was accorded to heavy, basic or investment goods industries. *The second* dimension was economy oriented inward looking for making India self-reliant and self-sufficient. *Third*, agent of change management and ownership of economy was to be done by state itself. In the opinion of Patnaik and Chandrasekhar the economic policy regime was not only a brain child of Nehru and his group, but rooted in the freedom struggle itself. The economy had been dominated by metropolitan capital in the pre-independence period. Freedom means freedom from this domination. It would not be possible without state taking active role in building strong economy and hoped transition to socialism. "The post-independence India became the classic case of *dirigiste* development"⁵⁷. Public sector occupying a sizeable economy in infrastructure and basic industries development along with private sector existence 'a mixed economy', Mahalanobis gave a theoretical basis, but, Indian state and class character of the planning became a matter of debate.

⁵⁶ BaldevRaj Nayar, (2001), "*Globalization and Nationalism*", Sage publications, New Delhi, p. 50.

⁵⁷ Prabhat Patnaik, and C.P. Chandrasekhar, (1995), *op.cit.*, no. 38, p. 3001.

Mahalanobis model was founded in the historical commitment of freedom movement to economic nationalism.⁵⁸ The model was conceptualized in 1955 in the approach of operational research to planning in India, was applied in the 'plan game' under the title of 'Draft recommendations for the formulation of the second five year plan (1956-61). The basic capital or investment goods industries was retained by the government and consumer goods industries, household industries, agriculture, service industries were allotted to the private entrepreneurs. This model envisaged a 'transition phase' during which labour intensive small-scale and household industries work for the sake of higher employment. The major components constituting a development pattern of this model were, building powerful major industrial base through investment in capital goods industries, inward orientation of the economy and subordination of small-scale industries to the capital goods industry. The problem was that no balance of payment considerations entered into calculations of this mode, no foreign trade considerations entered in to this model. The ownership was retained with the state 'this model had a sound basis in the economic theory of that time.'⁵⁹

The heavy industry strategy was to strengthen Indian economic position and national independence. The development of cottage and household industry can provide employment and consumer satisfaction. Nehru wanted ever expanding public sector on the commanding heights. His ideological pillars were socialism, Nationalism, democracy; plans were not for profits but for social gains. According to Patnaik, Nehru and his economic model represented a particular class or suited for the class, the Indian bourgeoisie. The plans were all in line with objective of the bourgeoisie. As a class configuration which prevailed upon which industrial capitalism was to develop, dictated in broad terms; certain course of action and the Mahalanobis strategy fitted in with this model.⁶⁰

Nayar characterizes Indian state from 1950's to 1990's as in between mercantilist socialism and liberalism. With its second five year plan, the Indian state launched to transforming India into an industrial and socialist society characterized by national-self-reliance. The political means were democracy and economic goal was

⁵⁸ Patnaik, Prabhat (1994), "*Critical Reflections Some Aspects of Structural Change in the Indian Economy*" as cited in BaldevRaj Nayar's, (2001), *op.cit.*, no.55, p.53.

⁵⁹ Ibid. P. 59.

⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 110.

socialism. He opines that there was in congruency between economic goals of second five year plan and political system of India. Plan was ambitiously goal determined rather than a resource based. It imposed forced savings; the emphasis on heavy industries, which was a long gestation associated, surpassed the already difficult employment situation. Agriculture was neglected government assumed greater burdens on its shoulders.⁶¹ Indian democracy was just installed from the up, not worked from bottom up, it was formal than substantial. Before proper implementation of this ambitious model, there arose foreign exchange crisis in 1957-58. Lack of resources and the concentration of maximum resources on core planning of developing industry food shortage arose, inflationary tendency set in. There were limited imports allowed. Very soon India went for obtaining loan from IMF. Though exchange crisis accentuated India sign an agreement to provide food grains under PL480. Very soon it became dependent, as already India was suffering from backwardness of economy, dependency in agricultural development, scarcity in capital goods, were aggravated with recent dependency on the west, especially United States.

After independence, Indian economy was made an insulated economy. The state chose to occupy the commanding heights. But the technological backwardness made Indian industries incompetent. The Indian economy was forced in tandem with World Bank and Unilateral stagnation, also encountered two wars with its neighbours. The third plans major problem was on the food front during 1964-69. Some economists started proposing liberalisation policies, like priority to agriculture, economic liberalisation through relaxation of license and economic control, reliance on market forces.⁶²

World Bank team visited India in 1964 headed by its president to, examine the requirements of the fourth five-year plan. It endorsed new Agriculture policy, by that time it had not imposed any strict conditionalities favored against agrarian reforms or cooperatives also recommended liberalisation and devaluation of rupee. When Mrs. Indira Gandhi become the prime minister in 1969 favored this and chocked-out the path. Though in 1960's industrial licensing remained unchanged, devaluation also

⁶¹ BaldevRaj Nayar, (2001), *op.cit.*, no. 55, pp. 88-101.

⁶² BaldevRaj Nayar, (2001), *op.cit.*, no. 55, pp. 97-99.

couldn't show much impact on monetary system. But agriculture policy removed any possibilities of socialist transformation of agriculture. India's dependent position of colonial legacy, and U.S. hegemonic global power to keep others dependent on it, shattered any radical transformation of Indian economy. All these happened not under guidance of planning commission. In the year 1969, congress government lost its credibility. It compelled Mrs. Gandhi to reverse the economic liberalisation policies. Old socialist rhetoric appeared in the political circles and 'Remove poverty' become the populist slogan. Some measures were taken out, such as the restrictions on big business, constraint on foreign business, nationalization of private banks etc. The new licensing policy reversed the liberalisation of mid 1960's. Emphasis was made on public sector expansion and certain industries exclusively were reserved for small-scale sector. Socialism found real expression in practice.

There was a retreat from radicalism during 1974-1984. India faced economic crisis, threat to national security, Bangladesh war, and also there was huge influence of refugees causing drain of food and finance. U.S. discontinued its economic assistance. India had to spend foreign exchange on food import on the high priced international market, which put strains on balance of payment. The OPEC oil price hike importantly badly affected Indian economy in 1973; also affected fertilizer and agriculture production. The poor performance of public sector also aggravated the situation. All these developments added to loosing legitimacy of the congress government. In 1973 Mrs. Gandhi disillusioned and shifted her economic policies towards growth oriented strategy. She started taking stern actions against employees. There were series of strikes taking place. "The policy shifted from the pursuit of social justice and socialism to discipline in the management of the economy through the adoption of orthodox measures."⁶³ It resorted to cure economy through policy shift towards economic liberalization measures. After emergency, in the 1977 elections congress party was defeated. It came to power again in 1980, and continued the old policies of liberalisation. Again oil price hike by OPEC in 1979, country had to confront with an enormous crisis in balance of payment. The policy change manifested in respect of liberalisation of some selective sectors, tougher attitude

⁶³ BaldevRaj Nayar, (2001), *op.cit.*, no. 55, p 114

towards performance in public sectors.⁶⁴ Deregulation and competition became the watchwords. IMF provided a massive loan. New industrial policy was announced which was hailed by the industrialists. The liberalization was an internal crisis as well as a world phenomenon.

Following the death of Indira Gandhi, her political successor Rajeev Gandhi became the prime minister. In his tenure as prime minister during 1985-90, he made liberalization as the centre piece of his politics programme. In his view, growth was an essential requirement for modernization, to make India an advanced nation in the 21st century. He took out the inherited socialist framework for the economic agenda. His tenure marked by "any absence of economic crisis is indeed the most distinctive aspect of his liberalisation efforts compared to all earlier policy shifts."⁶⁵ Rajeev Gandhi was committed for liberalisation, and reliance on private sector. Government role was shifted towards facilitator for the growth. In three areas, changes manifested in taxation, industrial licensing and trade policy. Direct and corporate taxes were lowered. The opposition came from the left parties, and within congress, government retreated from the liberalisation policies by realizing that these policies were not helping the poor. Once again unequivocally congress proclaimed its commitment to socialism.⁶⁶ In the year, 1989, National front government an unstable coalition went on with further liberalization of industrial policy.

During the Regimes of Mrs. Gandhi and Rajeev, there were policy orientation towards liberalisation, and still economy was controlled. In the year 1991, there was continuity with 1980's reforms marked acceleration and paradigm shift. It was a great historical event, because the earlier regimes had brought economy to a point of collapse.⁶⁷ According to Patnaik and Chandrasekhar high inflation, lowering foreign exchange reserves had caused the shift. But more over crisis was a speculative in origin. The speculation was unrelated to the real economy. Vulnerability of speculative forces in part was a result of its gradual liberalisation. The inflation shot-up badly affected the poor. Trade balance was worsening because of gulf war and high oil import bills. There was also current account deficit. They opined that India

⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 119.

⁶⁵ Ibid p. 121.

⁶⁶ Ibid p. 124.

⁶⁷ Prabhat Patnaik, and C.P. Chandrasekhar, (1995), *op.cit.*, no. 38, p. 3001.

could have overcome balance of payment crisis, and restored the confidence among the investors. There was also chance for accepting low-conditionalities from World Bank and IMF, instead of going for a whole gamut of SAP. It happened because of the 'Liberalization lobby' consisting WB, IMF, and Indian rich class. They attributed this change as a 'silent *coup*' trapped the country in to SAP.⁶⁸

Ultimately India chose the path of economic reforms in a big way in July 1991. Who were behind India's liberalization policies? Were the economic development policies adopted by the Indian government flawed or there were some external forces compelled India for this policy? Economic reforms policy consist two components, economic stabilization and structural adjustment programme to come out from the situation of defaulter in balance of payment front. India chose to go for stabilization and seeking help from IMF become inevitable to the restoration of macro economic stability and international confidence. That year budget drastically cut expenditure and the axe fell on social sector and capital expenditure. The economic orthodoxy was revived in order to meet the conditinalities set by IMF and WB. The shrinkage of state in favour of market started.

As discussed earlier, the integration of developing countries into the process was through the conditionalities of the international financial institutions. When India faced economic crisis in 1991, World Bank and IMF decided to support India to tide over the crisis. But they attached a precondition. The IMF made India to accept this precondition. India accepted article VIII of the articles of agreement of the IMF. The clause reads:

*No member shall without the approval of the fund, impose restrictions on the making of payments and transfers for current international transactions*⁶⁹

This implies that, any one whether domestic importer or foreign exporter, should be able to exchange domestic money for foreign currency to settle any transaction involving sale and purchase of goods and services from abroad. It was

⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 3002.

⁶⁹ As cited in IInd Labour commission Report, Report of the National Commission on Labour, Vol (i), Part one, Akalank Publications, October, 2002, pp.180-181.

after only India signed this article of IMF that the foreign funds and investments started flowing in. As a consequence India had to amend the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA), and the rupee was made convertible on current account.

For Nayar, the internal policies of economic development were defective. The strategy of heavy industrial development was beyond the means of Indian economy. The ideologically oriented strategy couldn't produce any surplus to reinvest in other industries; the recurring losses were to be borne by the government. In turn it had to depend on the external aid. There was a gross neglect of food economy and agriculture sector. In the last quarter of the century India's dependency increased along with economic marginalization and the growth rate could not cross the Hindu growth rate of 3.5 percent. For him it was a poor performance of the economy rather foreign pressure being the cause for the policy reversal. Marxist scholars like Prabhat Patnaik and Chandrasekhar would argue that there were contradictions in Indian economy, which state couldn't take effectively. State had to meet the growing expenditure to make sure domestic market expansion. It worked in a negative way in the absence of any effective and reforms to meet this expansion. The state's inability was visible to maintain or impose minimum discipline and respect for laws among the capitalist especially tax laws. Industrial goods production was narrow based in contrast to metropolitan innovative production. The affluent section of the society favored policy change from the beginning and they compromised with metropolitan class. For them imperialist pressure against the India's economic regimes was the main cause for the policy for instance WB coerced government of India to accommodate oil multinationals.⁷⁰

There are two different versions of liberalization account in India; one thing is obvious that these policies have the potentialities to create the real as well as speculative wealth. The other is in the absence of any authoritative distributive mechanism. It has the chance to tilt the whole process in favour of the well-off and nothing gainful to the worse off. Indian economic integration with the world economy had produced contradictions. One side economy had been showing positive results in some areas and in some areas it is affected negatively. In other words as discussed

⁷⁰ BaldevRaj, Nayar, (2003),*op.cit.*, no.6, pp. 10-20.

earlier, even in India there are globalisation winners and losers. As Sezhiyan describe the present globalised situation in the following way:

*We have the best of times; we have the worst of times. There is sparkling prosperity, there is stinking poverty. We have dazzling five star hotels side by side with darkened ill-starred hovels. We have everything by globalisation, we have nothing by globalisation.*⁷¹

The positive effects of globalisation process in India are the rate of growth of Gross Domestic Product has been on the increase from 5.6 per cent during 1980-90 to 9.2 per cent during 2006-07. The foreign exchange reserves were \$ 39 billions during 2000-01, has gone up to \$180 billion in February 2007. The cumulative FDI flows from 1991 to September 2006 were Rs 1, 81,566 crores (US \$ 43.29 billion). The electric equipment sector including computer soft ware and electronic sector attracted the highest FDI. Among the major winners the billionaires of India stands first. For them India is really shining.

*As per the Forbes list for 2007, the number of billionaires of India has risen to 40 (from 36 last year)-more than those of Japan (24), China (17), France (14) and Italy (14) this year. A press report was jubilant: This is the richest year for India. The combined wealth of the Indian billionaires marked an increase of 60 per cent from \$106 billion in 2006 to \$170 billion in 2007. The 40 Indian billionaires have assets worth about Rs. 7.50 lakh crores where the cumulative investment in the 91 Public Sector Undertakings by the Central Government of India is Rs. 3.93 lakh crores only.*⁷²

Now the worst of the times losers perspective or the negative fallout of the globalization process are, the foremost affected sector was the agrarian sector. The backbone of Indian economy is in crisis. The share of Agriculture in GDP during 1951 was 59 per cent and provided employment to 72 per cent of the population. By 2001 the population depending upon this sector came down 58 per cent where the

⁷¹ Era Sezhiyan, (2007) "Globalization of Indian Economy: Globe For The Rich-Zero For The Poor" *Mainstream*, May 4-10, p.7

⁷² Ibid. p.8

share of it went down to 22 per cent in 2006-07. The net result of this fall out is that lowering per capita income of the farmers and the rural indebtedness. The growth in this sector during 1980-97 decelerated to two per cent. "With more than half the population directly depending on this sector, low agricultural growth has serious implications for the 'inclusiveness of growth.'" ⁷³ Rural economy and agriculture sector were out of focus in the strategy of globalisation.

The number of rural landless families increased from 35 per cent in 1987 to 55 per cent in 2005. On May 18, 2006, agriculture minister Sharad pawar informed Rajya sabha that roughly 1, 00,000 farmers committed suicides during the period 1993-03 due to mainly indebtedness. Dependency on agriculture in India was 62 per cent where as in UK and USA is two per cent in Japan three percent. Joseph Stiglitz attributes the crisis in agriculture mainly to the forbidding subsidies in the sector and the trading regime is unfair to the developing countries. He further points out that:

*The average European cow gets a subsidy of \$2 a day (the World Bank measure of poverty)' more than half the people in the developing world live in on less than that. It appears that it is better to be a cow in Europe than to be a poor person in a developing country.*⁷⁴

The unemployment situation has also reached an alarming level. The proportion of unemployed to the total labour force reached 3.06 in 2004-05. By, the March 19, 2007, that the enrolment of unemployed in Employment exchanges in 2006-07 was 79 lakhs against the average of 58 lakhs in the past ten years.

In India, there also have been globalisation winners and losers. It seems that the lives of educated and the rich had been enriched; the IT sector particularly was the major beneficiary. The benefits have not trickled down to the majority people. It has posed new challenge to deprive and the poor among them and palampur labour falls in to that category. The slums are over populated in India for example Mumbai city out of its 13 million population 54 per cent do live in slum areas it has set to become slum of Asia to the slum capital of the World. Same case with Delhi also, out of its 14

⁷³ Ibid. p.8

⁷⁴ Joseph Stiglitz 'Making Globalization Work, as cited in Ibid. Era Sezhiyan, "Globalization of Indian Economy: Globe For The Rich-Zero For The Poor" *Mainstream*, May 4-10,2007, p.8

million population 45 per cent live in the slum areas. Both regions of Mumbai and Delhi receive 46 per cent FDI inflow.⁷⁵

2.6. Andhra Pradesh: The Pioneer in Economic Liberalization

The waves of economic liberalisation touched every region of the country. The immediate axe was fallen on, Indian federal structure. In 1990's India moved away from command economy to federal market economy. Earlier Indian state enjoyed a great deal of economic sovereignty; federal units were made dependent on the central government. But in the federal market economy the states command a large share of economic sovereignty. This shift has been the necessary conditions for economic liberalisation. Every nation state is an imagined community. In the same manner, they also have a national imagined economy. Nehru imagined in the 1960's a centralized planned economy and he also imagined big dams, self-reliance, and self-sufficiency, but now it is federal market economy.⁷⁶ Contemporary state chief ministers have become the main agents of federal market economy. Present shift in federalism in India can be theorized as shift from 'cooperative federalism' as the sharing of government function and authority to competitive federalism or inter jurisdictional competition as rivalry and contention for resources.⁷⁷ The federal market economy also means 'new pattern of shared sovereignty between the states and the centre for economic and financial decision making. Among the states there has been a greater competition for getting investments, and getting attentions through different policies.

There were specific reasons for this paradigm shift in the federal structure, being both economic and political. Firstly 'permit-licensing Raj' was dismantled with that effect, public investment started declining, and market dependency increased. It provided opportunity to the enterprising state governments. Secondly, at the centre liberalisation was implemented due to foreign exchange crisis. At the state level, it was the consequence of populist exploitation of budget constraints such as subsidies, administrative pricing, labour redemption of Indian party and government system

⁷⁵ Ibid. 10

⁷⁶ Lloyd I Rudolph and Susanne Heobet Rudolph, (2001) "Iconisation of Chandrababu; Sharing Sovereignty in India's Federal Economy", *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 5, p. 1541.

⁷⁷ Saez, Lwrence. (2002), "*Federalism Without a Centre*", Sage Publications Pvt Ltd. p. 149.

from one party dominant system to regionalized multiparty coalition government system. It was well documented that, central government's role for state's development economic planning is declining. It could encourage opportunities for grass root and inter-jurisdictional competition. Different jurisdiction started competing for international investments, through economic development subsidies, to try to induce potentially mobile firms to stay. Many states developed strategies and structural changes. It fastened detrimental tax competition among the states. They have adopted 'single window' clearances for industrial ventures. Some states have taken specialized initiatives.⁷⁸ The success of states depends on attracting private investments. In turn it depends on boldness, imagination, tactical and strategic skills of officials and political leadership. It is also hypothesized that competition causes race to bottom is driven by competition to provide a variety of concessions, allegedly will attract more and more investment, with that centre's role has shifted to regulatory state⁷⁹.

Andhra Pradesh was exposed to the liberalisation policy and became the fore runner in accelerating those policies. The specific conducive political and economic conditions made to happen. Andhra Pradesh, one of the Southern Indian States was ruled almost 30 years by the Congress Party, Nandamuri Taraka RamaRao (NTR), a matinee idol of masses with having performed in various roles from mythology to, social films, Founded *Telugu Desham Party* (TDP) in March 1982. Within 9 months of its formation TDP stormed in to power. It broke the congress party dominance in the state. NTR tried to consolidate his party's social base among the left out caste groups and, classes by other parties. He was known for his populist, proper policies like 2 Rs kg. Rice Scheme, free-mid day meals, Janatha clothes scheme etc. Later years these schemes became major political weapons for him. There was an internal *coup* in the party by Nadendla Bhaskar Rao in 1984 instigated at the behest of congress party. NTR carried a huge public sympathy. Assembly was dissolved; in the elections of 1985 he rose back to power. But TDP lost power in 1989 elections. Again in the 1994 assembly election NTR came back to power. By that time, India had comprehensively adopted liberalisation policy and was well exposed to the fiscal discipline. It also brought dilemma before all political parties that how to contain the

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 156.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p.160.

popular discontent, while keeping the liberalisation intact.⁸⁰ Though congress, and TDP do not have any specific ideological orientation towards poor. But NTR's populism worked well.

In July 1995 NTR's Son-in-law Chandrababu Naidu seized power from him through instigating defection in the party popularly known as 'August coup'. Blame was thrown on NTR's second wife Laxmi Parvathi for her interference in party affairs, which was not acceptable to family members of NTR. It was projected as a family affair but it was more than that. The rich enterprising class configuration was working against NTR's populist policies, which in their thinking were impediment in the road to market economy. It was also adversely affected the interest of the classes that have developed a strong links with the ongoing reforms. Chandrababu Naidu assumed office on 1 September 1995; as a chief minister he promised to accelerate the development of the state, both in agriculture and industrial sector by formulating new policies. He criticized the low pace of development during the tenure of NTR as chief minister.⁸¹ Though, Naidu held portfolios like revenue and finance during the period.

Along with center, states are also being exposed to the discipline of international leaders, such as the World Bank, Asian Development Bank (ADB). Chandrababu Naidu led the way by negotiating with WB by mid-year 2000. Five more states had followed his lead.⁸² WB started a programme called 'AP economic restructuring project (APERP) and it granted 2,200 Rs crores to different sectors of course with conditionalities 'while laying down a frame work for change in the macro economic policy, seeking to rationalize the pro-liberalization regime on the state, also suggest to the state to involve people in all development activities.

One more important document released by the government of AP is its vision document in 26 January 1999 called 'Vision 2020'. Naidu visited Malaysia in 1996, impressed with development of that country, without understanding the 'specificities of Malaysia. The vision of that document was to make AP as 'Swarnadhra Pradesh'

⁸⁰ G. Krishna Reddy (2002) 'New Populism and Liberalisation: Regime Shift under Chandra Babu Naidu in A.P, *Economic and Political Weekly*, March, , p. 874.

⁸¹ P. Raghunadha Rao (2003), "*History of Modern Andhra Pradesh*", New Delhi. Sterling Publishing House Private Limited, p. 216.

⁸² Rudolph and Rudolph, (2001), *op.cit.*, no.69, p. 1546

very much akin to market friendly growth led development. The strategies mentioned in the document were, to build up capabilities thorough human development by education, health facilities to create investor friendly environment. It has identified 19 items as "growth engines"⁸³ for priority investment. State was assigned the role of provider and facilitator "essentially as enabler to market-based development". State now will be limited to basic education, primary health, food security, rural infrastructure and let the market forces govern the rest. Government becomes 'Electronic. In the opinion of Narasimha Reddy market has driven this model needed investment of rupees 30 lacks crore up to 2020. It is not possible to meet this from the savings. So capital formation was expected from the private sources⁸⁴, it was grossly devoid of ground realities. The wrong with this document was in this opinion that its ideological wrap undermines equitable development, social justice, national priorities and political consensus, Smacks of the cynicism of the end of history kind.⁸⁵ Sounds like an advertisement copy of a market driven growth as the only alternative. Quoting from the document, Krishna Reddy also points out the role of state becomes as the facilitator. The governance has to meet three goals according to the vision document. First of all by over seeing its own withdrawal from all important sectors and remaining only as 'facilitator' of market reforms. Second, state will assume the duty as a promoter of private investment in the state and boost the economic growth. Third, making people participate in the development process.⁸⁶

In the era of globalization the liberalisation policy alteration is not a smooth transition. Political regimes face compulsions that range from electoral to mass movements.⁸⁷ Populism becomes a means to get relief from that pressure. The main factors of populism in the neoliberal economic regimes are 'popular compulsion over the neoliberal regimes and strategy to co-opt and build different constituencies for

⁸³ 19 growth engines are 6 from Agriculture Sector (Rice, diary, poultry, horticulture, fisheries and agro industry) 6 from industrial sector (Construction, mining, pharmaceuticals, small-scale industries and infrastructure) 7 from service sector (IT, Tourism, small scale services, logistics, knowledge based services, education and health care)

⁸⁴ D. Narasimha Reddy, (Ed), (1999), "*Andhra Pradesh Vision 2020; Celluloid or Real in Vision 2020 myths and realities*", Sundarayya Vignana Kendram, Hyderabad, p. 3.

⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 14.

⁸⁶ Government of AP (1999) "Vision 2020" Hyderabad, as cited in Krishna Reddy, 2002, *op.cit.*, no.73. p. 883.

⁸⁷ G.Krishna Reddy, (2002), *op.cit.*, no.73, P. 871.

changing political and economic ambiances.⁸⁸ It is also a political strategy to meet the distributive question and legitimacy of ruling-class coalition. Economics takes back seat and politics and ideological fronts decide the populism, to get support despite the regime being elite biased and anti-poor.

The main populist programme implemented by Naidu government was '*Janmabhoomi*' programme though this programme ended in a wasteful expenditure of public money. Some scholars would call this programme as social aspect of reforms. This programme gives legitimacy to state with drawl and included three programmes 1) *Prajlavadaku Paalana* (Government at the door steps of the people); 2) *Shramadanam* (volunteering labour) and 3) Micro planning.

Ever since economic reforms had been introduced in the state it has adversely affecting the poor, Dalit, Adivasis, Labors, women, back ward regions. The traditional industries were hit badly. Series of farmers' suicides indicate the emerging crisis in the agriculture sector, even the weavers committing suicides. The rising input price and non availability of market to their produce is making them vulnerable. Especially Andhra Pradesh was described as 'experiment' ground for economic reforms but has been producing the waves of disturbances in the common peoples' lives.

It was assumed that present phase of globalization has the 'speed' component, technological sophistication, economic integration, ideological universalism and most importantly universal consensus. But things seem to be exaggerated. Opposition is coming from everywhere on a global scale. It creates dependency, but not mutual dependency. The major beneficiaries are 'Triad' countries, within developed countries only small minority people are getting benefits and enthusiastically promoting market economy by leaving majority of underprivileged at the mercy of the market. The term 'inclusion' in this process is draconian. The exclusion means exclusion from history itself. This process gives least attention to certain universal principles like justice, equality, Right to be human and selectively choose and promote certain principles like liberty, individualism, capitalism, political and civil rights etc.

⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 872.

Naturally in capitalist society one of the inherent problems is that of over production and under consumption. In order to capture markets earlier it chooses colonialism. But in a post-colonial situation it is very difficult to do so. However the international financial institutions act as a masquerade behind which neo-liberal economic policies could be pushed through. Those countries which have gone for loans were forced to accept certain conditionalities, which are not in the interest of these countries so it could be argued that it is an imposed globalization for these countries.

India, with its colonial legacy of economically under developed country, chose economic nationalism as its priority over any kind of integration in the world economy. It's because of several internal and external limitations; it had to accept loans from this institution with conditionalities. Even the provinces of India were dragged in to this process, 'competition' replaced 'cooperation' in the Federal structure of India. Andhra Pradesh became the forerunner in this competition. Populist policies became tool in its hand to further it. At the end it resulted only in negatively impacting on the lives of the majority people of the state.

III

PALAMUR LABOUR IN LIBERALIZED INDIA

Distressed labour migration from Mahabubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh is better known with its legendary name ‘palamur labour’ has been exploited across the country. It is apparent from the study that, the causes behind the mass migration from the district are apparently because of their honest and hard working nature. This shows of why labour contractors prefer palamur labour over any other district for labour. Apart from this, the prime causes are non-availability of livelihood option in the district. It is again the consequence of the prevailing agro-climatic, historical, and structural reasons, and also because of the political economy of this district. More over, this district itself is one of the parts of the backward region of Telangana in Andhra Pradesh and discrimination is meted out by the successive governments towards this district in particular, and Telangana region in general. Often the state attributed the cause for such mass migration to its lower average rain fall. But the main cause of this migration would be inferred to deprivation of water sharing for irrigation purpose. More over in the post 1991 liberalization period or reforms era there are some drastic policy changes towards agriculture sector, financial sector, export-import policy liberalization, bolstering input prices and volatile prices of output in agrarian sector; which is abating state’s welfare projects, there by affecting disgoring the vulnerable agriculture labourers and marginal farmers. In the wake of state’s receding economic sovereignty, the situation of palamur labour more high-risk at the place of origin. It has got its grotesque manifestation in the form of farmers’ suicides in various parts of the state and alarmingly in this district.

Liberalization of Indian economy has created ‘new-push’ of migration. The district demands a positive state intervention in terms of development projects to substantiate the livelihood options in the district. During the period of command politics in the country it seems this district has been subjected to swindled

discrimination at the hands of the state. this apart, there is an important question comes up about market an institution which is profit motivated in its own right as bestowed by neo-liberals. In this situation, can the state be capable of overcoming the discriminatory allocation towards the district, because it seems that it is invading the states legitimate space in the public affairs. The doubt arises whether market can efficiently allocate the legitimate resources to the people, or just concerns about its own survival? If it has concerns about its own survival, then, are palamur labourers capable of competing with market or are they will be satisfied at the market place? This chapter attempts to look into the structural causes of Palamur labour migration at the place of origin (In the district). If migration is an effect, then what are the old and new causes of the distressed migration? Moreover the migrants are not a homogenous community rather a heterogeneous configuration. The palamur labour is a configuration of land less labourers, marginal workers and lower caste people. This chapter adopts distress as an analytical category to focus on various aspects of palamur labourers. Palamur labour is synonymous with distressed migration rather than accumulative migration. The consequences of neo-liberal economic reforms on the poor section, mostly migrating families are well documented in the context of large incidences of farmers' suicide.

3.1. Some Statistics of the District

Mahabubnagar district lies between the North Latitudes 16 o and 17 o and East Longitudes 77o and 79o. The district is comparatively elevated in the north and west, and gradually declines its altitude from northwest to the southeast. The vegetation is a dry deciduous with scrubs in the north and northwestern parts and teak forests in the southeastern Kollapur-Amrabad forest region. Geologically, the district mainly belongs to the Archaean formation. The district forms the southern part of the Telangana Region of Andhra Pradesh. Mahabubnagar is bordered with Raichur and Gulbarga districts of Karnataka in the west, the river Krishna and Tungabhadra in the

south, Nalgonda and Guntur in the east and Rangareddi and Nalgonda in the north. Mahabubnagar has an area of 18,432 sq km and a population of 3.51 million¹.

Literacy rate is the lowest in the state in 1991, which is merely 29.58 percent, and in 2001, it increased to 44.4 percent. The district is predominantly rural, with villages housing a population of 3.1 millions. The decennial population growth rate (1991-2001) was 13.97 percent (marginally more than the state average of 13.86 percent), 11.9 percent less compared to previous decennial growth (1981-1991 decennial growth was 25.87 per cent). The district registers an annual crude growth rate of 1.4 percent. Analysis of the 1991 data (Census of India) indicates that agriculture is the main occupation, with 39.42 percent of the rural main workers classified as cultivators; and about 42.18 percent of the rural main workers are to be reported agriculture labour. According to 2001 census report cultivators are 30.4 percent of main workers and the agricultural labourers amounting to 39.6 percent to main workers. The population density of the district is about 190 persons per sq km, compared to the state average of 275; the district has a population of 35.09 lakhs (as per 2001 census) of which 17.81 lakhs male and 17.28 lakhs female. Among the total district population 24.18 lakhs stay in rural areas and the rest belong to the urban areas. The district records an annual crude growth rate of 1.4 percent².

Mahabubnagar has a total of 1,544 revenue villages with 2496 habitations comprising 7.52 lakhs families³ and organised in 64 revenue Mandals administered by four Revenue divisions located at Narayanpet, Mahbubnagar, Gadwal and Nagarkurnool. The district experiences a dry climate with very hot summer when temperatures exceeds 40oC. 77 percent of the annual rainfall is received during the southwest monsoon. The impact of the scanty rainfall and dry spells during the southwest monsoon is felt on agriculture and livelihoods. But district has a long

¹ Census of India, (2001) Series-29, Vol-1 A.P primary Census Abstract, Directorate of Census Operations,

² Panchayat Raj and Natural Resources management: How to Decentralize management Over Natural Resources Andhra Pradesh: District study Report (Mahabubnagar) I II III IV, October 2002, www.

³ Census of India, (1981) Series-2, part-xii A&B, District Census Hand Book, Mahabubnagar.

catchment area of Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers. Average rain fall is also recorded very low in the district.

Table-3.1: Average Rainfall of Mahabubnagar District and the state average (in mm)

Year	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2000-05
Mahabubnagar	668	688	536	621	413	585.2
Andhrapradesh	971	874	613	936	704	819.6

Source: Statistical Abstracts, Government of A.P

The table-1 shows that average rainfall between 2000-01 and 2004-05 recorded was 585.2 mm against the state average 819.6 mm.

3.2. A Brief History of palamur (Mahabubnagar District)

Mahabubnagar was earlier known as *Palamuuru*⁴. It was renamed after the erstwhile ruler, the sixth Nizam, Mir Mahabubali Khan in 1929, but people still call it informally by its old name, and the migrant labourers from this region are referred to as *Palamuuru* labour. At the time of the state re-organisation in 1956, Pargi Taluk was transferred to Hyderabad; Alampur and Gadwal of Raichur district and Kodangal taluk of Gulbarga district was transferred to Mahabubnagar. In terms of electoral representation, this district consists of thirteen assembly constituencies and two parliamentary constituencies.⁵The present Mahabubnagar district was part of the dominion of the Nizam of Hyderabad from the latter part of 17th century, when the dynasty of this feudal ruler was established in this part of south central India, that is, until 1949, when Hyderabad State was annexed to independent India. In general, land tenure in Mahabubnagar was freehold (*ryotwari*). However, in 1901 half of district was not under the direct administration (*khalsa*) of the Nizam but was granted to office

⁴ This place also formerly was known as 'Rukmamapeta' and Cholawadi; the land of Cholas. It has been the district headquarters since 1883 AD. It is also said that the famous Golconda diamonds including 'KOHINOOR' came from Mahabubnagar district.

⁵Panchayat Raj and Natural Resources management: How To Decentralize management Over Natural Resources Andhra Pradesh: District study Report (Mahabubnagar), *op.cit.*, no.2

holders as payment during the period they served the Nizam (*jagir*). The district was under autonomous kingdoms (*Samsthanams*)⁶, and administratively and politically remained isolated and fairly insulated from the famous Telangana peasant armed revolt of 1947. These were small kingdoms ruled by Hindu rulers. There were four main *Samsthanams* in the erstwhile Palamoor (Mahbubnagar) – Amarchinta, Gadwal, Wanaparti and Jatrapole⁷. All these feudatories were subordinated to the Nizam of Hyderabad. The feudal structure was hierarchical in nature. There was no place for decentralization of power; instead, power was concentrated in few hands. It kept the region and the district backward in terms of development of means of production and production relations.

One of the principal reasons of the backwardness of the district, asserted by Hara Gopal is that the district was under clutches of feudalism, such as the regional rulers who were known as *Doras* or landlords, jaminadars. As mentioned earlier the whole district was ruled by numbers of small feudatories till mid twentieth century and insulated the region from colonial modernity. Land lordism was prevalent more in this district than any other districts of Telangana region⁸. This made land inaccessible to the lower caste and class people, and they were impelled to work as labourers and bonded labourers (*Vetti chakiri*) historically. Feudalism doesn't allow any progress in the productive forces, Feudal means of productions was controlled by few land lords. Evidence shows that, though the district is endowed with natural resources but there were no efforts to utilize the resources effectively. Since then people of the district were forced to search for their means of survival. Further Hara Gopal argues that, during nineteenth century the poor in the district, in order to obtain some work in other places migrated, especially under the Nizam's government undertaking public works like railway line construction, dam construction etc. and since then they have been permanently migrating. Metaphorically he supposes that, ever since then in search of work they have been following railway tracks, road line and not returning back. This district could not become active participant in the famous Telangana armed struggle because mobilizing migrants became major problem. Later in the post-

⁶ In the present Mahabubnagar district total sixteen Samsthanams were there among them palavanha, Gopal pet, Guruguntla, kollapur and Anagundi very important.

⁷ Ibid,

⁸Hara Gopal, (2004) *Palamuru Gosa* (The Grief of Palamur) Telugu, Karavu Vyatireka Porata Committee (Committee Against Famine)Mahabubnagar District, p.ix

Hyderabad state's accession to Indian union, land lords and contracting class have joined politics but did not appropriate any alternative political culture in the district to change the condition of palamur labourers. V.V, Rao, equalizes palamuru labour with "bonded labour"⁹, According to him; palamur labour is alteration of bonded labour in feudalism in the direction of the so called free labour in a capitalist society.

3.3. History of Palamur Labour: From Bonded Labour to Migrant Labour.

Mahabubnagar district has a long history of out-migration. Hara gopal, while expressing concerns over the conditions of Mahabubnagar district and palamur labour, says that, it is very appalling to know that, from a small place like Mahabubnagar people are migrating on a mass scale. According to him, almost one third of the district population is living out side the district¹⁰. Palamur labourers have a reputation for the most physically arduous work, and are believed to be docile and compliant, an even greater virtue as far as labour contractors are concerned.¹¹ The existence of *vettichakiri* (one word for bonded labour in Telugu language) may have facilitated labour mobilization by the village administrations in the Nizam's dominion. The bonded labourers of the district are absorbed in to contract labour system or Palamur labour system. It has been discussed in detail in other section of this chapter. The practice of engaging contract labour force in all major public works, particularly in construction works dam, canal, highway, etc., and continues unhindered even until today. This could be observed from the different news papers tender advertisements in regards to government contracts to organize large-scale building sites. Thus ironically the bonded labour discussed here exists within capitalist patriarchy which is primarily sponsored and funded by the Indian government, because palamur migrants mostly migrate for public construction works sponsored by government. The introduction of large-scale irrigation in the post-

⁹ V.V Rao, (2004) *Palamuru Gosa* (The Grief of Palamur) Telugu, Karavu Vyatireka Porata Committee (Committee Against Famine) Mahabubnagar District, p.xix

¹⁰ G. Hara Gopal, 2004,*op.cit.*, no.8, p.vi

¹¹ Panchayat Raj and Natural Resources management: How to Decentralize management Over Natural Resources Andhra Pradesh: District study Report (Mahabubnagar), 2002, op. cit., no.2.

independence period turned this region into a source of cheap labour with a remarkable network of middlemen. Such a relentless form of exploitation in the region has received surprisingly little attention in the literature on labour. Thus, from feudal bondage they were initiated into contract labour system.

The hard working nature of palamur labourers was well documented. There are some evidences of early palamur labour recruitments from the district. Only in 1934, palamur labour was used for Nizamsagar construction by Nizam government.

The construction of Nizamsagar dam involved a massive need for labour both skilled and unskilled especially excavation of earth, blasting, blasting rock in foundation, quarrying stone for machinery and miscellaneous. The labour for these works had been imported from dominions including Raichur, Gulbarga, Mahabubnagar, Nalgonda and Karimnagar. Palmuuries coming from Mahabubnagar did a good work at excavation, especially earth work at ground level. . . The method of recruiting the labourers is mainly through the department by forwarding advances ranging from Rs. [rupees] 5 to Rs. 10 per year for the gangs willing to come. (H.E.H. Nizam's Dominion, 1939)¹²

People from this district are mobilized mainly for physical work and labour in public works such as, highways, railway tracks, irrigation projects, etc., since colonial period. For instance, the indentured labour was recruited and mobilized by British government to various colonial places across the globe. The district has historically been noted for the export of labour in major earthen excavation works around the country. Researchers have documented their presence in many major dam construction works (from Hirakud to Narmada) in and around the country. The terms of this livelihood option and the exploitative nature of these contracts have also been recorded by various researchers.

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¹² Olsen, W. and R. V. Ramana murthy (2000) 'Contract Labour and Bondage in Andhra Pradesh (India): Case Study of Palamur Contract Labour', *Journal of Social and Political Thought*, 1(2), 2 June., <http://www.Yorku.ca/jspot>.

Wendy k. Olsen and Ramana Murthy have recorded in their field survey¹³ that, “Six out of the 162 contract labourers were aged above 45 years, and these reported 25 years of contract labour. These people had worked on the Bhakranangal dam (circa 1951), Hirakud (circa 1959), Nagarjunasagar dam (circa 1961), and various steel plants, railway lines, and road constructions since then. Fifty-nine labourers between 35-45 years of age had been working since they were teenagers. Fifty-eight people aged between 25- 35 and 37 people aged between 10-15 years were working in the ongoing Narmada Dam (Madhya Pradesh)- Sardar Sarovar (Gujarat) project funded by the World Bank”¹⁴. In villages like Dokur and Aurepalle of the district, household members and occasionally entire households migrated periodically to other cities for their livelihood. Some people travelled to Hyderabad whilst others ventured as far as Pune, Goa, and Mumbai in Maharashtra, and Surat, Baroda and Ahmadabad in Gujarat. There they had to depend upon different occupations rather than what they were doing earlier. They started driving work, mud work, construction, watchmen, and canal digging, or found employment in their caste occupations as washers of clothes, carpenters, goldsmiths and toddy tappers. It is very paradoxical that there is no detailed study about their migration by any government agency even though the magnitude of this migration is visibly high. Nor do any official statistics exist to capture the extent of it, as the Indian Census and National Sample Survey have ignored seasonal migration. However, several researchers have noted a significant level of presence of seasonally bonded labour in at least eight out of twenty-four mandals of the District.¹⁵

3.4. Causes Behind the Mass Migration.

So far the historical causes of migration from this district are highlighted to understand the gravity of mass migration from the district. Structurally Mahabubnagar is part of backward Telangana region of Andhrapradesh. In the past fifty and more years it seems this region has been developing underdevelopment. Migration is triggered by several factors, which includes both push and pull factors. Some of the

¹³The field survey was carried out by the authors in five villages in three revenue mandals, they observed that the villages were essentially poorly irrigated, and semi-arid areas.

¹⁴ Olsen, W. and R. V. Ramana Murthy, (2000), op.cit. no.12.

¹⁵ Panchayat Raj and Natural Resources management: How to Decentralize management Over Natural Resources Andhra Pradesh: District study Report (Mahabubnagar), 2002, op. cit., no.2.

push factors responsible for migration from the semi-arid areas of Mahabubnagar district are, demographic pressure, persistent drought conditions, indebtedness, changes in traditional livelihoods and lack of alternative livelihood opportunities at the source¹⁶. In the post- liberalization period, reforms in the various sectors have affected the people, and new push factor of migration has been created.

According to Vijay, Rural-Urban migration is not voluntary and upward mobile but provides cheap labour to the new industrialization necessity and without allowing them to enter into the modern industrial sector by absorbing them in to informal sector. He characterizes them as ‘working poor¹⁷’. The experiences of Migrant labourers tell about their volumous sufferings. Not all migrants were on the accumulation pathway; nor did all of them have the security of a social network when they migrated. Problems were faced by both-those who migrated and those who stayed back at the place of origin.

3.4.1. Drought Conditions

Recurring drought has been the main reasons for poor agriculture development of the district. Mahabubnagar is one of the drought prone districts among 12 droughts prone districts of Andhra Pradesh situated in the Southern part of Telangana area and in the Western part of Andhra Pradesh. Basing on the geological status it is receiving III lowest rainfall in the entire country after Jaisalmer (Rajasthan), and Anantapur (Andhra Pradesh). Average annual rainfall in the district is 942.6 mm.¹⁸ In Mahabubnagar District, the estimates of the migrant population vary from anywhere between two lakh adults to fifteen lakhs. Various studies establishes one fact is that out of official estimated six lakh population migrated a third are thought to be bonded labourers. This floating, and vulnerable population accounts for any where “between” one fifth to one third of the rural population.¹⁹ In his composite index analysis basis, Gangi Reddy has ranked the districts of Andhra

¹⁶ Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Programme [APRLP]. (2004). *Role of Migration in People's Lives*. A Qualitative Study of Four Villages in Mahabubnagar and Anantapur districts. Project Support Unit, Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Project, Hyderabad, www.rd.ap.gov.in/aprlp/publicationd/role%20migration%20lives.pdf.

¹⁷ Vijay. G, (2005) ‘Migration Vulnerability and Insecurity in New Industrial Labour Market’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 28-June 5, p.2304

¹⁸ Census of India, (1991) series-2, part-xii- A&B, District Census Hand Book, Mahabubnagar.

Pradesh. It is based on 1993 year secondary data available on AP. A comparison of seven drought prone districts of AP Mahabubnagar stands last in almost all indicators. Composite index of the district in poverty shows the district stands 7th among the drought prone districts. In net irrigated area and development also district stands at the 7th position and annual rain fall 6th. Among the non-drought prone districts Krishna district stands firsts in the composite index and development status²⁰. If we compare it at the state level, same thing reflects. The reason behind comparing Mahabubnagar district with Krishna district is that river Krishna traverses through both the districts. The river enters in to mahabub nagar district and flow nearly 350 kms. But it gets very minimal water from the river. Contrary Krishna district gets more than what it should have been getting. While examining causes of male migration Surinder says that “the push factors from the villages are even more forceful than the promise of good life in the cities”²¹

The data of year 1995-96 of bench mark survey of rural poor household conducted by national Institute of rural development (NIRD) in the drought prone districts of Andhrapradesh. They computed socioeconomic average indicators and data shows that drought prone regions are highly prone to poverty with a low level of development. The farmers were dependent on rain for cultivation and also ‘unfavorable weather conditions could have forced the households into disguised unemployment in these villages which might have ultimately led to ‘no work’ ‘no food’ situation. In reference to drought induced migration from Mahabubnagar district there was high incidence of migration to cities like Hyderabad and Mumbai.²² Chronicle drought conditions force the laboring class and farmers for seasonal as well as long term migration. Every alternative year there is a drought. “It may not be an exaggeration to say that there is hardly any major irrigation project in India which did not attract labour from palamur”²³

¹⁹ Panchayat

²⁰ Y.Gangi Reddy, ‘Disparities in Development: A Study of Drought Prone Regions in Andhrapradesh, *IASSI Quarterly*, 15(4), and 1997. P.1226

²¹ Surinder Jetley, (1987) ‘Impact of Male Migration on Rural Females’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, October 31, p.WS-47

²² B. Sambhi Reddy, (2000) ‘Correlates of poverty and development Indicators in Drought-Prone Areas of Andhra Pradesh, *IASSI Quarterly*, 19 (2),. p.50.

²³ D.Narasimha Reddy, (2003) ‘Economic Reforms and Travail of Circulating Labour of Dry Regions: A case Study of Palamur Labour in Andhra Pradesh, *Labour & Development*, 9(2), December,.p.140.

Drought not only affected the life of human beings but even it has negative impact on live stock and other human development indicators also. Drought affected the livelihoods of most households in various ways in the district. The recurrent drought conditions resulted in loss of crops, reduction of acreage under crops, reduction of incomes, severe shortage of fodder, distressed sale of livestock, reduction of employment opportunities and increase in distress migration and Continuous drought has increased their vulnerability in terms of basic household consumption expenditure, availability of credit, food security and maintenance of livestock. All these factors accentuated due to the non- responsive nature of the government policies drive palamur distressed laboures out of the place of origin. In a two villages study by APRLP team²⁴ there is an observe that most households are compelled to adopt various coping strategies to tide over the crisis. “The various traditional coping mechanisms, like patron-client relation/attached labour, more subsistence and food crops, land-based CPRs, credit from moneylenders, were found to be inadequate in mitigating the ill effects of drought as agriculture and agriculture-related diversification as also non-farm diversification was limited in these villages. In addition, the short-term nature of the government interventions did not really help people in coping with the severe drought. Migration, therefore, became an important livelihood diversification and coping strategy. In fact, migration and remittances through migration overshadowed all other coping strategies for most households in the village study. Severe drought dries up livelihood opportunities”²⁵

Even in the post-liberalization period the district severely was affected with drought conditions. Especially, during the last ten years, the mandals of this district have been declared drought-affected on six occasions. In a region where the majority of the cultivators depend on the *Kharif* season crop for food sustenance, it makes cultivation an unrewarding enterprise along with liberalization policies that induced distress. “It is not uncommon to see even households with a ten acre operating farmland migrate for labour opportunities. Supplementary irrigation is highly dependent on groundwater sources and extraction from aquifers (mostly hard rock) impact nearby shallow wells and other borewells, which are used for drinking water.

²⁴APRLP team had conducted extensive survey qualitative based, in two villages of the district, Thimmayyapally of Addakal mandal and Rangapur of Achampet mandal.

During the Southwest monsoon of 1999, 30 out of the 59 Mandals had a rainfall deficit of more than 25 percent, while 58 Mandals had a deficit of more than 25 percent during the northeast monsoon period. This meant substantial crop losses during *Kharif* and *Rabi* seasons in the district²⁶. In their study in two villages of Mahabubnagar district Uttam kumar Deb and etal, observe that the drought in Aurepalle and Dokur, and their failure of irrigation system led to widespread crop failure. In the situation of non-availability of work households sought alternative income within the village but demand for agricultural labour had also declined because many large landowners had left a large proportion of their land fallow. Thus, the most important coping strategy became migration (either for farm or non-farm work) to other villages or to towns and cities. Here migrant labour enabled households to avoid findings themselves on a downward trajectory.

3.4.2. Unmitigated Story of Irrigation

Drought is one of the main variables for explaining the backwardness of the district. But there is more to probe into the causes of backwardness. Hypothetically speaking any area which falls under arid or semi-arid climatical zone can overcome its aridness through effective use of its natural resources, especially water resources. Why this hypothesis never materialized with regard to Mahabubnagar district, if the district is rich in its water resources. Here lies the real cause of backwardness rather than the prevailing drought conditions.

Mahabubnagar district is drained by the rivers Krishna, Tungabhadra, Pedda Vagu, Chinna Vagu and Dindi along with a few perennial tanks. “The irrigation facilities and water resources are very less making the district the poorest one among other districts²⁷. While discussing disparities in irrigation sector in Andhrapradesh among the regions, Simhadri argued that, the successive governments have shown half hearted concern towards Mahabubnagar district. He further elaborates by giving

²⁵ Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Programme [APRLP]. (2004), op.cit. no.16.

²⁶ Panchayat Raj and Natural Resources management: How To Decentralize management Over Natural Resources Andhra Pradesh: District study Report (Mahabubnagar), *op.cit.*, no.2

²⁷ District Poverty Initiatives Project, Mahabubnagar, Report for Midterm Review, (2003), www.velugu.org/downloads/study.reports/davidwarner_disa_report.pdf.

two instances; First instance is Rajolibanda Diversion scheme (RDS) in the district. “It was contemplated with 15 tmc ft. of water to irrigate 87.000 acres in severely drought prone Mahabubnagar district of Telangana region was reduced to 6.51 tmc ft. with irrigable area of 50.000 acres. The second instance is much awaited Jural project (Priya Darshins Jural Project), was proposed with 28.2 tmc ft. it was reduced to 17.84 tmc .ft. The project was to irrigate 1.02 lakhs acres but ended with giving water just to 20.000 acre in the district²⁸. While exposing the state’s role in irrigation front, Simhadri asserts that “spatially, it has shown scanty attention to drought and backwardness. Historically, it manipulated the planning, budgetary and execution of irrigation of irrigation projects to the advantage of Coastal Andhra”²⁹

1981 census report also shows that the 66.85 percent was cultivable area to total area. Only 12.38 percent was irrigated area to total cultivable area³⁰. Panchayat Raj Mahabubnagar district report reveals that 43 percent of the area in the district was utilized for agriculture (Net Area Sown). However, it is to be noted that 24 percent of the cultivable land was fallowed during the year 1998-99. About 22 percent of the NAS is irrigated by one or multiple sources and irrigation intensity is 127 percent. It shows that the very small portion of cultivable land was provided with assured irrigation farming, though the cultivable area is highest in the district compared to any districts in the state. Although average rainfall in the district is around 750 mm per annum, the district supports a considerable amount of rice cultivation with the help of irrigation from numerous runoff collection reservoirs, tanks and wells. Tank building was one of the important activities of kings and rulers for centuries in the uplands and semi-arid granitic areas, mainly to assure water for rice cultivation.³¹

The irrigation has been situation remaining standstill, 1991 census report reflected the same thing, and 66.25 percent cultivable area remained as it was in 1981. The irrigated area to total cultivable area was 13.83 percent. The decadal growth in

²⁸ S.Simhadri, (1997) ‘*State Policy and Irrigational Disparities: A Study of Telangana Backwardness in ‘Telangana Dimensions of Under development’* S.Simhadri and P.L.Vishweswer Rao (Eds). Centre for Telangana Study, Hyderabad, p. 71.

²⁹ Ibid, p.72.

³⁰ Census of India, (1981), Series-2, A.P, District Census Hand Book, Mahabubnagar, part-xiii-A&B.

irrigation was only 1.45 percent. It was reported in the district census report that “Above 66 percent of the total area of district is cultivable nearly 1/5th of which is irrigated, there is no significant change in the irrigation position during the last ten years”³² The main sources of irrigation are tube wells, filter-points and other wells which together account for 76 percent of the Net Irrigated Area. In 1991, out of the total 1.05 million main workers (53 percent of the rural population) there were 0.42 million cultivators and 0.38 million agricultural labour reported, indicating very high reliance on agriculture for livelihoods. However, with the potential for agricultural development being limited as indicated above, the wage employment component accounts for the major part of the livelihood options of the rural population³³ Chronically drought-prone the district has huge tracts of unirrigated land with only a single sowing season. The percentage of irrigated area to the total cropped area in the district is 23.8%, while the corresponding figure for the entire state is 42.5% (Directorate of Economics and Statistics, AP).³⁴

Table-3.2: Area irrigated by different sources, Mahabubnagar dist.

Year	1979-80		1986-87		2003-04	
source	Area in hectors	Proportion to total	Area in hectors	Proportion to total	Area in hectors	Proportion to total
Canal	23730	17.54%	15903	26.57%	14078	10.63%
Tank	62065	45.88%	844	1.41%	2479	1.87%
Tubewells	130	0.09%	570	0.95%	96206	72.69%
Other wells	44455	32.86%	41949	70.10%	15872	11.99%

³¹Uttam Kumar Deb et al. (2002) “*Diversification and Livelihood Options: A Study of Two Villages in Andhra Pradesh, India, 1975–2001*”, December, www.odi.org.uk/publications/working_papers/wp178.pdf.

³² Census Hand Book, 1991, op.cit., no.16, p.27

³³ Panchayat Raj and Natural Resources management: How To Decentralize management Over Natural Resources Andhra Pradesh: District study Report (Mahabubnagar), op.cit., no.2

³⁴ Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Programme [APRLP]. (2004), op.cit. no.16.

Other sources	4872	3.60%	572	0.95%	3715	2.80%
Total	135252	100%	59838	100%	132350	100%
Area Irrigated More Than once	49350	36.48%	15571	26.02%	38660	29.21%

Source: Statistical abstracts Government of A.P

Canal irrigation is less expensive and more productive for the farming. The areas which have been irrigated by canal through constructions of modern temples called major irrigation projects are well-off area showing a greater progress and prosperities in the different spheres of life. For instance, the coastal Andhra region has its historic roots of well-off in the major irrigation projects constructed by colonial state and the post-colonial state. The table shows that the canal irrigation in Mahabubnagar district had a downward trend between 1979-80 and 2003-04 from 17.54% to 10.63%. The most expensive and capital intensive irrigation option is tube irrigation. In the post liberalization period the commercialization of agriculture had given hopes to the farmers in the assumed return of their products in parity with international prices had proved very costly. There is a phenomenal growth in this irrigation front in the district. The table also flashes some light on this. During 1979-80 the tube well irrigation was minimal to negligible level of 0.96% to it has turned major sources of irrigation in the district during 2003-04 72.67%. The indiscriminate digging of Tubewells has been causing depletion of ground water level and source of major debt problem and consequential suicides in the district. The net area irrigated proportion to net sown area had remained as it is in pre- and post- liberalization periods. For example 1997-80 it was 15.07% increased very slightly to 16.27%.

Table-3.3: Net irrigated area proportion to net area sown in Mahabubnagar district.

year	1979-80	1986-87	2003-04
Net Area Sown	868939	925807	887553
Net Area Irrigated	130994	128487	144458
Net Area irrigated proportion to Net Area sown	15.07%	13.87%	16.27%

Source: Statistical abstracts Government of A.P

At the same time canal irrigation in Krishna district, one of the well-off districts of the coastal region shows relatively volatilities in this front from 89.30% in 1979-80 to 65.95% in 2003-04. But net area irrigated to total sown area remains intact around 70% (in 1979-80 it was 70.20% remained as it is during 2003-04, 70.39%). Even the state level irrigation shows a grim picture, the area irrigated by canal has come down from 50.13% in 1979-80 to 31.28% in 2003-04.³⁵ It is the direct reflection of government's policy of with drawing from irrigation front and handling it to the water users association. During the same period there is a decline in investment in irrigation sector. The state government co-operative institute Andhrapradesh Irrigation Development Corporation, which was envisaged to help farmers' in irrigation front was closed down as discussed earlier.

Then Mahabubnagar farmers had to depend upon tube wells, filter points and other wells which together accounted in the district for 76 percent of the Net Irrigated Area. It indicates that during drought years the irrigated crops are likely to be affected considerably. Unlike canal irrigation these sources need lot of capital investment. The break down of institutional finance sources has forced Mahabubnagar cultivators to approach the private financial source, which accounts as a major cause for debt problem. Groundwater source is the major component for agriculture in the district.

³⁵ Statistical abstracts Government of Andhra Pradesh.

The substantial Rabi season irrigation is more dependent on groundwater sources. There are two Medium Irrigation Projects - Koilsagar Project and Sarlasagar Project - having an ayacut of 11,000 and 4,200 acres respectively. This is the proof of how district was neglected in the canal irrigation front. For instance, during the 1999 Kharif season, the area under Paddy was only 70 percent of preceding years as was the case with groundnut, indicating the lesser availability of water for agriculture. In Mahbubnagar district, it seems that the poor quality (or undeveloped) land and the non-availability of irrigation have dictated the fortunes of those who contribute to the rural economy. With an increasing population of rural labour and visible interlocking of the credit and labour markets, it would seem that the story of Palamuru labour would continue. Simhadri opines that perennial drought in Southern telangana districts especially, in Mahabub nagar is an artificial drought. It is the result of the discrimination meted out in the water sharing. "Colonial and post-colonial government policy initiatives preferred down stream coastal Andhra over telangana region for irrigation project constructions."³⁶ In his opinion this was result of powerful lobbies of influential caste, class, and regional leadership of Andhra region which is dominant in all parties.³⁷

In the absence of canal irrigation system Mahabubnagar farmers are compel to depend on other sources like digging wells and borewells. It puts additional burden on already destitute people. For example, Uttam kumar Deb etal, observed in their study of two villages in the district that the number of bore wells and dug wells increased in Aurepalle between 1989 and 2001. At the same time farmers faced problems with the availability of water as the water level in many of the wells was precariously low. In Dokur, fewer bore wells and dug wells were actually reported in 1989, than had been recorded in 2001. They also argued that three out of five years were drought years in the villages. Annual rainfall statistics from the Andhra Pradesh Directorate of Economics and Statistics show that drought was experienced in Mahbubnagar District in 1997–98, 1999–2000 and 2000–01. Rainfall in 1995–96 and 1996–97 was average

³⁶ For instances 69 per cent of the catchment area of Krishna river is in Southern Telangana districts against 18per cent Rayalaseema and 13 per cent Coastal Andhra. Telangana region receives only 27 per cent of water sharing coastal Andhra 56 per cent and Rayalaseema 17 per cent. Coastal Andhra is major beneficiary at the cost of Telangana districts backwardness.

³⁷Simhadri. S, (1997) "River Water Politics in Drought-Prone Telangana", *Economic and Political Weekly*, September 11, ,pp.2315-2317

and there was slightly more rain in 1998–9.³⁸ Despite receiving scanty rain fall the district has received least attention in the irrigation front. In the severe drought situations state has adopted temporary relief measures. There were no efforts for long-term programmes to reverse the drought conditions. According to the study, “the district uses only five per cent of rain water for irrigation and drinking purposes while the rest flows unutilized in to Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers”³⁹ Several projects are long pending in the district, because of sheer negligence by irrigation department. These projects could have mitigated the drought conditions, but these plans have remained on papers. For instance, Jural Project, Bhima first and second phases, Nettekpadu, Koilsagar, Peddamarur and Kalwakurthy lift irrigation schemes which were expected to irrigate 4.5 lakhs hectars apart from providing protected drinking water to many habitations. “Successive governments have shown little concern or sympathy with the people of Mahabubnagar.”⁴⁰ Under such conditions, migration inevitably becomes an important livelihood strategy. Migration is not new to the districts.

3.4.3. Other Important Causes of Migration

The classic reasons for migration is lack of work and livelihood options created by prevailing drought and lack of irrigation facilities. Some studies have established that apart from these reasons ‘new push’ factors have been created by economic reforms. This will be studied in details in preceding pages. Hara gopal opines that the main reasons behind the crisis of mass migration by palamur labourers are discriminatory state policies and its negligence towards the betterment of the district. In the present context, the labourers are exposed to market exploitation. His assertion is that, state in order to modernize agriculture sector has just opened its door for the international market. At the same time it has withdrawn from backing the

³⁸ Uttam Kumar Deb et al, (2002), *op.cit.* no.31.

³⁹ P.L. Vishwesher Rao, (1997) ‘*State Policy and Irrigational Disparities: A Study of Telangana Backwardness*’ in ‘Telangana Dimensions of Under development’ S.Simhadri and P.L.Vishweswer Rao (Eds). Centre for Telangana Study, Hyderabad, p.97.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p.97.

sector. This kind of 'competitive exposing' made the situation worst.⁴¹ It has resulted in a new crisis in the agriculture sector as well as rural economy of the district.

Why the grim situation of the district doesn't produce any movement and leader? The main factor behind this could be that most political leaders in the district have a record of being contractors in their past and even the present. It is not surprising to know that there has been no political movement organised in this region except the extreme left. The extreme lefts embodied by the Maoists have built their bases in the Kollapur-Amrabad-Achampet region. It is a forest area and contains substantial tribal population. However, while local support has been forthcoming through the fight for civil rights and against exploitation, it has been limited to a form of protection and has not made any impact on migratory labour or the equations with them. The need for irrigation facilities has not been fulfilled with the programmes to tap the Krishna being still born and those, which took off (Telugu Ganga) assisting neighboring districts like Kurnool.

The lower average annual rain fall, drought conditions, lack of irrigation facilities, along with present politico-economic conditions has forced the people of district to borrow money for survival. There is a causal relationship between poverty, indebtedness and drought induced migration in the district. In their two village study of district by Andhrapradesh Rural Livelihood programme (APRLP), (the villages of thimmayyapally and Rangapur), reported high incidence of debt.⁴² In their opinion in recent years, this problem has been aggravated due to continuous drought and the resultant crop failures. What is striking is that even large farmers have been affected by the persistent drought and fallen into debt. In their analysis the economic reforms effect doesn't figure. Four main causes were attributed for debt among the sample households of their study. These included borrowing for: agricultural purposes, health, digging of bore wells and marriages and festivals.⁴³ The agricultural input expenditure forms the major part in their borrowings. While examining Causes of

⁴¹ G.Hara gopal, (2004) ,*op.cit.*, no.8, p.ix

⁴² Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Programme [APRLP].(2004), *op.cit.*, no.16.

⁴³ It was found in APRLP survey that 48 households used the loans for digging borewells, particularly in Thimmayyapally, followed by Rangapur. It was estimated that 90 Figure 3. Causes of Debt. Per cent of the borewells failed in Thimmayyapally village, followed by 30 percent in Rangapur. The persistent drought also resulted in the drying up of open wells: 100 percent in Thimmayyapally, 90 percent in Rangapur

Seasonal out-migration from Aurepalle Uttam Kumar and etal have argued that, Migration from the particular village began in the early 1980s, and increased gradually over a period of time. The main reasons for migration reported by the migrants were like non availability of work throughout the year. Negligible availability of employment opportunities locally along with growing population pressure forced for migration, the level of wage rates also found very low compare to out side village. Also includes a decline in the area under irrigated crops which had provided employment opportunities, a lack of employment opportunities for educated persons in the village, a surplus of family labour compared to family land holdings, and the desire to lead an enjoyable life in an urban area. A smaller number (10 or 15) of households had left the village permanently to take advantage of larger markets in towns. Landless households and people participating in the Aurepalle labour market generally migrated for the whole year and visited the village for festivals and family functions. Small and marginal farmers migrated in the month of August after completion of the major farm operations.⁴⁴

Uttam Kumar Deb and others observed in their study in Dokur village, and found the major reasons behind migration from the village. In their observations during 1995 labourers could find some work throughout the year within village. It was reversed gradually by 2001.

*Drought and uneven distribution of rainfall at critical stages of crop growth led to a decline in the productivity of both irrigated and rainfed crops. The area under paddy crop decreased drastically due to the non-availability of water in tanks and wells and the failure of borewells. In the face of this decline, villagers sought alternative employment opportunities elsewhere.*⁴⁵

In that year it seems that about 30 servicing caste households migrated permanently to Goa and Pune. The majority of labourers migrated to Hyderabad for mud work, construction, *hamali* (loading and unloading) and private monthly salaried jobs such as watchmen, telephone booth operators, drivers and waiters at hotels and

⁴⁴Uttam Kumar Deb etal, (2002), *op.cit.* no.31.

⁴⁵ Ibid,

lodges. Labourers received Rs 60–75 per day depending upon the type of work and their gender. Monthly salaries varied between Rs 1,500 and Rs 3,000.⁴⁶

3.5. Migration: A Search for Survival

Major livelihood option in Mahabubnagar district comes from agriculture and allied activities. The returns from agriculture are very low due to low and erratic rainfall. According to 1998 census Below Poverty Line survey the percentage of people below the poverty line was 48%. There is a high incidence of distressed migration among the rural population and poor section, as the district is having meager resources for providing livelihoods throughout the year. Further the district is having more arid and rainfed areas, which gives only one crop a year with rain support. As their meagre share of land in the case of bigger families does not support them fully, they are forced to migrate. All these causes cumulatively affect the life of poor and marginalized people of the district and create distressed situation. They neither get any opportunity of employment nor sustain themselves. Situation will go to the extent of 'no-work, no-food.' The only option left for the distressed people is get away from conditions through survival migrating to other places. In their survey villages of the district, by Chakrapani and Vijay Kumar, they found main reason behind migration was lack of work in the respective villages. 69.4, per cent people stated this as the principle reason behind their migrations. Apart, from this the other main reasons they mentioned are inadequate land 8.4 per cent people, lack of irrigation facilities 1.1 per cent people, stated.⁴⁷ Mainly push factors are working behind the palamur migrant labourers. The assumed pull factors include better employment opportunities and better wages, mostly in the urban areas.

Demographic pressure is also one of the reasons, some of the members in bigger-sized families, who mostly depend upon the small-sized land holdings also migrate. This situation gets accentuated even those small holdings lack any assured irrigation facilities, and have been compelled to migrate. Discrimination towards the district in various fronts is severely affecting the livelihood options of the people.

⁴⁶ Ibid,

⁴⁷ C.Chakrapani and S.Vijay kumar, (1994) "Migratio Pattern And Occupational Change (A Study of palamur Labour in A.P)", *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, 55(1), January pp.85--92

People chose migration as a coping mechanism, while migration was reported higher in Thimmayyapally around 79 percent, and it was relatively moderate to low in Rangapur around 33 percent of district. The wide variation in the percentages of migrant households among the different villages is largely due to the differences in their resource endowments, livelihood diversification and the social mechanisms. These groups are mostly dependent on wage labour.⁴⁸ Similar situation was also recorded in, Dokur and Aurepalle, the increase in the number of wells and tube wells, coupled with low rainfall, led to a lowering of the water table in these villages. In this context for the risk bearers in the agriculture sector, seasonal labour migration becomes a very important livelihood option. This was an increasingly common phenomenon in Mahabubnagar district between 1975 and 2001,⁴⁹ People who were looking for employment in the agriculture sector lowered during 2001, than in 1989. This change was largely due to diminishing and increasingly unreliable returns from cropping and a lack of local employment opportunities throughout the year. Thus, many households in the two villages depended mainly on labour earnings despite owning some land.

Because, of all these reasons Mahabubnagar districts, people face the problem of wordlessness. This situation has been pushing the district people to other areas for survival. One study in the year 1991-92 data (data like census, sampling method) was collected in four revenue divisions⁵⁰ of the district; one mandal was selected from each division. 24,460 household of these mandals were visited and 3050 migrant households were identified. The main observations are migrant's caste composition shows 49.3 per cent belong to backward castes and 34.4 per cent scheduled castes, 12.7 per cent scheduled tribe and 3.6 per cent other caste. The major primary occupation of these people was agricultural labour. Among them, majority 93.1 per cent migrated to urban areas like Hyderabad, Kurnool, Rangareddi, and Visakhapatnam. Every household had 50 per cent migrants. Inter district migration was found more prevalent with 69.6 per cent.

⁴⁸ Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Programme [APRLP].(2004), op.cit., no.16.

⁴⁹ Uttam Kumar Deb et al, (2002) *op.cit.*, no.31

⁵⁰ Bijenepally from Nagarkurnool division, Kalwakurthy from Mahabubnagar division, Makthal from Narayanpet division, and Wanaparthy from Gadwal division.

Is the drought and indifferent government policy induced distressed migration is able to bring changes in the lives of the district people? The answer seems to be no in the majority of the Palamur labour case. Most of the rural-urban migrants revealed that the male members out-migrate as casual workers for construction and road laying work. Chakrapani and Vijay kumar observed this form of migration was mostly shorter-term off-season work. In both the streams of migration, poverty was the driving force and migrants predominantly were from the lower social strata like SCs, STs and BCs (95%). The migrants were mostly landless labourers and marginal farmers trying to eke out a livelihood under distress conditions. Most of the migrants were in the age group of 25-35 years (65%)⁵¹. Children in the age group of 5-10 years accompanied the family if the entire family migrated, mostly in the case of seasonal and contractual works, to take care of infants at the destination. If there were no infants, they were left behind in the village. In his case study in Bijinepally mandal of Mahabubnagar district koteswar Rao observed that majority seasonal migrant workers were illiterates, and form the backward castes (84%). They were small marginal farmers and landless labourers. Non availability of earning and better wages were the major reasons for migration for 28.7 per cent followed by drought-famine 26.0 per cent and 24.7 per cent Unemployment problem.⁵²

3.6. The Palamur Labour System (Contract Labour System)

Migration is changing of residence from one place to another either permanently or temporarily, mostly in search of work. Migration from the district is due to prevailing distressed condition in the various spheres. M. Krishnaiah, in his study (1992) of two villages Aurepalle and Dokur of Mahabubnagar district focuses on two types of migration systems. Firstly, the tied labour migration system or contracts labour migration system. It is also referred as palamur labour system. Secondly, the free migrant system or the casual migrant system and this study confines at the place of origin. One common thing he observed is that there were no improvements in irrigation situation in both villages for a longer period. Even Vijay

⁵¹ C. Chakrapani and Vijay kumar, (1994) *op.cit.*, no.74, p.90

⁵² Koteswar Rao.p, (2005), '*Seasonal Migration from Mahabubnagar*' in K.Gopal Iyer (eds) '*Distressed Migration Labour in India: Key Human Rights issues*, Kanishika Publishers and Distributors.pp.252-265

In his study documented three types of migration employment pattern at Kottur industrial area of Mahabubnagar district, Viz, The casual migration system, contract migration system, and oscillatory migration system.⁵³ Casual migration system or seasonal migration system is temporary and it has grater advantage of freedom of labour, he/she can choose to work freely according to his/her own will. In this type of migration there would be vey less chances of getting exploited by the middlemen. But in the contract labour system exploitation by middlemen is very common phenomenon. There is a unique contract labour system prevailing in Mahabubnagar district. This contract labour system is equated to the bonded labour system by all the definitions and also this system depends upon the principle of un-free labour. This point was even formally acknowledged by Contract labour (regulation and abolition) act, 1970. "Earlier the palamur people were bonded labourers to the land lords, and now they are free-slaves to the contractors."⁵⁴

Krishnaiah defines this system as a personalized and tied migration system; labourers are recruited by contractors to work at the construction site throughout the country. The contractor (*Maistrei*) regulates the labour and life of migrants through screening and advancing some loans to them. In Aurepalle and Dokur of the district migrants have chosen two types of destinations first destination was Gujarat. They had migrated to work on the Sardar Sarovar project works. These people migrate for about nine months in a year. Second category people are those who go for a limited duration of two to three months.⁵⁵ Narasimha Reddy opines that, with the planned development, along with irrigation projects development in the country has given opportunity for the emergence of the contract class and the palamur labour contract system. He called this system as "the captive labour" system.⁵⁶

Olsen and Murthy divide palamur migrant labourers in to three types in their study. In the year 1994, they surveyed five villages of the district. Through the study they establish that the contract as well as seasonal migration system was evident in the

⁵³ Oscillatory migration system is a system observed in all informal pattern of employment in the organized manufactured sector.

⁵⁴ D.Narasimha Reddy, (2003) *op.cit.* no.23, .p.143.

⁵⁵ M.Krishnaiah, (1997) 'Rural Migrant Labour Systems in Semi-Arid Areas: A study in Two Villages in Andhra Pradesh, *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, 40 (1), p. 124.

⁵⁶ D.Narasimha Reddy, (2003), *op.cit.* no.23, 'p.140.

villages. The agrarian conditions of the villages were poorly irrigated and dependent upon village tanks. Only one third of cultivable land was irrigated in these villages.

Declining agriculture had forced many people from middle and upper peasant households out of agriculture. Contractors mainly were hailing from landless agriculture labour households 22 percent and marginal and small farm households 66 percent. In the case of contract labourers the wage and food is fixed below the subsistence level so they keep on borrowing money for further subsistence.⁵⁷

Contract labour system is a typical form of labour arrangement in Mahabubnagar district. Some of its features include long-term contracts (9 months and above) and inter-state migration (usually) involving activities in the construction sector, dam and canal work, and other earth works such as cable laying. The entire family or the husband and wife team unit migrates. The most important aspect of this system is the advancing of interest free loans by contractors to contractual migrants. The loans thus advanced to the migrant families are used to clear debts, make agricultural investments, or spent on household consumption needs of family members left behind. According to Wendy Olsen and Ramana Murthy about one-third of the migrant labour in Mahabubnagar district was part of the contract labour system. While giving graphical picture of the system based on their sample survey in five villages of the district, they argued that entire system operates through the middlemen. The big contractors who have been assigned public works such as construction of a dam, a canal, or road laying work depend on sub-contractors for the recruitment of labourers. The group *maistry* (labour contractor) mobilizes the required number of labourers from the villages through the *maistries* (supervisor). Each maistry mobilizes a group of 20-30 labourers. The big contractor advances some money to the group maistry who in turn hands over some money to the maistry after retaining his commission. Labourer is paid his/her advance; the amount will be dwindled by that time considerably. The usual terms of the contract is 8 to 9 months work for 12 hours a day. The 'perks' include two days holidays in a month, a pack of cheap bidis per week for male labourers and hair oil and food for the labourer and his/her dependents.

⁵⁷ Olsen, W. and R. V. Ramana murthy. (2000) *op.cit*, no.12, [http://www. Yorku.ca/jspot](http://www.Yorku.ca/jspot).

The fixed contract wage 'advances' vary from Rs. 5000 to Rs. 6000 per head (in 2002) for an eight-month contract for a man or a woman. There is a high rate of exploitation in this system, since the maistries pay lower wage rates than the urban market wages and extract considerable unpaid overtime. They also employ child labour. Most of the labourers use the advance for investment in agriculture and to pay off the debts accumulated in meeting their consumption needs and losses in agriculture due to failure of the crops. The advance taken by the migrant labourers is deducted from their monthly wages, which is approximately Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 2000 a month.

Even in his field survey Krishnaiah observed the existence of contractor labour system in Dokur and Aurepalle of the district. The public work construction contractors would depend upon sub-contractor for labour recruitment. Sub contractor in turn mobilizes the labour with the help of maistries. In 1991-92 two maistries had mobilized 40 labourers each for sub-contractor in Dokur village. The labourers had been transported to Gujarat for Sardar Sarovar dam construction. The sub-contractor was advanced Rs.60, 000 or 1500 per labourer as advance to the maistries who brought the 40 labourers from Dokur. In addition to this maistries added Rs.2000 per head from his own resources, making advances Rs.3000 to Rs.3500 to each labourer. The sub-contractor pays Rs.24 per day each labourer towards food and wages; of this the maistries spends Rs. 9 on each labourer towards food and beedis, Rs 9 is deducted from the advance amount paid to labourer, makes daily wages Rs.18. Thus maistries spends Rs.18 on each labour and saves Rs 6 on each every day. He would earn thus Rs.180 on each worker per month and Rs. 1620 for nine months. The maistries who takes migrant labourer would earn Rs. 60,000

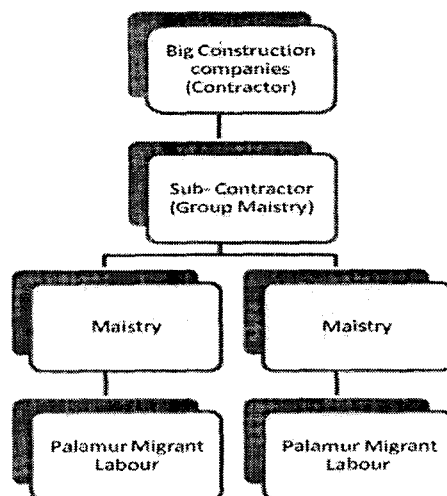


Figure-3.1: Palamur Contract Labour system

At the end of the period sub-contractor and maistries would settle their account. In this system the sub-contractor and maistries are earning over the migrants' earnings. It is an exploitative system still prevailing in the district.⁵⁸ Olsen Wendy and Ramana Murthy further argued that, although there is no written 'bond' or 'agreement', the terms and conditions under which the migrant labourers are employed suggest that the labourers are literally reduced to the status of 'bonded' labourers. The working hours stretch from 6.00 am to 6.00 pm, with half-hour breaks for meals. The sub-contractor or his men constantly supervise the work of the labourers. In addition to this, the contractors being exploitative and parasitic, the maistries in turn also use traditional caste and patriarchal modes of oppression to maintain their exploitative labour relations.⁵⁹ Thus this contract system facilitates survival of the migrants. The food provided to migrants often is of low quality and innutritious. If the labourers take a single day leave due to ill-health or any other reasons, wages for two days are cut and the expenditure incurred on medicines is deducted from the wage amount. They are generally not allowed to visit their native place till the completion of the 9-month period.

There are instances of labour escape, they escape and run away, in the unbearable situation like ill-treatment. In this situation, the maistries pursued them to recover the advance money with interest. The workers, in this case, were compelled to pay back the money within a year in instalments. They are at the mercy of Maistries because other wise they wouldn't get any other secured work. Contract workers are

⁵⁸ M.Krishnaiah, 1997, *op.cit.*, no.55, p.125

⁵⁹ Olsen, W. and R. V. Ramana Murthy, (2000) *op.cit.*,no.12

paid lower wages and forced to work overtime. Not only that, many contract labourers were working ever since their teenage, they were looking over aged, their health condition was deteriorating. According to Murthy and Olsen, under contract labor system migrants are forced to work for lower wages. They do not have any freedom to choose their work. According to the bonded labour abolition act, 1974 this system was declared as bonded labour and it still continues, making women and children vulnerable to the hardships of migration. They argued that this migration pattern could be analyzed from the Marxist and neo-classical frame work.⁶⁰ The mode of exploitation here is interlocked. This system also gets legitimacy through caste system, as dominant caste people are contractors and lowered caste people are labourers. Caste-based patronage conforms to the subjugating behaviour of the contract labourers. This system reduces bargaining power of migrants, because they are controlled by advance payments. Many migrants are destitutes; in that situation they found no other means for survival. So they would prefer for going contract labour migration. The labourers many not be aware of the level of exploitation, because of the prevailing low level of consciousness.⁶¹ Krishnaiah would argue that, contract labour system involves coercion in the recruitment process.

3.7. Globalization: A New Migration Push

3.7.1 Labour in the Globalized World.

In the last chapter various dimensions of globalization were discussed. As discussed earlier the globalisation process was an imposition on the developing countries, through the conditionalities of WB, and IMF. These twin institutions are to be made responsible for India's market integration in to the world economy. This process was through adoption of the macro-economic restructure (economic reforms), through structural adjustment programme. The growth-oriented economic development of the neo-liberal economic path will not 'trickle down' automatically. In the post-liberalization times Indian economy has been recording higher growth rates, as an outcome of the adjustment programme, at the same time, there crisis in Agrarian and other sectors. The agrarian crisis is well documented in this context. The capitalist expansion has thrown unprecedented challenge to the labour world by its TINA (there

⁶⁰ Ibid

⁶¹ Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Programme [APRLP].(2004), *op.cit.*, no.16

is no alternative) factor. Globalization empowers private space over the public or common space. “It erodes the capacity of states in different degrees to secure the livelihoods of their respective citizens by narrowing the parameters of legitimate state activity.”⁶²

Reformers and neo-classic economists have common assumption about labour. The assumption is that, trickle-down effect will take care of labour, and at the same time there would be short term hardship on this class. It can be handled through coercion, consensus, and persuasion. This was channelized through the discourse of ‘structural adjustment with human face.’ Supriya opines that this discourse has not included the disempowering angle of labour. According to her, labour has been disempowered in several ways in a period of marketization. Among them, they are numerically declined especially organised labour, trade unions are weakened, and there is a political vacuum in terms of agency for advocating the cause of labour, because democratic socialist parties are turning towards neo-liberal ideologies. In this scenario formal sector jobs related to social security provisions were affected. At the same time dependency on informal sector has increased. As a result wage rates have come down, job security will not be given, and long and unregulated working hours, workers have to adopt.⁶³ Priya Deshingkar and Sven Grimm observed that in the recent past new trends have emerged in migration pattern. Migration has been feminized; there is an autonomous, voluntary single woman migration on the rise in certain female specific services across the world.⁶⁴ It helps to break the traditional patriarchal structures. But it is not possible through women getting only the gender specific stereo-type employments. Still social norms and gender stereotyping may exclude women from getting higher wages. Most of the migrant women under take Domestic work, agriculture labour, construction labour, sex work, and work in agro-processing industries. There is also a kind of accumulative migration for better wages. At the same time foot loose labour has been increasing along with commuting.⁶⁵

⁶² D.Narasimha Reddy, (2005) “Challenge of Decent work In the Globalizing world”, *The Journal Of Labour Economics*, 48 (1), p.13

⁶³ Supriya RoyChoudhury, (2004) ‘Globalization and Labour’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 39(1), January 3, , pp105-8.

⁶⁴ Voluntary term is very problematic. It is doubt whether the person who migrates where it does not guaranty any livelihood consider their departure as volunteer. Voluntary term under plays the negative consequence of migration. For example in the recent women is subjected to sexual exploitation through sex work. If this work to be considered as voluntary or consequence of structures.

⁶⁵ Priya Deshinkar, Sven Grimm, (2004) ‘*Voluntary Internal Migration an Update*’, overseas development institute, London,

www.odi.org.uk/pbg/RESOURSCS/report/0509_voluntary_internal_migration_update_pdf.

Dilip Dutta argued that, the empirical evidences shows that economic changes which are happening after liberalization led to the erosion of living standards of the poor, increased regional disparities in term of industrial benefits, deteriorating in employment opportunities, greater casualization, and feminization of work. By dividing Indian economy into organized and unorganized sectors, he shows that organized sector's share in NDP has increased, but employment opportunities have decreased. The unorganized sector share has decreased but it has been providing employment nearly to 93% of the working force of the country.⁶⁶ Indian working population is predominantly characterized as informal, casual, lower-waged, insecure labour. In the post-liberalization era there is great emphasis on casualization and flexibilization of labour. Because of that the unorganized sector is over employed. Quoting the economic census of 1990 and 1999, Mahadev and Vijay observed that the employment in unorganized sector has increased from 67.34 lakh to 72.46 lakh, recording a growth of 0.80 percent per annum.⁶⁷ Narasimha Reedy called this situation as 'deficit of decent work' situation. This situation is characterized by, the absence of social security or protection and workers rights. This situation can be overcome with the state's extension of social security to the unorganized labour. While neo-liberalism is derailing the state power, there is new right-based development approach that has been developing since the past decade. This right based approach is a narrow based development approach. It emphasizes on the rights of the labour, it includes right to work and right at work place. They are prior to the legal recognition. It is any how gives advantage to the capital at the cost of the labour.⁶⁸ The liberalization policy induced unemployment adversely affects the unorganized sector. First, this sector has to absorb the surplus labour of the organized sector. Second, it deprives several self employment opportunities. Thirdly, it reduces the labour necessity by the introduction of high technology and automation. Fourthly, this process results in the sickness of several organised industries as a result pressure

⁶⁶ Dutta, Dilip (2004) "*Effect of Globalization in Employment and poverty in Dualistic Economies: The case of India*", www.econpapers.repec.org/paper/pasasarce/2002-08.htm.

⁶⁷ S. Mahadev and Vijay Mahajan, (2003) 'Employment and unemployment,' *Economic and Political Weekly*, March 22-29, p.1253.

⁶⁸ D.Narasimha Reddy, (2005), op.cit. no.62, pp.3-17.

on unorganized sector increases.⁶⁹ In the agrarian economy the poorest and the most vulnerable are made to bear all the risk of a transition from the subsistence farming to market oriented farming. This has been happening on the most onerous and unfair terms like tenancy, are fixed unilaterally in a fallen market situations, owing not only to the scarcity of value of land but also to the utter shortage of off-farm employment opportunities. Another side, this changing situation is making migration to the cities in search of livelihood a very “risky, demeaning and tormenting experience.”⁷⁰

3.7.2. Actualization of Liberalization through Policy Shifts

The gradual shift in India’s policy priorities towards liberalization is well documented. The major policy shifts happened in key area like trade, agriculture input market (seeds, fertilizers, power sector, irrigation sector, institutional credit, and food subsidy) and so on. It had direct impact on the agrarian population and the rural poor. Palamur labour also forms the part of this section. Below given table illuminates the actual withdrawing of state from its legitimate sphere of agrarian economy, and giving away that space to the private players. In the post-liberalization period India removed quantitative limits on 470, agriculture products trading in 1998. It was further liberalized to 1400, agriculture products in 1999. It gave free hands to international agriculture traders to import cheap subsidized goods from other countries. Indian farmers were forced to sell their product to below their input prices. It reflects the inability of Indian farmers to compete in the international market to get reasonable out-put price. Seeds, input industry were liberalized. Ever since then the farmers are forced to depend upon the corporate seeds. Many times it resulted in free and un-impeding entry of spurious seeds. Gradually, since 1991, fertilizer subsidies have been reduced. Part of the power sector has fallen in to the private hands and the state is withdrawing the subsidies in this sector. Andhrapradesh, stands as an instance in power sector reforms. Irrigation sector management was replaced by the Water Users association (WUA) in the state. As a result the decision making power at the village level was fallen in the hands of the landed gentry. Institutional credit was

⁶⁹ S.K.G. Sundaram, (1993) “*New Industrial Policy and Unorganized Labour*” In ‘New Economic Policy Problems and Alternatives, Purnima Rao and S.P. Sawant (eds), Fredrick Ebert Stiftung, New Delhi. P.133

⁷⁰ Kamal Nayan Kabra, (2004) “Victims of Market Fundamentalism’, *Mainstream*, July 3, p.8

replaced by micro-finance institution, so rural poor and farmers had to depend upon private financial sources for their agricultural development. Food subsidy gradually replaced by the target group concept, and it was limited only the poorest of the poor.

Table-3.4: Actualization of Liberalization in India

Ares of liberalization	Actual measures implemented
<u>I. Trade liberalization</u>	Quantitative restrictions (QRs) have been dismantled for about 470 agriculture products (1998). A further 1,400 agriculture products to be put on OGL (1999). Tarrifs reduced to rate of 15-35 per cent trades for several crops liberalizes, that is, imports and exports are much freer. These include important crops such as rice, wheat cotton, and oil seeds, which account for much of the gross cropping areas in India.
<u>II. Input Market liberalization</u> <i>Seeds</i>	Partial liberalization of seeds industry allowing for seeds import (1988). Liberalization of seeds industry has continued to deepen since then.
<i>Fertilizers</i>	A gradual reduction of fertilizer subsidies from 1991 until 2003(budget announcement). Reduction still in progress.
<i>Power</i>	Power subsidies have been reduced in some areas in the country (1997-99). Power generation sector opened for a lot more private participation including international players.
<i>Irrigation</i>	Setting up of water Users Associations (WUAs) in various states that would effectively bring about new use rights in irrigation sources such as tanks and canals.

<i>Institutional credit</i>	A change in the provision of state supported institutional credit for agriculture in line with Khusro and Narsimham committee recommendations- still in progress.
<u>III.Food subsidy</u>	Targeted public distribution system (1997). Dual prices for Above Poverty Line (APL) and Below Poverty Line (BPL) population (2000) Dismantling food subsidy and replacing it with food coupons (in process)

Source: Vamsi Vakulabharanam, 2005, p. 971

In the public distribution system dual price mechanism was introduced, one type of price was prescribed for Above Poverty Line (APL) households and another was for (BPL) households. All these policy shift measures had negatively impacted the agriculture sector in the country. Especially, the sector has fallen in to crisis and many farmers are committing suicides. The backward regions of the country gradually are over burdened and the crisis in agrarian sector is being accentuated with these policy shifts.

3.7.3. Early Arrival of Liberalization to Andhra Pradesh.

Migrating population consists mostly of marginal farmers, agriculture labourers and landless poor. The liberalization-policy-induced-migration could be analyzed through its negative impact on the agriculture sector. It is creating over-distressed conditions and aggravating the distress in the backward pockets of the country. The farmer's suicides phenomenon in the country has been mostly induced by the economic liberalization policies.

Over the past 10-15 years, the state has stepped back from its role as promoter of agriculture. Significantly, the state has not only vacated the space truly belonged to it

*as the custodian of poor and marginal farmers, but actively facilitated the entry of the landed gentry to occupy the space.*⁷¹

Especially, the financial liberalization affected the public financial system and in turn this affected the marginal farmers. There was also a considerable degree of reduction in fertilizer subsidies. In the area of investment in the public infrastructure development such as irrigation and power, the state actively retreated. Also the state withdrew its agriculture extension services. In the state, government corporations or co-operative institutions like, Andhra Pradesh Irrigation Development Corporation, Agro-industries Corporations, Seeds Development Corporation were closed-down. The co-operative sugar factories and co-operative spinning mills, which were envisaged to help the farmer, were closed-down.⁷² All these measures taken by successive governments in post-liberalization period of 1991, led the agrarian sector into the crisis. Increased number of farmers lended in being destitutes as a result many farmers committed suicides. The most vulnerable segment of the society caught under clutches of distressed, despair is the farming community.

Andhra Pradesh topped in the farmers suicides. Not only is the agriculture sector in crisis, even the traditional cottage and small scale industries also in the distressed crisis. In the state even the weavers also committed suicides. For example, in a short span of less than two months, between May and July 2004, more than 400 peasants in the state committed suicides.⁷³ Even agrarian well—off districts experienced the suicide cases. Severely drought-prone district like Mahabubnagar condition became more crises ridden. This phenomenon was witnessed because there was substantial dislocation of livelihoods, led to the situation of despair and helplessness. It became clear that the set of policies unleashed by economic liberalization played major role in suicide cases. Growing debt, drought conditions, stagnant employment, declining level of consumption, increased migration all cumulative factors collectively have been destroying peasants' lives. During the same period of May and July, 2004 around 27 farmer suicides were reported in

⁷¹V. Sridhar, (2006) "Why Do Farmers Commit Suicide? The Case of Andhra Pradesh", *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 22, P.1561.

⁷² Ibid, p.1562.

⁷³ Ibid. P.1559

Mahabubnagar district. Ashish Nandy's Psycho-analysis of the phenomenon of farmer suicides gives a sense of being helplessness in the globalized world:

There are millions of poor in this world; they have all not committed suicides. In normal times, the rate of suicide is not higher amongst the poor..... So suicides and other forces of self destructiveness have other source of origin....What you see amongst farmers of India is a sense of desperation and despair, and that is to do with the fact that while they were previously poor they had control over their lives,...profession....work. They might have been poor but they were poor with a minimum amount of dignity, a minimum sense of control, some pride in their work, in their own profession and their life style. Now changing times have taken away the pride, taken away the control. They are being educated to machine that produce agricultural commodities for the sake of the markets which they do not know, with the help of technology that they can not understand and utilize, are taking decisions which are not really their own, where there are no option. It is a controlled world where you do not know who controls you, and when that world collapses. You do not know how to handle it. That sends a sense of despair and that leads to suicide⁷⁴...

Farmers' suicides were an outcome of agrarian distress and agrarian distress was the out come of agrarian policy reforms, which favoured corporate welfare over farmers' welfare. This policy shift replaced farm-saved seeds with corporate seeds, which requires fertilizers and pesticides and could not be saved. There was increased risk of crop failures because diverse-culture is replaced with monoculture. After untested and unsuitable seeds were sold in the market by MNCs. There was also ruining situation of viability of small farming replacing generosity of earth with global corporate profit motivations. Also there are rising input prices and decreasing output prices, rooted in the trade liberalisation and corporate globalisation. Drought was a partial explanation for indebtedness and crop failure. Deregulation of the input sector the entry of seed MNCs and the creation of seed monopolies have increased the cost of inputs and risk of crop failure.⁷⁵ National Agriculture policy of ministry of agriculture, government of India (2000) stated that

⁷⁴ Ashish Nandy's cited in Kamal Nayan Kabra, 'Victims of Market fundamentalism, *Mainstream*, July 3, 2004, p.9.

⁷⁵ P. Radhakrishna, (2004) "Farmers Suicides Some Sociological Reflections", *South Asian Journal*, No. 11, January-March, p.

*Agriculture has become a relatively unrewarding profession due to generally unfavourable price regime and low value addition, causing abandoning of farming and increasing migration from rural areas.*⁷⁶

Suri attributes several socio-economic factors for agrarian distress in India. Firstly, there is a changed pattern of land holdings in the country. There is also changed cropping pattern due to shift away from food crop cultivation to cash crop cultivation. The liberalization policies prematurely pushed Indian agriculture into the global market without a level playing field. It directly impacted the sector in the form of increasing input cost and decreasing output prices, decline of public investment and so on. Revathi asserts about the specificities of Telangana region in the context of the farmers' suicides. She argued that the region was backward earlier also but farmer's suicides are new phenomenon to this region. The pressing reasons according to her are the political economy of neglect of this region for decades. More over recent reform project in the state is alienating individual farmers from the society.⁷⁷

3.7.3. Impact on Telangana

There was 4.7 per cent growth in agriculture sector in Telangana region in the past 15 years along with decreasing output prices of important crops. The trend is due to three policy changes in agriculture sector, which occurred during the liberalization period. The first policy change was removal of discrepancy between global prices and domestic prices to allow domestic prices to rise. The second policy change was the removal of restrictions on agriculture imports to gain comparative advantage by allocating land and other inputs where domestic industries can not compete Third, The removal of subsidies that tend to distort the input prices of agriculture. The main assumptions behind these policy imperatives were that it will lead to a better growth in the sector.⁷⁸ Contrary to these assumptions less developed countries' farmers, were

⁷⁶ K.C. Suri, (2006) "Political Economy of Agrarian Distress", *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 22. P.152.

⁷⁷ E. Revathi (1998) "Farmers Suicides: Missing Issues", *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 16, p.1207

⁷⁸ Vamsi vakulabharanam (2005) "Growth and Distress in a South Indian Peasant Economy During the Era of Economic Liberalization", *The Journal of Development Studies*, 41(6), p.973.

shocked with the lesser subsidies compared to their counter parts in the west. This policy suggests doing away with these protections and competing with the advanced highly subsidized western farmers. This ruthless exposing of agriculture in the country threw away the agrarian sector in to a crisis and distress.

The data on proportion of different classes in Telangana region reflects the declining number of large farmers and increasing number of small farmers. This data represents periods of pre as well as post-liberalization years in Telangana region. The large farmers during the year 1983-84, were 10.55 percent the percent came down to 4.21 percent during 1999-00. The possible explanation could be the population explosion. Apart from this explanation the increasing dependency on agriculture sector could be one more explanations. This shift would have happened because in the wake of decreasing organised sector labour force might have shifted to the agriculture sector.

Table-3.5: Population proportion of different classes in Telangana

Category	1983-1984	1987-1988	1993-1994	1999-2000
Large farmers	10.55	7.27	6.40	4.21
Medium farmers	10.01	9.29	9.99	9.52
Small farmers	11.18	10.39	11.07	11.57
Marginal farmers	6.92	9.54	15.07	11.25
Agriculture labourers	34.94	35.78	33.62	42.05
Non-agriculture self employed.	14.19	12.61	12.22	10.94
Non-agriculture labour	4.85	7.60	5.23	5.20
Others	7.34	7.23	6.46	5.25

Source: Vamsi vakulabharanam, 2005, p.973

In the post-liberalization times the medium farmers has been decreased from 10.01 percent to 9.52 percent. But minutely small farmers' number has increased from

11.18 percent to 11.57 percent, marginal farmers from 6.92 percent to 11.25 percent. Agriculture labour growth during the period is 7.11 percent from 34.94 percent during 1983-84 to 42.05 percent during 1999-00. At the same time non-agriculture self employed people's percent has decreased. The major inferences this data gives is that dependency level on agriculture increased in the post-liberalization period in the region.

Table-3.6: Real wage growth in Telangana

Period	Wage growth(male)	Wage growth(female)
1970-1979	2.7%	3.5%
1980-1989	4.7%	4.5%
1990-1999	1.5%	1.3%
1994-2000	0.1%	0.1%

Source: Vamsi vakulabharanam, 2005, p.973

Exponential real wages growth of agriculture labour between 1970 and 2000 in Telangana shows that even wage earning labourers had to face a tough time during liberalization period. Compared to the pre-liberalization year's the post-liberalization year's shows down ward trends in real wages growth in the region. For example, during 1970-1979 male wage growth rate was 2.7 percent and female 3.5 percent.⁷⁹ Preceding decade of liberalization period the real wages have come down significantly. The National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) data shows that real wages of 1994-2000 has come down nearly to 'zero.' There was growth in the agriculture sector in the decade of 1990s, but the highest growth rate districts have witnessed more suicide rates. The anomaly in the region is that, the region has recorded a moderate agriculture growth, but it has accompanied with distressed among the agrarian communities. During this period the role of market intermediaries have gone up. The agriculture input supply dealers assumed the role of money lenders. They supply the capital to the peasants and purchases the final produce from them in a cheaper price. It was observed that from the last 15 years the intermediaries

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 982.

extracting major chunk of agriculture surplus from the peasantry. Though, there is a growth in the region, but that growth is distressed induced.

3.7.4. The Arrival of Liberalization to Mahabubnagar District

“The most recent push factor created for migration was by globalization.⁸⁰ In India it was through liberalisation policy induced distressed migration. During 1991, Indian policy makers’ focus was on liberalization of finance and opening up of the economy. Agriculture liberalization, figure in the year 1994 when India signed the Dunkel draft under GATT multilateral agreement. After that agriculture trade was formally liberalized under the Agreement on Agriculture (AOA). The resultant negative fallout was cut on subsidies to this sector. It also means the state was not entrusted with developing of the agriculture sector further. It put more pressure on backward regions like Telangana more so in district like Mahabubnagar. They were dependent on the state intervention for its development. The new paradigm emphasized on agriculture growth, export-oriented farming, creating value added agriculture and shifting from food crops to commercial crops.

Palamur migrant labourers mostly come from the households of the agrarian labour, small and marginal farming class. The impact of liberalization process on the livelihood and on their rights of these people has been affected in the form of drought and agriculture distress. Liberalization policies induced distress even evident on Mahabubnagar district. Vamsi argued that In Telanagana region there is significant growth in real agriculture output over the last 15 years i.e. since 1991. But at the same time NSSO data reveals that there was a significant decline in welfare of small, marginal farmers and agriculture labourers. It was also accompanied with more than thousand farmers’ suicides in the region between 1998 and 2002. The core argument he puts forward is that in the post-liberalization period, agriculture liberalization, agriculture growth and increased distress have become mutually intertwined. Vamsi uses a paradoxical phrase that ‘the growth-inducing distress and distress-inducing

⁸⁰ Priya Deshingkar, Sven Grimm (2004) *op.cit.* no.65.

growth.⁸¹ There is a phenomenal change in the composition of working population in Mahabubnagar district during the same period.

Table-3.7: Percentage of Total Workers, Main Workers, Marginal Workers, and Non-Workers to the Total population of Mahabubnagar District.

Total	Total workers		Main workers		Marginal workers		Non-workers	
	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
Persons	50.2	51.8	48.4	42.1	1.8	1.8	49.8	48.2
Male	55.3	56.3	55.1	49.7	0.2	9.7	44.7	43.7
Female	44.9	47.2	41.4	34.3	3.5	6.6	55.1	52.8
Rural	52.6	54.1	50.6	43.7	2.0	10.4	47.4	45.9
Urban	31.3	32.3	30.7	28.9	0.6	3.4	68.7	67.7

Source: District Census Hand Book Mahabubnagar District, 2001

The table (Eable-3.7) of working population during census years of 1991 and 2001 shows that, the total workers to total population has increased from 50.2 percent to 51.8 percent. At the same time main workers have decreased from 48.4 percent to 42.2 percent. There is no change in marginal workers' percentage but non-workers have increased from 49.8 percent to 48.2 percent. Even the data analysis by Uttam kumar Deb and etal, also reveals the same thing. The working population in rural areas of the district accounts for 53 percent of the rural population. Of these 51 percent have obtained work for a major part of the year (more than 183 days), while the remaining (2 percent) worked only for less than half the year. In 1991, out of the total 1.05 million main workers there were 0.419 million cultivators and 0.387 million agricultural labour reported, indicating very high reliance on agriculture for livelihoods. The growth rate of the agriculture labour population in the 1981-91

⁸¹ Vamsi Vakulabharanam, *op.cit.* no.78, p.987.

decade was about 56 percent (population growth rate during the same period was only about 25 percent), indicating an increasing trend of labour dependency within the rural population. During drought years, a third of the Rabi cultivated area is rendered uncultivable and the impact on the labour population is differentially higher than that on cultivators.⁸² The district census handbook, 2001 reports that, Mahabubnagar ranks first place in the percentage of workers engaged in agriculture and allied activities.

A sample survey (1989-90) of migrants in three villages of the district shows that circular seasonal migration from the district is not only confined to agricultural labourers but extends even households with 10 to 20 acres of dry land.⁸³ The above analysis also shows that in the district, majority people are dependent upon agriculture. The agriculture has been in the crisis due to lack of irrigation facilities. In the present context the liberalisation policy induced distress had aggravated the already crisis ridden agriculture sector. In turn both the structural constraints of agriculture and liberalisation policy induced situation are affecting the livelihood options of the people. In this manner liberalisation process has been accentuating the situation of Mahabubnagar people at their native places. It is pushing them for survival somewhere else, in this way; the liberalisation policy affecting is their rights situation also. This drives out many people from the district to search their livelihoods out of the district. People migrate to major cities and different construction sites across the country. Casual migration involves the risk of not getting work for days together. And this activity is highly unorganized. During migration they stay under tree or temporary sheds without any basic amenities.

In the post-reforms period, there is a great casualization and informalisation of labour in the organised sector, this process often forcing the persons and their families into multiple occupations for the purpose of survival.⁸⁴ Only circulating or cyclical migrant labourers of this district were estimated around two lakhs, highest in the state. They stand often between rural and urban areas leave their homes for seeking survival. Quoting National Commission on Rural Labour (NCRL) Narasimha Reddy

⁸² Uttam Kumar Deb et al, (2002) *op.cit.*, no.31

⁸³ D.Narasimha Reddy, D.Narasimha Reddy, (2003) *op.cit.* no.23, P.143.

⁸⁴ Ibid, P.138.

describes palamur labour as “survival migration.”⁸⁵ Why agrarian communities have to under go seasonal migration year after year from dry area like Mahabubnagar? That is because push created by several factors. In the post 1991 economic liberalization times have been adding one more push in this area.

*During the last decade, particularly since mid-1990s, in the name of economic reforms a series of measures of privatization of road building, mechanization of public works, and introduction of rice harvesting combines have further aggravated the sufferings of underclass of workers in this district*⁸⁶

Uttam Kumar Deb and others in their study in Aurepalle and Dokur observed that, in those villages ‘Land holdings are more scattered and fragmented. Many land transactions were reported after 1990. Labourers and farmers belonging to small and medium size land holding groups have purchased land from large landlords. Many of these transactions were distress sales (a coping mechanism during drought years). At present, it appears that marginal and small farmers are leased more land in order to use their excess human and bullock labour more productively. Large landowners were not in a position to cultivate their entire land holding due to the non-availability of regular farm servants and the increase in the maintenance cost of bullocks.’⁸⁷ During liberalization period governments are formulating the Water Users Associations (WUA) for the improvement in the irrigation sector. These associations were meant for assigning greater rights for the water users. It in turn in many places resulted in the monopoly in the hands of dominant caste and class peasantry in rural areas.

*At the instances of the global powers and international institutions, the state is reformulating its irrigation policy. The elements of privatization raising bonds is creeping in to the policy making process. The state is shedding its responsibility by assigning irrigation to the water users associations.*⁸⁸

It further accentuates already existing regional disparities in the irrigation sector. Simhadri concludes that irrigation politics in A.P exposed the state’s true color of caste, class, regional bias and mechanism to promote their interest.⁸⁹ E.Revathi

⁸⁵ Survival migration denotes extreme economic and often social hardships faced by labourers in Rural India and is under taken mostly by landless or land-poor, unskilled and illiterate labourers.

⁸⁶ D.Narasimha Reddy, (2003) *op.cit.*, no.23, p.139

⁸⁷ Uttam Kumar Deb etal, (2002) *op.cit.*, no.31

⁸⁸ S.Simhadri, (1997) ‘State Policy and Irrigational Disparities: A Study of Telangana Backwardness’ in ‘Telangana Dimensions of Under development’ S.Simhadri and P.L.Vishweswer Rao (Eds). Centre for Telangana Study, Hyderabad, p.76.

⁸⁹ S.Simhadri, (1997) *op.cit.*, no.28, p.77.

observes lack of assured irrigation facility as major factor to farmer's suicides in Telangana region. This situation was further aggravated with lower rainfall, inconsistent agricultural input and out-put prices, adverse position of co-operative credit agencies and commercial banks and growing power of moneylender, landlord and traders. This situation arose because of economic reforms in finance, trade, and agriculture sectors. In this situation most of the farmers had to depend upon private irrigation sources and then they are forced to invest heavily on the digging wells and bore wells. Again they borrowed money for this purpose. In the breaking down situation of institutional credit system they had to borrow that money from money lenders. Indirectly lack of irrigation facilities entrapped the region and the district farmers' lended in indebttness. 'Fifty per cent cases have been reported obtaining loans for improvement of wells and about 20 percent farmers incurred debts for digging wells in the last there to four years.'⁹⁰

Andhrapradesh rural livelihood project (APRLP) team in its study found that during the last few years, both the intensity and the pattern of migration in the rural areas have changed. The number of migrants has approximately doubled; persistent drought being an important causative factor. Also the recent post-liberalization situation is forcing many medium sized landholding households to migrate. It is also observed that the agriculture seems to have become a risky business. The drought-induced distress migration is a common phenomenon in the district. The stream of migration has largely changed from rural-to-rural to rural-to-urban. The low level of rural-to-rural migration in all the study villages can be attributed to the continuous drought in the study village.⁹¹ Narasimha Reddy also argued that, with the on set of economic liberalization in the country, mechanization along with privatization has been taking place on a global tender basis in all public works. Machine using process is reducing the employment opportunities of palamur migrant labour at a considerable level. He analyzes the effect of economic reform process on palamur labour and argued that this policy has been negatively impacting them. New technology which has been introduced as a part of this process is threatening the survival of migrants at destination. He divides palamur migrant labour base on the nature of work in to four groups. Namely migration to projects or public works, migration to building

⁹⁰ E. Revathi, (1998) *op.cit.*, no. 71, p.1207

⁹¹ Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Programme [APRLP].(2004), *op.cit.*, no.16

construction sites in urban areas, migration for agricultural work in irrigated areas, and migration of workers with certain traditional skills like stone crushing work.

During the years 1975 and 2001 Uttam Kumar Deb et al, recorded the changing agriculture and livelihood option situations in Dokur and Aurepalle. According to them:

*The story of agriculture in the villages of Aurepalle and Dokur between 1975 and 2001 paints a rather depressing picture for agricultural livelihoods in the Mahabubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh. In these villages agriculture remained the most important source of income of majority households. But the proportion of real income which was derived from agriculture declined to a considerable level and people were forced to see for non-farming livelihood. "This result largely from disproportionately low price increases for agricultural crops, especially coarse cereals such as pearl millet and sorghum, compared to other goods and from the lower yields resulting from drought and the failure of irrigation systems."*⁹²

With this effect people have chosen diverse livelihood options out side the cultivation. Not only that diverse cropping pattern was abandoned with corporatization of agriculture, they started producing for the market by using corporatized agriculture inputs. At the same time out put price was very low; government Minimum Support (MSP) prices were also very low.⁹³

In Mahabubnagar district, there has been change in both cropping patterns (increasingly towards commercial crops in the context of liberalization, infrastructure development and government food distribution policies that represents diversification within agriculture), and diversification into non-farm activities, especially labour migration in the non-farm sector.

⁹² Ibid, *op.cit.*, no.16

⁹³ Ibid, *op.cit.*, no.16

Table-3.8: Area under Food and non-Food Crops in Mahabubnagar District.

Year	Food Crops (proportion to total)	Non-Food Crops(proportion to total)	Total (In Hectors)
1979-80	7, 48,122 (76.59%)	2, 28,610 (23.40%)	9, 76,732 (100%)
1986-87	4, 69,659 (70.33%)	1, 98,099 (29.66%)	6, 67,758 (100%)
2003-04	4, 96,607 (62.25%)	3, 01,060 (37.74%)	7, 97,667 (100%)

Source: Statistical Abstracts, Government of A.P

The shift in cropping pattern from rain fed traditional food crops to non-food cash crops was a common phenomenon observed in the post-liberalization period all over India. “This shift has obvious implications for the peasantry. Non-food crops imply a greater dependence on monetized inputs, such as seeds, fertilizers and pesticides also means increased recourse to borrowing.⁹⁴” Often the source of borrowing is from money lenders in villages and the fertilizer dealers. The major reason behind the farmer’s suicides in the country is a shift in crop pattern and consequential money borrowing from private sources. It is also burdened by food consumptions in the rural areas. This shift was based on assumption that the freeing agricultural product market would only be beneficial to Indian farmers. The given logic was that this would bring price parity between Indian agriculture products with the prevailing global prices. It raised falls hopes among the farmers for cultivating cash crops. Especially, it has shown negative impact on the small and marginal farmers. At the same time the state has withdrawn from agriculture extension services. Instead of getting global out-put prices, for the farmers getting Minimum Support Price has become a problem. This phenomenon also affected the farmers in Mahabubnagar district. There was also a sharp shift in cropping pattern in the district. The hopes were induced with the liberalization policy among the farmers. The table-8 elucidates that, there was declining percent of area under food crops from 76.59 percent in 1979-80 to 62.25 percent in 2003-04. In the same period, non-food crop

⁹⁴ V. Sridhar. (2006) *op.cit*, no. 71, P.1560.

percent to the total crop area has increased from 23.40 percent to 37.72 percent in the district.

Traditionally, Indian farmers adopted crop diversification strategies to cope up with risk involved in the sector. Even diversification represents the liberty of farmers as to cultivate the crop which they think was more profitable. Post-liberalization year's represents the abridgement of this freedom with the entry of big corporations in to agrarian sector. Those who experienced an erosion of income and assets were then forced into the non-farm sector. There were no opportunities for them in agriculture, except perhaps only the very low-paid regular farm servants. Though diversification is not free of risk in the given agro-climatical nature of the district. The diversification process, coupled with uncertainty over availability of agricultural assets in the future raises important policy questions. Above all, there remains a challenge for the structure in which government policy is made and state interventions are carried out.⁹⁵ Andhra Pradesh's former Chief Minister Chandra Babu Naidu after assuming power adopted Mahabubnagar district in 1995. The major criticism against him was that he did not cared about his adopted district except touring the area several times with World Bank president wolfenson, USA president Bill Clinton, UK Prime Minister Tony Blair, Microsoft chairman Billgates and other delegates. During his tenure nothing substantially progressed in irrigation sector to show alternative livelihood option to the migrating people of the district. Farmers' suicides, starvation deaths, children (female child) sellings, migration deaths etc were daily reported from the district during the whole decade of 1990s.

3.8. A Distressed Outcome of Migration.

Migration is a multidimensional process. It affects the migrants across the sections, but amount of burden is determined by the class, caste, gender, region, climate positions. So far it was focused on various reasons behind the palamur labour migration; in this section effects of distressed migration in general would be highlighted. Opportunities to migrate for non-farm work are mediated by caste rules that are more constraining for some castes than others, and by social networks and kin

⁹⁵ Uttam Kumar Deb etal, (2002) *op.cit.*, no.31

relations. Migration, however, is no 'magic bullet.'⁹⁶ Migration also involves some investment in journey and accommodation. This might erode returns from migration. Migrants have to maintain long distance relationship, in many cases individual relations are broken. Even APRLP study establishes that, the outcomes of migration could be varied in some cases it may be leading to accumulation in some cases or further pauperization in others. Further, the value of migration cannot be estimated merely in economic terms; issues like social poverty are among the many variables that need to be considered. In a time of drought, the value of migration may lie in the mere spreading of risk and cannot be measured only in terms of remittances. Health, disruption of children's education, exploitation of women, problems of those left behind, like the aged, tilts the balance against migration.⁹⁷ "How ever due to the continuous migration migrant families are left out of development programmes."⁹⁸

The palamur labourers generally experience the distressed conditions in the district. Even after migration, the distressed condition continuous in the majority cases. Major problems that Palamur labour face at destination are psychological problems, health problems, problem of becoming unfit for work at a very early age, women health problems, children's problems related to their future, the effect on left-behind family members and so on. In the study APRLP found in the case of Thimmayyapally and Rangapur migrants that they face problems of adjustment due to changes in climate, working conditions and the new environment at the destination.

Health problems are the major problems that the palamur migrants face "the health of the migrant workers deteriorates during the contract work, and many became unfit for this work by the age of 45 years."⁹⁹ Not only this, in the post liberalization period public health system breaking down. Lack of good public health facilities are over burdening on their meagre earnings. APRLP team found that, expenditure on health has been increased in Thimmayyapally village. Thirty-nine percent of the households reported that they had fallen into debt due to expenditure incurred on

⁹⁵ Ibid, *op.cit.*, no.31

⁹⁶ Ibid, *op.cit.*, no.31

⁹⁷ Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Programme [APRLP].(2004), *op.cit.*, no.16

⁹⁸ C.Chakrapani and S.Vijay kumar, (1994) *op.cit.*, no.47, p.84.

⁹⁹ Olsen, W. and R. V. Ramana Murthy, 2000, *op.cit.*,no.12

health.¹⁰⁰ With this their dwellings in unhygienic slums increase the possibilities of getting affected by hazardous diseases. They fall victims to all sorts of chronic diseases like diarrhoea, TB, jaundice and malaria. They carry these diseases back with them when they return to the village. Their health is also affected by the poor quality of food, the long working hours and the nature of their work, which often includes carrying heavy loads. The incidence of TB was reported among 15% of the migrants from Thimmayyapally. Skin diseases and rashes were reported in the case of around 70% of the migrants in the same village.

Harassment is one of the problems that migrants do face. Women are more vulnerable at both the place. In the case of single-person-migration mostly male-migration, she has to bear the burden of family “it actually enhances both the physical and financial burdens on women, in terms of overwork leading to poor health and indebtedness.”¹⁰¹ In the palamur women migrants’ cases this is more rampant, for instance there were some cases in Thimmayyapally and Rangapur where the women faced harassment from moneylenders while their husbands were away. Borrowing money is a difficult task for women in the absence of their men. Neelamma of Thimmayyapally village had to face continuous harassment from the moneylender in the absence of her husband. In fact she was threatened with confiscation of her property.¹⁰² Even formal legal protection is not so effective, “Women migrants who are often in low skilled occupations in sectors not effectively covered by labour laws and standards.”¹⁰³

Narasimha Reddy, in his field survey at a project site observed that palamur labourers work from 6 a.m till 6 p.m with a break for food between 9 a.m to 10 a.m and another break between 3 p.m to 3.30 p.m. they were given holidays once in a fifteen day. At the work site the contractor would arrange medical check up, but expenses has to be borne by the workers.¹⁰⁴ There are very rare occasions that the

¹⁰⁰ Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Programme [APRLP].(2004), *op.cit.*, no.16

¹⁰¹ Nitya Rao and Kumar Rana, (1997) “Women’s Labour and Migration; The Case of Santhals”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Dec.13, ,P.3188

¹⁰² Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Programme [APRLP].(2004), *op.cit.*, no.16

¹⁰³ Lakshmidhar Mishra, (2001) “Can Globalization and Labour Coexist?”, *The Indian Journal Of labour Economics*, 44(1), p.7.

¹⁰⁴ D.Narasimha Reddy, (2003) *op.cit.*, no.23, p.142

contract migrant labourers making some savings out of surplus. Their restless work for years together and under nutritious food is taking toll on their health. Women are also forced to migrate because insufficient earning by male members of household. However, it had enabled many women to improve their household economic conditions. Some times they become self-reliant, and overcome hunger, but it was not without its negative aspects. Malnutrition and irregular diets leading to health problems like diarrhoea, body pains and anaemia is a common feature amongst almost all women migrants, especially among those who undertake long-duration migration. There is always a problem of privacy, lack of hygienic facilities, abuse and harassment by contractors and co-workers in addition to the long and strenuous working hours. Particularly single women are more vulnerable to be abused by contractors. One more vulnerable group to migration is children, usually, when families migrate, infants are definitely taken along since they have to be breast fed. During the focused group discussions it was reported that, in the contract system, the women members were not allowed to break from work even to breast feed their children. At the construction and other work sites, there are no childcare facilities. Parents are forced to leave their children unattended, leading to accidents and, in some cases, even death.¹⁰⁵

Education has the liberative capacity, many palamur labour children are deprived of their fundamental constitutional right. Education deprivation is the biggest problem faced by the migrant children. Due to the constant mobility from the native places to the destinations and vice-versa, they are unable to attend school regularly. Further, they are deprived of a healthy and stable environment. Children in the age group of 5-10 years are usually taken along to look after their infant siblings at the workplace. If there are no infants, they are left behind either with the grandparents or with close relatives at home. In some cases, there is no proper supervision when the parents migrate leaving the children at home. The children do not go to school and lack proper guidance. Not only childrens deprived from their childhood in the case of children who accompany their parents, but they have to discontinue their studies. Even long-term migrants, i.e. people who have stayed in Mumbai or Hyderabad for many years, say that they can not enroll their children in schools for the following

¹⁰⁵ Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Programme [APRLP].(2004), *op.cit.*, no.16

reasons. Often there is lack of proper educational facilities at the destination; and even in cases where some facilities exist, the rules related to admissions in the middle of the academic year and the qualifying standards, often come in the way of enrolling the children. If the parents migrate to non-Telugu areas, there is also the problem of the medium of instruction being in another tongue. In addition, there is the problem of access to schools, the cost, and distance. Further, education is a long-term investment, where the returns are slow in terms of monetary value; whereas children of migrants earn and contribute to the family's income as soon as they enter their teens.¹⁰⁶

Elderly people are also affected with migration when their young family members migrate. They are left behind at the place of origin. Majority of migrant households, elderly persons were left to fend for themselves for long periods, making them socially, economically and psychologically insecure. Though migrating family members leave some money with them for meeting their daily needs, APRLP team opined that it is insufficient to run the household even for a month. Depending upon the availability of work, migrants send remittances; so there is no assured sum coming in every month. In some of the households, they could not access the food rations they are entitled to, since they did not have enough money with them.¹⁰⁷ In fact elderly people's starvation deaths are quite common in the district.

What state does in response when these kinds of hardships are faced by the palamur labourers? It seems it is only busy in taking curative measures rather preventive ones. "The intervention strategies of government to combat drought with an integrated development of the land and water resource of the region in generating employment opportunities for the rural poor could not show much impact."¹⁰⁸ Mahabubnagar district is not exempted from this type of assumption. Programs like drought-prone area program (DPAP), Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP), and Water Shed Development Program were some of the developmental programs. All these programs mainly aimed at addressing the effects of drought but not addressing the causes of the drought. The main reason for drought like conditions in the district is disparities meted out by the successive governments in its river water

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, *op.cit.*, no.16

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, *op.cit.*, no.16

¹⁰⁸ Y.Gangi Reddy, (1997), *op.cit.* no.20, P.124.

sharing. Chakrapani and Vijay Kumar, opine that for checking of out-migration from the district requires providing employment opportunities to the youth in rural areas and land distribution.¹⁰⁹

Mahabubnagar district has the highest cultivable land any where in the state, despite the fact, the district receives very least attention in irrigation policy priorities. Historically, the district was under feudal clutches and dominated by the small feudatories till mid twentieth century. The existence of bonded labour system had facilitating for forced laboring, was replaced by contract migration system. The district comes under semi-arid zones of the country and receives low average rain fall. A recurring drought condition limits employment opportunities of the people, some times it breaks down to 'no work-no food' situation. In that situation migration becomes survival strategy and escape strategy from distressed conditions. The positive aspect of the district is that it is endowed with natural resources, especially water. District is drained by rivers and their tributaries. South Indian big rivers like Krishna travel nearly 350 kms in the district. Then why the district is left in a semi-arid condition. There comes the states slanted attitude toward the district. Successive Andhrapradesh governments neglected irrigation projects in the district. They have abnegated its legitimate water sharing from different sources. Always powerful caste, class regional nexus of coastal Andhra favored irrigation facilities to the down stream coastal region at the cost of Mahabubnagar district and Telangana region.

Invidious attitude and absence of political will by the state creates the real drought in the district. The drought situation is a contrived creation. The enduring distressed socio-economic and political conditions have been pushing lakhs of people from the district in search of the work. The recent pull of migration was created by economic reforms. The reforms process ever since 1991 is on the motion. It has opened up Indian market to the international market. The poorly irrigated farmers of the district had to compete with international market which is a herculean task. At the same time corporatization of agriculture-input sector with state limiting itself only for certain spaces is well recorded. State not only withdrew from the supportive duty of

¹⁰⁹ C.Chakrapani and S.Vijay kumar, (1994), *op.cit.*, no.47, p.93

farmers and poor labourers but cut down the various subsidies to a considerable level. It throws a crisis in agriculture sector. Distressed migrations, with distressed agrarian sector aggravate the palamur labourers' situation. Along with starvation deaths, suicides also become very common in the district. This is the situation prevailing in the district. The situation of migrants at destination shows a grim picture. There is always risk involved with coping or survival migration. It is a very common phenomenon that palamur labourers are always victims of exploitation, harassment abuse and so on. The most vulnerable groups are children, women, and elderly people.

Drought-induced distress migration is aggravated by problems of uneven development and growth. Injudicious allocation of resources to certain sectors and areas, neglect of dryland agriculture, neglect of natural resources such as forests, rivers, etc. are largely responsible for the continuing poverty in this districts. The lop-sided developmental policies need to be fundamentally changed, giving priority to backward areas, dryland agriculture and technologies and conservation of natural resources. Long-term goals/strategies need to be carefully worked out, while short-term strategies are implemented more effectively to mitigate drought and drought-induced distressed migration. There is always problem of consciousness in the district. People are less articulate may be because of constant mobility with the distressed conditions. It seems that in the district government is as usually concentrating on curative aspect of development like rural development programs, drought prone area programme, and water conservation programme and so on. But the preventive approach must be adopted requires political will to change the situation of the district by undertaking larger structural changes. More over palamur labourers must be treated with dignity. Further more Mahabubnagar district needs agriculture development by utilization of its water resources through construction of big irrigation dams, and completion of pending projects in the district. It is here that a strong will is required to change the image of the district from that of a labour district, backward district to the most dignified district.

IV

Globalized Rights and Localized Violations: Situating Palamur Labour Rights

“Human dignity is the quintessence of Human Rights.”¹ This chapter deals with the de jure labour rights and de facto palamur migrant labour rights. Migrant labourers as a category of rights bearers do have certain recognized rights to be promoted and protected. Rights have been interpreted differently by different philosophers. Irrespective of their interpretations, global community could evolve a broader consensus over certain basic rights on their existence and exercise. In the absence of human rights observance ‘human beings’ would cease to be called ‘humans.’ Human rights are the base for the different type of rights. The philosophical base of rights’ bids legitimacy to these rights existence and exercise. Natural rights theory is the accepted basis for the human rights discourse. Natural rights emanate from the natural law. Both natural rights and natural law provides reasonable basis for the human rights language. John Locke’s social contract theory indicates the existence of certain in-alienable rights in the state of nature like right to life, liberty and right to property. These rights should also be recognized in the ‘political society.’ Hence they become the core of the contract. These sets of rights have become the corner stone of the modern liberal democratic constitutionalism in the world. Thomas Paine, a fine product of French revolution in the 18th century elaborates the importance of rights in his celebrated book ‘Rights of man.’ There are two arguments, firstly, human rights emanate from the rights, and rights emanate from the human rights. The first argument seems to be the more accepted position. The universal nature of human rights discourse is seriously contested from the cultural relativist circles and postmodern thinkers.

¹ J.S. Verma (2004) “*The New Universe of Human Rights*”, Universal Law Publishing Co. Pvt.Ltd, New Delhi, p.3

Advancement in productive forces unified the global community. Negatively speaking the world was unified through colonialism and this uneven unification was matured in to subsequent world wars. These developments compelled the world to evolve certain global human rights norms to get a global consensus over it. These rights were thought to be used as an instrument to promote and mediate the standards at the global as well as at the national level. This aspiration materialized in the form of Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in the year 1948. Though this document doesn't enjoy the status of a treaty, but had set a global standard for the entire global community. It was a comprehensive document incorporating both first and the second generation rights. The cold war politics dichotomized both generation rights in to civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights. Later, both got expression in two different covenants in 1966. The third generation right represents the aspirations of third world countries. This right is called right to development, got universal recognition in 1986, after it was adopted in the UN general assembly.

The spirit of these documents is evident in Indian constitution also. Fundamental Rights (FR) and Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) represent the first and the second generation rights. The status of FR is justifiable category and DPSP is a non-justifiable category. All these documents deal with the issues of protection and promotion of human rights in order to establish a global human rights regime. There are efforts at global and national levels for labour rights promotion and protection. Migration is a natural and universal phenomenon. The basic motivation behind all types of migration is the migrants assumption of 'better' livelihood opportunities available else where. The migration theories deal fairly with two streams of migration causes and motivation. At the individual level the rational-individual chooses migration as a way out for betterment of the life. This position has been held by the neo-classical theory of migration. Even Todaro model resembles a refined position in this connection. The new economics of migration gives family a prominent place in migration determination. On the other hand structuralist argument put forth by Marxism stresses on the structural causes of migration. It emphasizes is on the capitalist mode of production's law of the uneven-development and assumes social, historical, cultural factors work behind migrating agency. It stresses on the distressful conditions of the migrating societies as the causes for the migration is

actively chosen by the agency as a survival strategy. It is already discussed in the introductory chapter. Also in the previous chapter the structural causes of palamur migration was discussed. Basically, this chapter mainly focuses on the gap between universal claims of human rights (de jure rights) localized violations of palamur labour rights (de facto rights) at the structural level as well as at the well as agency level of the palamur labour.

4.1. Globalization of Human Rights

It is evident that from the past two decades the economic globalization and the human rights are marching together. It indicates that both are interconnected. The economic base structure of global capitalist development has been given superstructure legitimacy by the human rights language. Were there not any human rights existing prior to globalisation process, which are to be called human rights? Answer is yes, there were different types of rights recognized and promoted at the global level in the post-war period. But the cold-war politics split them into different category of rights. Globalisation process needs individual freedoms and liberties at the market place to buy and sell goods and services without any interruption. Therefore, it emphasizes on the expanding freedom of the people to exercise greater control over their daily lives and greater access to technology and knowledge. Human rights language in the present context gives least importance to the out come of the exercise of these rights, unlike cultural and economic rights. These rights give primacy to the out come of the rights and try to provide accessibility and fulfillment to the basic minimum needs and concerns of every one.

The concern of human rights is human dignity. The dignity can be violated by the direct use of force by an authoritarian state through curbing the individual liberties and freedoms. Human rights impose logical limitations on the state's arbitrary power. On the other hand lack of state intervention in promoting well-being of the people may result in the violation of rights. In this situation, state's positive intervention is necessary for the well-being of the citizens of a nation. The Human Rights language confines only to promoting the negative rights or the first generation rights. Those rights may not be sufficient in reclaiming the human dignity which has been violated

through the present globalised economic structures. The post-USSR emergence of human rights international regime was believed that it has the potential to address both traditional and emerging forms of human rights violations. But the present international economy may complicate the situation. Rahul Rai fears that:

*Beyond this interaction new human rights problem may result from the integration of markets, the shrinking of states, increased transnational flow such as migration, the spread of cultures of intolerance, and the decision-making process of new or growing global institutions.*²

Rahul's apprehension is also fears that, the present economic integration might result in the violations of all the rights including the basic human rights. "Global economic relationships can produce state policies that directly violate social and labour rights and indirectly produce social conflict that leads to state violation of civil and security rights."³

"The globalization process has increased the tension in the domain of human rights."⁴ There are conflicting claims like on the one hand big corporations are claiming their set of rights to set up their establishments any where without any hurdles. At the same time global level institutions aspiring for international governance over local governance. The corporation's rights are posed against the farmers, local labour and indigenous industries rights' for survival. This put pressure on democratic institutions so that accountability is flowing upward centre, ultimately economically dominant powers getting upper hand and their claims are fulfilled at the cost of others claim. The migrant labourers are the most distressed segment part of the otherness. In the previous chapter so far, it was elaborated that how palamur labour claims were affected in the hands of passive irresponsible governments. Along with the economic globalisation, universalisation of the human rights was also celebrated across the world.

² Rahul Rai, (2006) "Globalisation of Human Rights", New Delhi, Authors Press, p.1

³ Ibid, p.7

⁴ Dolly Arora, (2002) 'Globalization, Governance and Rights Struggles', *Mainstream*, April27, p.11

“The debate on Human Rights did gain momentum in the wake of United Nations Decade of Human Rights Education (1994-2004).”⁵ In this decade Human rights language also assumed very important place in the academic discourse. These rights are to be considered as the moral foundation of the modern democratic constitutionalism. Labourers as a category of rights bearers have some recognized rights. Hence, they can enjoy the rights as human beings and as well as labourers against abuse of their rights by the state authority. In the middle of the 20th century several historical factors converged in to realization of setting universal human rights standards for co-existence of all. The first documental expression was the United Nations’ Charter of Human Rights. It ushered in a new international law of human rights. Next step was followed in this direction was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. In the year 1966, international covenants comprising three instruments: International Covenants on Economic, Social and cultural Rights; International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights: and Optional Protocol to covenants on civil and political rights was approved in UN general assembly. Later years there were several declarations at the global level on various group and individual rights. Right to Development, the solidarity rights were adopted by the General Assembly in the year 1986.

4.2. The Politics of Human Rights: Trifurcation of Rights

The labour rights become particularly important concept to deliberate because of the changing balances of labour and capital all over the world in the context of globalisation of capitalist mode of arranging production and distribution of production. Some scholars would attribute this sudden upsurge of human rights language to this changing balance. There is no problem in this upsurge but there is the politics of prioritization of rights by the western liberal democracies. They are very much favoring the first generation rights and promoting as the human rights.

The first generation rights are civil and political rights which are protected by the modern constitutionalism and international law. These rights rightly can be described as the negative rights variety based on the non-interference by others for

⁵ G.Hara Gopal, (2003) ‘Rights in Transitional Society: A Re-look at Philosophical Foundations of Human Rights’, *Indian Journal of Human Rights*, 7 (1&2) Jan-Dec, p.2

their enjoyment. These individual rights are the products of western liberalism. The second generation rights are social, economic and cultural rights or positive rights. Positive rights were given legitimacy and legal sanctions through provision in the Covenant on economic, social and, cultural rights. “These are subject to ‘progressive realization’ and to the maximum of ‘available resources.’”⁶ These rights need an intervention for their enjoyment from the governing institutions. These are products of Marxist tradition and erstwhile Soviet Unions’ efforts in the international politics.

The human rights movement increasingly recognizes the fallacy of dividing civil and political rights from economic, social and cultural rights and the damage done to human welfare of neglecting the latter set of right entirely. Upendra Baxis’ analysis is that the dichotomizations of the generation rights are resulting in to lopsided implementation of defacto rights. His concerns in explaining the controversies are three folds. First one is that there is a controversy between basic human rights and basic human needs. It means that the basic human rights of first generation variety are not capable enough to fulfill the basic needs of all. Second controversy he raises is that, so far human rights concerns were raised against the state power and neglected rights violation in the civil society. Third is that the role of violence in promoting and negating human rights. He further argues that “the neglect of these three areas marks the essential difference between the human rights approach and right to-be- human approach.”⁷ He points out that there is a deficiency in promoting and fulfilling these needs. His mains critique was towards the first generation rights. Civil and, political rights are incapable of fulfilling the needs of the poor. These rights are necessarily freedom oriented and incapable of providing bread to all, it is often translated in to a conflict between ‘bread and freedom’; freedom usually wins with the liberal conception of rights. Freedom without bread is meaningless for its victims. Liberal rights are assurances to lawful harm to others. Because it promotes individuality against the community and those rights gives him/her legitimacy to that harm. Preservation of dignity is cornerstone of human rights practice. Without bread freedom can not give dignity. He proposes combination of de jure and defacto three generation rights.

⁶R.C Mishra,(2003) ‘*Governance of Human Rights ‘Challenges in the Age of Globalisation’*, Authors Press, New Delhi, p.6

⁷ Upendra Baxi, (1987) ‘*Right to be Human*’, In Upendra Baxi , A.Sen and J.fernandes ed, Lancer Publishing House, New Delhi, p.2.

Similar proposal was made by Augustina, according to her the second generation rights are warning that human dignity does not depend solely on the existence of an acceptable degree of freedom, but also on the existence of an acceptable degree of equality in terms of living conditions.’ It has to do little with political or legal equality rather it cares much about material equality. The value of liberty is the first generation right must take care about equality. First and second generation rights should not be treated mutual exclusive rather inclusive or complementary to each other. Any state which cares about rights should take care of liberty base and equality base rights or else they may turn in to contradictory. Equality base rights cost money. In the sense they demand fulfillment of basic needs of every individual of the society. State must be a capable state to care about it through resource distribution. Liberty based rights aspire for some equality rather equality in all sense. “If these rights fails it is not the failure of the democracy it self and threat to the exercise of civil and political rights also.”⁸ Second generation rights are linked to the economic development. It means development not only in physical infrastructural development but human development also. “Human development is understood as minimum level of well-being of all, well-being is a condition of satisfaction of the minimum and fundamental needs.”⁹

The false division between political and economic rights arose partially from the political maneuverings of the Cold War. During that period ideological conflict, the free-market democracies, always looking to delegitimize the communist nations, frequently charged those regimes with the human rights violations, while at the same time ignoring the social and economic rights abuses occurring within their own borders. The communist countries would respond that political freedoms are meaningless without social equality—never mind that a healthy and well-educated population doesn't need to be

⁸Agustina Squella, ‘*Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Swimming Against the Tide?*’, in Alexander Brostl and Amrijan Pavcnick(eds), (2001) ARSP, “Human Rights Minority Rights and Women’s Rights,” Franz Verlag Stuttgart, Newyork. p.59

⁹ Polama Duran, ‘*Development and Social Rights Economic and Solidarity*’, In Alexander Brostl and Amrijan Pavcnick (Eds), 2001, *op.cit*, n.8, 2001 p.54.

*told what it can and cannot read. For decades, each side used the term "human rights" only in self-serving and limited ways.*¹⁰

The third generation rights are 'rights of solidarity' are the newest and most controversial category. "These are asserted by developing countries that wish to see the creation of an international legal and economic order that will guarantee the right to development, to disaster relief assistance to peace and good government."¹¹ Right to development as a part of third generation rights, was adopted in UN general assembly in 1986, which was intended to promote economic security. "The right to development unifies civil and political rights with economic, social, and cultural rights into an indivisible and interdependent set of human rights and fundamental freedoms."¹² This declaration recognized right to development as the universal right and integral part of human rights. This right integrates so far dichotomized rights in to one set of rights and includes more fulfillments of basic needs as development rights of all. These rights represent the aspirations of developing countries. Even Vienna conference of 1993, on human rights in its declaration and programme of action reaffirms right to development as "the universal nature of these rights and freedoms beyond question."¹³

The realization of right to development should happen through the different agencies, including human agency. It seeks the international cooperation for its fuller application. Development implies well-being of the entire population. It does not limit itself to the conventional notion of economic growth alone rather to the expansion of opportunities and capabilities to get benefitted by those opportunities. This approach seeks equity and justice as the primary concerns of the development policies. Well-being is equivalent to realization of human rights. For achieving the rights to development goals the global collective action is the pre- and necessary condition. At the international level there must be a consensus on the practical aspect of this right and at the national level policies should be framed according to the objectives of this

¹⁰Jason Mark, (2001) "*At the Millennium, a Broader Definition of Human Rights Justice, Democracy, and Dignity*", January, <http://www.globalexchange.org/about/newhumanrights.html>.

¹¹Chaudhary, Jayant, (2004), '*Hand Book of Human Rights*,' Dominant Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi pp.30-31.

¹² Arjun Sengupta, (2000) 'Realizing Right to Development', *Development and change*, 31(3), June, p.555.

¹³ *Ibid*, p-557.

right. Arjun sengupta while elaborating the thrust of this right argued that “as a human right, this right pertains to every individual irrespective of nationality, country or continent, and the obligation of a state extends beyond its boundaries to helping, through positive action, the citizens of all other states.”¹⁴ International co-operation is an accepted norm for the achievement of this right. This right primarily recognizes three sub-set of rights like right to health, education, and housing. These are the successive three generation rights. They are promoted and prioritized by the different countries for different reasons. To the western liberal democracies first generation rights are very important. Erstwhile Soviet Union and its’ allies promoted the second generation rights. Developing countries take third generation rights much seriously than the former two generation rights.

4.3. Migrant Labourers’ Rights as Human Rights

4.3.1 Effect on the Claims of Palamur Labourers’

The severity and magnitude of a large scale migration that takes place from Mahabubnagar district, as discussed in the previous chapter, indicates that, there is very much these peoples legitimate claims are been marginalized. Migrating population estimates are reported by different sources as anywhere between two and twelve lakhs. “During the drought year of 2000, the district administration itself admitted to migration of six-lakhs population from the district.”¹⁵ Hara Gopal, a member of the Committee against Famine, a committee which has studied the drought situation reports migrating population anywhere between 10-15 lakh.

*The largest movement of people in the world, go out in search of work of the migrant population, a third are thought to be bonded labourers. This floating vulnerable population accounts for anywhere between one-fifth and one-third of the rural population and is a major determinant of the economy and politics in this district.*¹⁶

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p-570

¹⁵ Parvathi Menon, Frontline, Vol. 17, Issue 10

¹⁶ Panchayat Raj and Natural Resources management: How To Decentralize management Over Natural Resources Andhra Pradesh: District study Report (Mahabubnagar), *op.cit.*, no.2

Whole migration process is induced by drought, lack of irrigation facilities and economic reforms are seriously affecting the 'valid claims' of life, dignity, livelihoods and so on. Hara Gopal observed that the rights violations of Palampur labourers' at the place of destination are very rampant. Migrant women life is in a pathetic condition. They are very much subjected to sexual harassments in addition to the exploitation by the contractors at the working places. According to him these situations in many instances have led to murder or suicides of the labourers. It becomes very difficult to get justice in the hands of exploitative contractors because their economic position as well as nexus between local police and the contractor. In case of male if he dies in the working process, his dead body will be buried without leaving any proof. In many cases the family members will not be informed. In this type of migration their right to life is always at the stake.¹⁷ So there must be efforts to create more enabling environment both at the place of origin i.e. in Mahbubnagar district, and at various places of destination.

Many newly independent governments attributed internal or external migration to the damage inflicted by the colonialism- or capitalism. "It assumed that the newly liberated powers could be used to end territorial inequalities and create the economic homogeneity across the national territory which was supposedly the promise of nationhood."¹⁸ Harris argued that migration formerly was to be seen as the chronic social and economic breakdown, now internal migration has been considered and the income redistribution mechanism across the territories in the form of remittances. But it always may not be true. All migration streams are not capable of generating the remittances.

The rights of migrant workers can be classified in to social, economic, cultural, political and, civil rights. Social rights include the right to work, the right to social security to an adequate standard of living, the right to access to health services, the right to rest and leisure, right to housing, the right to family reunification etc. legal rights which are related to workers right to equal pay for equal work, the right to join trade unions, the right to access to unemployment benefits, and right to vocational training offered by unemployment offices. The cultural rights includes right to

¹⁷ G.Hara Gopal, (2004) *op.cit.*, no.5 p.vii

¹⁸ Nigel Harris, (2005) 'Migration and Development', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Oct 22, p-4591

education, the right to participate in to the cultural life of the community, and right to enjoy the arts and to participate in scientific progress. Civil and political rights includes the right to life, freedom of thought and expression, conscience and religion, the right to freedom of movement and to free choice of place of residence, the right to recognition of a person before law, the right to peaceful assembly, the right to marry of their choice, and the right to vote etc.¹⁹ All these rights are been reflected, codified and recognized in the universal declaration of human rights, and in subsequent covenants.

All above mentioned rights are inter-dependent and derivative from one another. For example, the important civil right is 'right to life' it has been historically extended from protection against arbitrary killing. Not only that, it also means not to be killed by hunger. So without adequate food, shelter and clothing dignified life is impossible. To encompass it adequate means of work and remuneration must be fulfilled, other wise human life would be sub-standard. To fulfill human expression and development work is necessary without which human life is impoverished or unrealized.²⁰

4.4. Human Rights Violations of palamur Labour: Few Evidences

In this section few human rights violation cases of palamur labour has been chosen. It illustrates the situation of palamur people as migrants and as the distressed in the various years and cases. The first sub-section of this section deals with cases of rights violations at the place of origin i.e. in Mahabubnagar district out of the structural reasons. The second section highlights the human rights violation cases at the place of destinations.

Case-1: As drought spreads, migration gains momentum in Mahabubnagar

The Thirsty people on the bank of Krishna River

¹⁹ Faruk Sen and Sadeef koray, (2002) '*Migrant Workers' Rights, in Human Rights Concepts and Standards*, janussz symanisdes, Unesco Publishing House, Ravat publications, Jaipur, pp.336-337.

²⁰ Freedon, Michael. (1998) '*Rights*', World View Publications, New Delhi.P.103

This wizened face of a villager speaks volumes about the plight of the drought-stricken people. This is the case of one village of Kollapur taluk in the district. The drought condition is pushing them from their villages, though the village is located on the bank of river Krishna. "Migration of people from the drought-prone Mahabubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh is not new. But in Peddamaruru village on the banks of river Krishna, such a thing was not heard of till last year. The village always used to have enough water for irrigation and household consumption and the agricultural labourers had ample opportunities to make a living. But the situation has changed completely. The mighty Krishna did not flow through its parched lands this year. Severe drought and the Almatti dam upstream in Karnataka arrested its water flow. The huge pump sets that used to lift water from the river for irrigating 10,000 acres of the village's agricultural lands remained idle. For the first time, people started migrating from the place.

In the last three months, over 200 people left the land of their birth in search of livelihood. Many more are planning to leave the village in the near future. One such person is Chinna Boddanna, an agricultural labourer. Last month, he got employment just for five days. He has not been employed for a single day so far in this month. Now, he is planning to migrate to Hyderabad. And as to what will he do there, he has no clue. It is not just the agricultural labourers - drought has affected the lives of everyone in the village. In case of Mr. Anjaneyulu, a tailor who used to earn at least Rs 500 per month till last year is now not even making Rs 100 per month. He told that "the People just don't have money to stitch new clothes for themselves."

According to unofficial estimates, as many as 4.5 lakh people migrate from the villages every year in search of employment from the district. This year, the number of migrants is expected to swell to 8 lakh. Popular as "Palamur labour" their presence is common in most of the major construction sites across the country. Recently, one such migrant labourer, Laxma Reddy, was reported missing while working on the Narmada Canal Project in Gujarat. His wife Chittamma had to run from pillar to post to know about her husband's plight. The Palamur Contract Labour Union (PCLU) had sent a petition to the National Human Rights Commission in this regard. Consequently, the NHRC had directed the Chief Secretary of Gujarat to file a detailed

report. According to PCLU, which has been fighting for the cause of farm labourers in the district, there have been 560 'missing' cases in the past.²¹

In this case, at the place of origin of migrants, the structural causes like drought, non-availability of irrigation water, pushing them to migrate. The following rights have been violated in the process. They are mostly the economic rights especially, rights like, to have adequate livelihood. The non-responsive state is violating, interms of not providing adequate livelihood sources through utilizing of water resources of the district as a part of its obligations to protect the claims of the villagers. Despite it's location on the bank of Krishna River the village gets nothing out of it. The net result was migration and missing of few migrants and violation of their right to life.

Case-2: Palamur Bonded migrant labourers

Failure of state social programmes leads to bonded labour of 600 Chenchu Adivasis

The pathetic incident which happened faraway from their native places to the palamur contract labourers violates the all norms and dignities of humane standards. In February 2006, Katraju Lakshmi, a Chenchu tribal woman working as a bonded labourer died due to ill health resulting from lack of food. Six hundred Chenchu tribals from Marredmandinne village of Mahabubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh work as bonded labourers on construction sites in the state of Meghalaya. Violations of their right to food and to feed themselves forced them into migration and bonded labour. The situation of bonded women is worse than that of men as they face wage discrimination and threats to their physical security.

The Chenchu tribe is mostly found in the Nallamalai hills of Andhra Pradesh. They are spread across six districts including Mahabubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh. The Chenchu's depend on the forests for their food. The men are experts in collecting honey, the women in picking gum, honey, berries and roots from the forests. Forest products enabled them so far to feed themselves and survive. This has changed in recent years due to the reduction in forest cover and the subsequent

²¹ Ch. Prashanth, Reddy, The Hindu Business Line, Feb, 12, 2003, <http://www.blonnet.com/2003/02/13/stories/2003021300541700.htm>

depletion of forest produce. Now the Chenchus from Marredmandinne village in Pedakottapally division of district Mahabubnagar in Andhra Pradesh have to struggle to feed themselves. They try to survive as labourers, but jobs are scarce due to the drought. The Chenchus are now living in abject poverty. They have no accessible health care system, no education facilities for their children. They have no access to the different schemes and subsidised food assistance under the state social programmes specially designed for the fulfillment of their right to food. Most of them do not possess ration cards to get subsidised food grains. In September 2005, some desperate Chenchus migrated as far as Meghalaya a north-eastern state of India almost 1700 kilometers away from their homes in Andhra Pradesh, hoping to survive as daily wage labourers.

They covered the costs of living and migration through loans from the labour contractors. The wages that the Chenchus earn in Meghalaya are barely enough to feed themselves. Unable to pay back the contractors' loans they ended up as bonded labourers. Sometimes they are not paid at all. On top, the exploitation faced as tribals the situation of tribal women is worse due to the wage discrimination they suffer and the threats to their physical security. When food is scarce, women are often the ones to suffer from hunger and malnutrition, as they have to care for the family before themselves. Katraju Lakshmi was among the group, which migrated to Meghalaya in September 2005. She worked as a construction labourer for the Lekhya power plant near Shillong in the state of Meghalaya. Lakshmi suffered from post childbirth weakness and ill health and faced acute poverty and lack of food. She was paid an advance of Rs. 1,000 by middlemen for labour contractors and then forced into bonded labour. Hard physical labour at the construction site in Meghalaya, denial and discrimination in wages combined with the lack of food, caused Lakshmi's ill health and death on the 7th of February 2006. 600 other Chenchus in Meghalaya, and especially the women working as labourers, are threatened by a similar fate.²²

India is a state party to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and therefore duty-bound under international law to protect and fulfill

²² FIAN International, FIAN letter campaign 0603UIND from 2006 - Asia
http://www.fian.org/live/index.php?option=com_urgentactions&Itemid=81&uaID=58

its people's human right to adequate food. The state has violated the Chenchu's right to feed themselves and their right to food, by not protecting their forest rights, by failing to implement adequate welfare schemes, by disregarding their right to a minimum wage and by not liberating them from bonded labour. On top of these violations, women suffer wage discrimination and threats to physical integrity. In this case various rights violations could be inferred like right to food; right to be free from hunger, right to health, right to education, right to be included in the state sponsored welfare schemes. Right to bargain at the market places and the right to association and above all the right to life. The human rights protection legislations like Bonded Labour Abolition (Regulation) Act. 1979 has also been violated.

Case - 3: Aged persons the victims of Starvation deaths

In the given drought and search for survival situation in Mahabubnagar district the worst hit are the aged persons. They are the direct victims of drought, because of their age factor. In many cases young family members move out of villages leaving the elders at home. In these kinds of situations the elders become victims of starvation deaths. "Clouds of starvation death loom large over poverty-stricken old in the drought-hit villages of this perennially rain-deficient district, notwithstanding the stout official denials. Virtually abandoned by their young ones, who migrate to far off places in search of livelihood, the old are left to fend for themselves. In the absence of support from their kin, they take up odd jobs and when they fail to find one, they seek alms. On a day they do not get either of these, they are at the mercy of their immediate neighbours. And when none of these work for them, they have no option but to starve to death.

Take the case of the frail 75-year-old widow, Megawat Sajani, a Lambada tribal of Tellarallapally Thanda, in Pangal mandal, who is a whisker away from death. She has five sons and three daughters. Barring the eldest daughter, all of them have migrated to different places, for "*dambar pani*," (work on re-carpeting of roads). While four of her sons left three years ago, the last one followed them, two years ago. The trickle of rice that used to come from her sons dried up, of late. The other family members -- her daughter and brother-in-law are too poor to take care of her. Too weak, she stopped working. For some time, neighbours fed her. Not anymore. How

about ration card? "Yes, she has one. But where is the money with us to buy rice," says Bhikya, her brother-in-law. During the 18th round of the Jannabhoomi programme last month, Sajani was promised a monthly pension of Rs. 75, the amount she is yet to receive. Equally pathetic is the condition of another old, indigent widow, Gopia. Her only son, a physically challenged person left for city in search of work, along with his wife, leaving behind their five-year-old son. The old woman takes care of herself and the little one. "I can't work anymore. I survive on alms," she says. A cot lay under a tree, has become her makeshift shelter now, the one-room tenement she owned, having caved in last year. The situation is no better in the remote Mallampalli-Kothapalli village of Ghattu, the worst drought-affected mandal in the district. Thimakka of the village is another of those old souls, solely surviving on the neighbours' munificence, having lost her two sons. She neither has a ration card nor gets old-age pension. Her grandson Bheemanna works in Raichur and sends a small bag of rice, "whenever he remembers me."

It is matter of time, before Sajani, Gopia and Thimakka; join the list of those dying of starvation. The local editions of the vernacular press put the toll so far this year, at six. But the State Government refuses to recognize them as starvation deaths. "How can there be starvation when they have ration cards and get old-age pensions? What else we are supposed to do?" argues the District Collector, K. Madhusudhana Rao. He concedes that the old-age pension of Rs. 75 is meagre but "you have to take it as a minimum amount required for sustenance. After all they have their sons, other family members and neighbours to fall back." Quite obviously it raises questions. Does Government responsibility ends by merely issuing ration cards and pensions? Can these be adopted as yardsticks to measure the level of starvation? It is not these parameters but improving access to food and purchasing capacity that are more important. It is much like the refrain, "How can there be starvation deaths when we have 60 million tonnes of food grains in FCI godowns?" After all food and nutrition play key role in building resistance in the body and if that crucial input is lacking, an old person becomes vulnerable and disease and death inevitably follow.²³

²³ K.Venkateshwarlu, 'Where Drought Threatens very Survival Of The Aged, Feb, 4, 2006 <http://www.hinduonnet.com/2003/02/05/stories/2003020504500400.htm>

Starvations and hunger deaths are results of combination of different types of rights violations. Firstly, the right to work and adequate livelihood rights of younger family members were violated as a result they were driven out of their native place in search of livelihood. Here right to work, right to have adequate livelihood option and right to health and other moral rights have been violated.

Case-4: When crops perish, farmers have no means but die

In the post-liberalization period there were series of suicide committed by farmers in the county. In andhrapradesh Telangana region witnessed highest number of suicides, more so in the Mahabubnagar district also. The level of poverty in the district was much higher than what it is now. But there were no such large scale suicides reported. The major reasons cited in this case of state withdrawal from agriculture sector and greater role played by the self interested private players in this sector. The agriculture market liberalization, volatile out put prices along with non-availability of assured irrigation facilities and state passive role as the protector of rights of farmers. The following case elaborates the fact.

In 1990, farmer Betavati Ratan took a loan of Rs 35,000 from a co-operative bank to sink two borewells on his three-acre plot at Pothur village in Andhra Pradesh's Mahabubnagar district. The wells provided water for his paddy, maize and cotton fields. But Ratan never managed to earn enough to repay his loan. So last year he borrowed Rs 3,000 from a local moneylender to pay a bank installment. The terrible drought this summer crushed his hopes of a good yield. Mired in poverty, Ratan pleaded with the moneylender that he could not pay him back. The moneylender agreed, but insisted that Ratan sell his wife to him instead. Humiliated, Ratan committed suicide two weeks ago, reviving memories of 1997, when nearly 300 cotton farmers across Andhra Pradesh took their lives by drinking pesticide.

In 1997, drought followed by unexpected rains in October-November and an attack by pests destroyed much of the cotton crop in the state. And the pesticide Moncrotophos failed to protect the fields from the attack of *spodoptera litura* [tobacco cutworm] and *heliiothis armigera* [American bollworm]. The withered crops whisper a dirge for

farmers like Ratan. His widow Umli and two daughters and a son live in misery. "We don't know how we will survive now. We have no means of livelihood," Umli weeps. What adds to her distress is the indifference from local authorities. "Umli is yet to be given any money by the authorities. We are still without water. We walk 20 kilometers to fetch drinking water," says M K Kondaiah, a local farmer. As Mahabubnagar reels under the drought, starvation and death stalk its villages. Left high and dry by the state administration of Chief Minister N Chandrababu Naidu, men, women, children and cattle go hungry and thirsty. Villagers fear that if the draught continues, it will force more farmers to take their lives. More than 300 farmers -- as per the government estimates, 65 -- had committed suicide by drinking pesticides, which instead of protecting standing cotton crops devastated their yields.²⁴ In Mahabubnagar district scarcity of water placed the poor at the verge of starvations and deaths. Farmers who are been taking loans are forced to either migrate or commit suicide.

Suicides these days are driven by either lack of work due to absence of water or by mounting debt. M Sailoo, a young villager in Mahabubnagar's Gangapur village committed suicide because he took a loan and invested Rs 10,000 in a bore well which never gave any water. The drought and the threats from the local moneylender added to his misery, forcing him to take his life, leaving his wife and three children. "Neither politicians nor the administration have done anything for the district for many years. Mahabubnagar will remain backward for ever," says N Kumara Reddy, a local social activist, who is going around the villages with a "pro-life agenda." Reddy claims that in 1997-98 Mahabubnagar saw the maximum number of suicides -- nearly 140 -- because everyone here lives by farming. "When crops perish, the farmers have no means but to die," Reddy adds.

In this case, several factors and situations forced farmer ratan to commit suicide. The family pride which is very much attached to Indian social structure also forced him to feel humiliated when the money lender humiliated. Along with that the structural reasons such as non-availability of irrigation water, lack of livelihood, braking down of rural economy along with economic liberalization negative effects

²⁴ George Iype , The Rediff Special, <http://Mahabubnagar.tripod.com/issues.html> /drought

forced the farmer in a helpless condition then to suicide. There are violations of combinations of different types of rights like right to life, livelihood, right to be free from hunger and the region as a whole violation of right to development.

Case-5: A Risky Agriculture

In this particular case shows that how gradually agriculture is turning in to a life risking endeavor. It results in to a major reason for migration and re-migration like an unending cycle. Investments in agriculture fail to get returns Mareanna, forty-two years of age, migrated to Hyderabad for almost 12 years and then returned to Thimmayyapally village of Addakal mandal of Mahabubnagar district to stay with his parents. They have 6 acres land and 2 bullocks. He invested his remittances, around Rs. 15,000, and a bank loan of Rs. 40,000 in digging four borewells in his land. He again took a loan of Rs. 3,000 for fertilizers. He took this loan from a moneylender in Moosapet, a nearby village, at an interest rate of 3%. He spent additional sums to buy 2 kg of castor seeds for Rs. 175, and 5 kg of maize seeds for Rs. 240. But with the failure of rains, there were no returns from the land. Of the four borewells, only one has any water in it. He is burdened with the heavy loans. Which have to be paid back to the bank and moneylenders with little means at his disposal to do so? Now he has to remigrate.²⁵ In Mareanna's case lack of assured irrigation facilities forcing him and more so other people like him in the district to investment heavily on the digging borewells. This is on of the principal reasons behind debt problems unlike the areas with irrigation facilities. Right to livelihood is violated in this case. It is happening on a large scale district as a whole. In Mahabubnagar district dependency on a deadly irrigation means that is irrigation through Tubewells is on a rise. The total irrigated area by tuebewells has increased from 0.09 per cent during 1979-80 to 72.69 per cent during 2003-04.

Case-6: No end to farmers' tales of woe in Mahabubnagar

²⁵ Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Programme [APRLP]. (2004). *Role of Migration in People's Lives*. A Qualitative Study of Four Villages in Mahabubnagar and Anantapur districts. Project Support Unit, Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Project, Hyderabad, www.rd.ap.gov.in/aprlp/publicationd/role%20migration%20lives.pdf.

In the earlier cases the particular farmer faced the economic hardship because of non-availability of irrigation water. In this case the farmer is facing problem due to non-availability of proper price to his agriculture out-puts. The economic liberalizer's assumption towards the opening of Indian agriculture market was that, this market integration would bring price parity between Indian goods and international goods. With this assumption agriculture subsidies were done away with. The experience shows that instead of getting international price the farmers are left in an uncertain situation to the volatile out-put price situations. It became obvious that the Indian farmers are unable to compete with the highly subsidised western farmers. Seetaram Naik who owns 20 acres of land in Appareddygudam village in Mahabubnagar district says, "I am here with the salvaged crop. Last, year the maize fetched him above Rs. 480 per quintal. This season there are no takers at even Rs. 300 per quintal." "Farmers are anguished on two counts. Their current crop is wrecked by the power cuts. And whatever produces that they could salvage of the Kharif does not yield a price that could even partially recover the costs. Paddy raised in most of the rain-fed villages is not yielding the minimum support price of Rs. 510 to Rs. 540 per quintal for the two grades of the grain. Same is the case of maize while castor is going for a song in Shadnagar, Jadcherla and Mahabubnagar Market yards. Last year Sona Masuri variety rice could fetch above Rs. 800 per quintal. But this year not more than Rs. 550 is being offered. Castor was sold at Rs. 1800 per quintal last year but farmers are resorting to distress sale of the seed at Rs. 1100 per quintal this year."²⁶ The right to livelihood is at peril in this case because volatile out-put prices situation in the market. Social security of the farmers is in a doubt situation due to subsidy cut down in agriculture in-put like fertilizer, power, seeds etc. there is clear cut evidence show that government has withdrawn from its role of ensure minimum prices to the distressed farmers.

Human rights violation cases at the place of destination

Palamur migrant labour is a result of specific existing distressed socio-economic, cultural and historical structures of the district. It was discussed in a great detail in the previous chapter. These structures are pushing the palamur labouring

²⁶ T. Lakshmipathi, The Hindu, November 23, 2000, <http://www.cefsindia.org/reports/farmers%20suicide.pdf>

agency from the place of origin to survive. The new push was created by the economic liberalization policies of government of India since 1991. In very few cases only the survival migration might turn in to an accumulative migration. The palamur labourers are mostly distressed migration it is very clear from the following cases that the distressed migration result is distressed consequences resulting in to wide spread human rights violations. Mostly the labourers are victims of accidents, wall collapse incidences and non-payment of proper wages.

Case-7: Search for livelihood and life at peril

The very important rights violation, the right to life violation of palamur labour happens through the road accidents which results in to major killing factor as well. Achampet constituency of Mahabubnagar district witnesses large palamur contract labour migration. They are not only the victims of exploitation by contractors but even the victims of accident deaths. One such incident was reported in the daily, which had happened in Warangal district of the state. The victims had migrated from the Achampet taluk. Local labour contractor Venkateshwarlu of Telakapally had mobilized labourers from the taluk for canal works in Warangal district. While travelling in a tractor to the work spot the palamur labourers met with an accident near Kupparapally. The tractor which they were travelling collided with a tipper, in the accident of 1st February three labourers Yellamma, Suvarna and Ramesh died on the spot. Other labourers sustained very serious injuries. Not only that even the living style of the labourers was reported pathetic. They dwell in small huts, there are no fixed working hours. It depends on the mercy of the supervisor and contractor. They take under nutritious food that includes rice, gruel, soup and that is their staple food. One more incident was reported in the daily. The victims were from Dokku tanda of Achampet taluk In this case accident happened to palamur labourers who had migrated to Maharashtra were working in Pune near Luni area. The labourers were working near by a railway track when the accident happened they were busy in their works. Suddenly, the passing diesel tanker train de-railed and fell on the near by working palamur labourers. Some people died and some people disabled in the accident. Khatravath Chitti died on the spot and Khatravath Shanthi leg was broken

and later it had to be removed permanently.²⁷ In this case palamur labourers socio-economic, cultural rights at the place of origin as a result their right to life has been violated at the destination place.

Case-8: Government Agencies Violates the Right to Life

Another widely covered rights violation Incidence of palamur labour happened in Hyderabad city. The victims were buried alive in a pit collapse incidence. All four victims belonged to Gopalpet mandal, Polkepadu and Edula villagers, the labour contractors could bear only the funeral expenses and government compensated ten thousand rupees only. The particular incident happened in Hyderabad when the labourers were digging the sewerage lines from Kundan Bagh to Shankar Makhta. That particular work belonged to the sewerage board which is part of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad (MCH). The work was tendered to a labour contractor. The incident happened when they were digging the new line along side of the old one. Measured width three feet and depth above sixteen feet. The edge of the lining was very much wet digging in this condition is very dangerous. The contractors MCH officials knew it very well that it would be dangerous. In the unavailability of any other work opportunities palamur labourers were compelled to do that work. On the morning of May 11th 1997 this incidence happened. The victims were Jayamma (22), Laxmaiah (40), Sheelaiah (40) and Swamy (16). The right to life and safety to life was violated in this incident. The compensation that the victim's relatives got was reported to be very nominal. The government agency MCH had violated all the human rights norms.²⁸

Case-9: Victims of rights violations in Mumbai

In wall collapse incident which happened in Navi Mumbai's Koparkerna building construction site on 25th April 2006, seven palamur labourers died. In this incident the victims belonged to koilkonda mandal's perkividu tanda were kishan

²⁷ 13 Feb, 2007, Eenadu (Telugu daily), Mahabubnagar district Edition.

²⁸ A pamphlet issued by Committee against Famine. dated 27-5-2000

Nayak, Chandar Nayak, Mahabubnagar mandal poteneppally villager Telugu Sreenu²⁹ and Bhutpur mandal Lambadikunta *tanda* (a tribal hamlet) villagers Somla Nayak, Bhikya Nayak and Manemma. Maharashtra government announced exgratia to the kins of the victims, one lakh each along with the construction company's two lakhs exgratia.³⁰ This is one of the rare cases where the victim's families were compensated. In many cases the victims never get any compensation.

Case-10: No minimum wages were paid

Palamur contract labourers are victims of un-free labour and lowest paid exploitative system. At Jurala project canal lining works Sainath observed that the labourers were given daily wages only Rs. 45 per day. Where as, the minimum wages they should have given 83 rupees. There is no guarantee of getting the fair wages. There is no enforcing agency for assuring minimum wages. The inter-state migrants are the more vulnerable to the exploitation. Because disciplining the migrants is very easy for the contractors. Sainath also reports that "at some of the working sites the pregnant women had to work right up to the day of delivery and also had to resume the work less than ten days later."³¹ Agriculture has taken severe beat in the district not because of only drought, but also because of rising cost of agriculture input. This has to be attributed to the agriculture input market liberalization and volatile out-put prices. Lack of irrigation has put the additional burden on the semi-area farmers. These farmers have to invest heavily for this purpose. Chandraiah a farmer from Gurram konda of the district told that "a bag of ammonia phosphate costs three times what did in 1991. Paddy seeds cost has doubled and power cost has gone up many folds and no credit is available."³² Sainath opines that 'palamur labour is a complex junction of problems accentuated with the current reforms in the country. In this case minimum wages act 1948, and social security acts being violated.

²⁹Telugu sreenu's family story was pathetic economically they were destitute and only earnings through migration labour was the only left out option for their livelihoods. Later his brother also died in the hospital who was one of the victims of the wall collapse incidence. These two brothers had left their widows and little kids along with their aged father and mother. Another younger brother of Sreenu and his wife were battling with their lives who were also the victims of the incidence.

³⁰Eenadu (Telugu daily), Mahabubnagar district Edition, April 29, 2006.

³¹P.Sainath, "A Bus to Mumbai" The Hindu, May 02, 2003.

³²As cited in P.Sainath, "A Bus to Mumbai" The Hindu, May 02, 2003.

Case-11: Equal Burden Sharings by Women

The life style of palamur migrant laborers is filled with burden. Even women have to share equal burden along with the men. Some times they do work more than what men do. Normal days in the life of a migrant labourer at the destination male's time female's time are. (They wake up 5.30 am wake up 5 am morning ablutions 5-6 am. Ablutions, household chores / cooking 5-7 am start working. 7 am taking cooked food to the work site. 7 am eat food prepared by wife 8 am Joining the work with husband 8 am. Lunch break 1-2 pm, Lunch breaks 1-2 pm. Post-lunch work 2-6 pm Post-lunch work 2-6 pm. Back from work 6 pm Back from work 6 pm Chatting with co-workers and 6-8 pm Cleaning and cooking 6-8 pm family member Supper 8 pm Supper 8 pm Sleeping 9 pm Sleeping 9 pm). In addition to sharing the labour work equally with her husband, the woman has also to attend to household chores. If she has infants, she has to breast-feed them in between the work. She has to constantly keep an eye on her children while working. Susheelamma's story reveals the plight of an overburdened migrant woman at the destination³³

Case-12: The Overburdened Migrant Women

Women care more than men, Susheelamma, wife of Boya Narayana, is a migrant from Sivarampet of Mahabubnagar district. She migrated with her husband to Mumbai for construction work through a contractor. Her three children, Renuka 10, Shravani 7 and Praveen 4, accompanied her. Susheelamma's work starts at 4 am, and she works continuously till 8 or 9 pm in the evening. She has to work at Home and also join her husband to do hard labour work. After returning from the work in the evening again she has to prepare food and look after the children. Sometimes her husband helps her by fetching water, but often he sits idle smoking bidis and shouts at her if the food is not prepared on time. Sometimes she gets help from her elder daughter, Renuka, in the household chores. She laments that this is the fate of women. In the case of Rangamma who hails from Rangapur, she migrated to Mumbai along with her husband and infant child. She took her elder daughter with her

³³ Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Programme [APRLP]. (2004), *op,cit.*, no.25. www.rd.ap.gov.in/aprlp/publicationd/role%20migration%20lives.pdf.

to take care of the child at the destination. Pullamma from Sivarampet said that she had brought her two young children with her to Hyderabad as she had nowhere to leave them in the village. The lack of childcare facilities at their workplace caused her considerable anxiety. Moving to different places at the destination for stone-cutting work, the chances of education for these children seemed remote. As a result of their migrant life, her elder son and two daughters never went to school.³⁴

Case-13: Deprived Childhood

The migration is badly affecting the childhood of children especially, on their fundamental rights. The impact of migration on education of children was well described by a school teacher in Thimmayyapally *thanda* of the district. The migration rate is very high in this *thanda*. Almost every family has 2 or 3 people who have migrated to Mumbai. The dropout rates in the school are largely due to migration. Usually, in July, the enrolment rate is high in the school. The migrant children also come to school with the other children of the *thanda*, probably because of the free food and books. But after the season is over, towards October-November, they drop out of the school increases. Come July, they return and rejoin the same class; soon the age gap widens and the change of place affects their lives and they lose interest in coming to school. But there are perceived changes in the behaviour and attitude of children after they complete 4-5 years of schooling. The children of classes V-VII can cope with school and do additional work in the field and house. For migrant children, school facilities should be available at the destination, so that they can continue with their education. Provision for mobile teachers or sending one teacher from the area of origin to the destination area will help to avoid the problem of language. Incentives like clothing, monetary compensation should be provided to the (dropout) children so that they will be interested in continuing their schooling.³⁵ The country's future is depending upon the children of the country. The migration process has been depriving the children of palamur labourers their fundamental constitutional right, Right to Education.

Case-14: exclusion from the political Society

³⁴ Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Programme [APRLP]. (2004), *op.cit.*, no. 25, www.rd.ap.gov.in/aprlp/publicationd/role%20migration%20lives.pdf.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

Prior to the parliament and state legislative assembly elections of 2004, one news was widely reported. The news was that some political parties demanding about exclusion of palamur labourers from the voters list. The logic put forward by these parties was that in the absence of lakhs of palamur labourers during election times, gives opportunity for rigging of the votes. Then, the Law Minister, P. Chandra Sekhar opposed this logic. While speaking to the presspersons, the Minister questioned how their names could be removed from the voter list when they had immovable properties in their native villages besides their old parents and children residing in the house. The labourers could have migrated for livelihoods for a few months in a year and they returned to their native places regularly on festival days and for elections, he said. Whether their names are included or excluded from the voters list. Infact, many lakh palamur labourers' miss the opportunity to exercise their right to franchise. It results in to denying their citizenship and political rights. In this manner the labourers are been excluded from the political society.³⁶ Not only that the palamur labourers are widely excluded from the state sponsored welfare schemes also.

4.5. De jure Rights of Palamur Labour

4.5.1 Provisions in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

The globalisation of human rights moved further from the philosophical level to concrete practical level. They wee codified through number of documents and declaration. These declarations could have helped in establishing universal human rights regime in the world. Many provisions of these documents were legally recognized by the law of the land. This section deals with the dejure rights situation of palamur labour recognized by the universal community as the basic rights. Certain rights were recognized in the mid 20th century and codified in to the Universal declaration. First half of the 20th century was a very crucial juncture of the world history. World experienced two destructive world-wars. There were anti-colonial movements going on in the third world countries. Fascism, Nazism poses a great threat to the humanity. All these developments compelled for having a universal regime of human rights. "Contemporary jurists and philosophers of law recognize that there is a species of legal rights. They are the universal rights international law

³⁶ The Hindu, Jan.11, <http://www.hindu.com/2004/01/12/stories/2004011207560300.htm>

confers on each and every human being simply by virtue of his/her humanity.”³⁷ Carl Wellman describes universal declaration which was the acknowledgement by the global community of these universal standards. “Universal declaration of human rights seems both to describe a set of fundamental moral rights and to confer a set of legal rights upon all human beings.”³⁸

The UN charter of 1945 stresses the need and purposes of its functioning through article 1(3) the “promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms.”³⁹ All human rights for all people were accepted became part of the universal standards. The standard setting work was taken by United Nations Organization in the form of Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the year 1948. It made possibilities of full-blown global human rights regimes. Also it established standard for the civilized conduct. Declaration requires from the states to fulfill the basic requirements of the citizens as well as observance of the basic civil and political standards It recognizes a full range of civil, political, economic, social, cultural rights. It also recognize and declared that all these rights to be ‘interdependent and indivisible’. Right was given priority over any other socio, political economic goals. More over the adoption of the universal declaration set in motion a process of standard-setting subsequently through which the full range of human rights were elaborated in various treatise and covenants. Declaration is not a treaty, but a resolution passed by the general assembly, is like a softer laws do not impose any binding legal obligations on the state parties. “Declaration was the first international document contained comprehensive list of human rights and fundamental freedoms.”⁴⁰ Universal human rights composed a concern for positive rights and as well as negative rights. “One of the principle purposes of human rights in global politics is to reflect critically upon the stark contradictions between the idea of universal human rights and practice of human wrongs.”⁴¹

Different human rights declarations, covenants; conventions have become basic law for formulating human rights protective legislations. The promulgations are in the

³⁷ R.C Mishra, (2003) op.cit, n.6, p.18

³⁸ Carl Wellman, (2005) ‘The Universal Declaration: Ambiguous or Amphibious?’, In Alexander Brostl and Amrijan Pavcnick (eds.) *Op.cit.*, no. 8, p.18

³⁹ R.C Mishra, (2003) op.cit, n.6, p.6.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p.24

⁴¹ Sudhir Kapoor, (2003) ‘*Human Rights in 21st Century*’, Mangal Deep Publications, Jaipur, p.3

different stages in different countries according to their ideological convictions. Next development in this direction was that the declaration of two covenants on civil, political rights and economic social and cultural rights. This study concerns about the practical aspect of migrant labour rights (palamur labour) in the context of the globalized world. These documents recognize rights of the labourers as the human rights.

Article 1 of universal declaration states that, 'all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit brotherhood'. If those rights are being violated then they should get effective remedy of it. In all above mentioned cases palamur labour at the place of origin and at the place of destination living a non-dignified life as mentioned in the earlier section. According to the article 8 'every one has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him/her by the constitution or law'. In order to get remedies to their rights palamur labour need a positive non-discriminatory state, this has to have a sense of respecting protecting their rights. The following rights have been recognized as the part of economic rights. Article 22 states that 'Every one as a member of society, has the right to social security and entitled to realization, through national effort and international cooperation and in accordance with the organization and the resources of each state, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his/her personality. Mostly the palamur labourers have been migrating in the absence of any social security provision existence in the district. There are no much national or provincial level efforts in the post-independence India in terms of providing them proper social security provisions. It might have happened through the proper utilizing the district's legitimate natural resources for the people of the district.

Article 23(1) says that "every one has right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and protection against unemployment. In the district the main reason behind the mass migration is that lack of employment available there. Article 23(2) indicates that 'everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work'. This one of the highly violated rights to the same work men gets different remuneration and female get

different deferent remuneration. Article 23(3) says 'Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself/herself and his/her family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection'. As mentioned earlier in the 10th case minimum wages has been violated at the Jurala project lining work and other destinations. Especially, in many instances palamur contract labour system violates the minimum wages act. Because palamur contract system is part of the captive labour. According to Article 23(4) 'everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for protection of his/her interests.' Palamur labour being a part of highly un-organised unskilled segment of labour force is unable to organize themselves. Article 24 stands for that 'Everyone has right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitations of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.' It seems leisure and rest is unknown to the palamur labour, because they are known for their restless hardworking nature. According to Article 25 'every one has right to standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, and old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his/her control.'⁴² The palamur labours are victims of many deadly diseases, like Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs). Getting adequate livelihood options is one of the major demands that Mahabubnagar people demanding since many decades. Universal Declaration loses its meaning in the case of palamur labour.

4.5.2 Provisions in international covenants on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights

In all above mentioned cases, the fundamental universal human right that is 'right to life' had been violated, if the meaning of right to life it gets expanded. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights article 6, says that 'every human being has the inherent right to life' Declaration had included both the positive and negative rights in its' content. The first world and second world had been prioritized the rights and actively promoted them. International covenants on Economic, Social,

⁴² 25+ Human Rights Documents, Centre for Study Human Rights, Columbia University, 2001, P.5-7

and Cultural Rights stands for the positive rights. According to Article 2(1) this covenant 'each state party to the present covenants undertakes to take steps, individually and through international assistance and cooperation, especially economic and technical, to the maximum of its available resource, with a view to achieving progressively the present Covenant by all appropriate means, including particularly the adoption of legislative measures.' The present economic globalizers must keep in mind this article in their negotiations on international trade. Even they must keep in their agenda the human security concerns. Article 3, stands for to undertaking and to ensure the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all economic, social and cultural rights set forth in the present Covenant.' Article 6(1), asserts that 'the states parties to recognize the right to work, which includes the right of everyone to the opportunity to gain his living by work which he/she freely chooses or accepts, and will take appropriate steps to safeguard this right.' The right to work no where ensured in the case of palamur labour. Through the decent-work only human being can gain human-dignity.

Article 6(2) 'the steps to be taken by a state party to achieve the full realization of this right shall include technical and vocational guidance and training programmes, policies and techniques to achieve steady economic, social and economic development and full and productive employment under conditions safeguarding fundamental political and economic freedoms to the individual.' Article 7, says that 'the state parties to the present covenant recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of just and favourable conditions of work which ensure particular'. According to article 7(a), 'remuneration which provides all workers as a minimum with: (i) fair wages and equal remuneration for work of equal value without distinction of any kind, in particular women being guaranteed conditions of work not inferior to those enjoyed by men, with equal pay for equal work; (ii) a decent living for themselves and their families in accordance with the provisions of the present covenants'. article 7(b) stands for providing 'safe and healthy conditions'; according to article 7(c), 'equal opportunity for everyone to be promoted in his/her employment to an appropriate higher level, subject to no considerations other than those of those seniority and competence'; article 7(d) stands for 'Rest, leisure and reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay, as well as remuneration

for public holidays.⁴³ The living condition of the palamur labour is that, mostly they live in densely populated slums in the urban areas. They live in pathetic conditions, without any provisions of minimum amenities. For the realization of all these rights palamur labour require a pro-active state and vigilant civil society. In the present context of the beautification cities the slums dwellers are pushed to the peripheries of the city. The living space of city poor is shrinking day by day.

Article 8(a), stands for the unionization of the workers' the right of everyone to form trade unions and join the trade union of his/her choice, subject only to the rule of the organization concerned. According to, the article 8(d), 'the right to strike, provided that it is exercised in conformity with the laws of the particular country. Article 9, provides social security provisions 'the state parties to the present covenant recognize the right of everyone to social security, including social insurance. Article 11, stands and recognizes the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his/her family. Article 11(1)&(2) enjoins the state parties to take the necessary steps, individually and through international co-operation to improve the production, conservation and distribution of food, recognizes the right to everyone to be free from hunger.' Article 12(1) stands for right to every one to enjoy the highest attainable physical and mental health. Article 13 recognizes the right to every one to education.'⁴⁴ All the articles starts from the word 'The state parties to the present covenant' indicate the role of the state as an agency in promotion of the human rights standards. The rights approach to the elimination of poverty demands from the state side to observe its duty towards realization of the rights of the poor. It is the claim of the poor who in search of livelihood migrate which is a multi-dimensional process. Palamur labourers are not in any position to unionize themselves and bargain in the market. Their distressed conditions don't help them in unionization. Hence, they become easy targets of the vulnerable situations. The right to livelihood is been widely violated in the district subsequently their social rights are also been violated.

The declaration of Right to Development in 1986, in the UN general assembly considered Right to development as the basic right and provides right approach to development. Article 8, of the declaration states specifically that realization of Right

⁴³ *Ibid*, P.10.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p.11.

to Development would ensure 'equality of opportunity for all in their access to basic resources, education health services, food, housing, employment and fair distribution of income', and 'that women should have an active role in the development process' as well as 'appropriate economic and social reforms', eradicating all social injustice. Article 3, says 'states have the primary responsibility for the creation of national and international conditions favorable to the realization of right to development.' Article 2(3) points out that 'states have the right and the duty to formulate appropriate national development policies.' It is in the direction of realization of right to development. Article 6(3) emphasizes on 'to eliminate obstacles to developments resulting from failure to observe civil and political rights as well as economics, social and cultural rights. Article 4 is very important it states that "states have the duty, individually and collectively, to formulate international development policies to facilitate the realization of the Right to Development."⁴⁵ Development is a process of involving all agencies including human agency. In order to getting out from its given semi-aridness of the Mahabubnagar district. This article is very important; it reminds the state of its historical role towards the district. This right seeks participation of every individual in the development and income-redistribution process. This right has the capacity to solve the problems of Mahabubnagar district. The question is that is our government has the confidence for implementation these rights. The present globalization of human rights regimes mostly emphasizes on the civil and political rights. It is very obvious that in the absence of second generation and third generation rights the first generation rights might become ineffective.

4.5.3 Provisions in Indian constitution

There are several articles in Indian constitution resembling with the universal declaration of human rights as well as the two covenants. Constitution is the document of fundamental law of the country. The enshrinement of universal human rights standards in the constitution of India indicates the constitutional framers enthusiasm in universal human rights regime. Among all the Fundamental Rights (FR) and the Directive Principles of State Policies (DPSP) are very important in this regard. Fundamental right represents the first generation and negative rights, and

⁴⁵ Arjun Sengupta, op.cit., n.12, pp-563-564

directive principle of state policy represents the second generation as well as positive rights. “The directive principles of state policies are the directives in Indian constitution dealing with promotion of human rights through state intervention and the welfare policies. The state shall direct its policy towards recurring.”⁴⁶

Universal Declaration of Human Rights was declared in 1948 and the Constitution of India came in to operation in 1950. Fundamental rights are justifiable but not DPSP, they remain as the directives to the state on which basis state should formulate its’ policies. The following articles are the important ones which can be quoted as relevant in the human rights language of migrant labourers.’ Article 14 says ‘the state shall not deny to any person equality before law or the equal protection of laws within the territory of India. Article 15 gives direction to the state not to discriminate any citizen on the basis of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth and any of them. The Telangana region and Mahabubnagar district have a history of being discriminated in the hands of Andhra Pradesh ruling classes. Article 16 talks of equality of opportunity to all citizens but palamur people are not been treated as par with this article. In terms of opportunities majority people have been deprived their equality of opportunity. Article 17 prohibits ‘untouchability.’

Article 19 (d) & (e) provides opportunity to migrate any part of the country, practice of any profession, to carry on any occupation, trade or business. Article 23 prohibits any kind of forced labour or *begaar*, begging etc. Article 24 prohibits child labour, according to its definition children below 14 years, who are employed and engaged in the hazardous employment was to be considered as child labour. Among the DPSP Article 39 directs state to formulate policies according to the principle enshrined in the sub clauses of the article. (a) that the citizens, men and women, equally have the right to an adequate means of livelihood; (b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to serve the common good; and (c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment; (d) that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women; (e) that the health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused

⁴⁶ K. Pazhani, (2003) ‘Fishing Labour and Human Rights Violation’, in K.gopal Iyer (Eds), ‘*Migrant Labour and Human rights in India*’, Kanishka Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, P.251.

and that citizens are not forced by economic necessities to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength. Article 41 talks about right to work, to education and to public assistance in the case of unemployment. Article 42 is of directive to the state to make provisions for securing just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief. The structural adjustment programme that India is actively promoting at the dictates of IMF and WB has taken a serious set back on these rights. Especially which are enshrined in the Directive Principle of State Policy:

*The structural adjustment has no space whatsoever for a democratic handling of the situation. With the result the state inevitably gets brutalized. This inverse relation between democracy and development would lead marginalization of the constitution itself*⁴⁷

Hara Gopal further argued that, Indian constitution has progressive provisions in its content and it has visioned to build a democratic society which is conducive for the promotion of human rights. The directive principles of state policy have provisions like to provide work for all, improve living conditions, etc. But after economic crisis 1991, the Indian government adopted structural adjustment programs (SAP) designed by international institutions like IMF and World Bank. It has serious implications for the people and more serious for the working class. He argues that part III (Fundamental Rights) of Indian constitution has been abridged ever since it came into force. The implementation of SAP requires abandoning of Part IV of Indian constitution.⁴⁸

Article 43 is a very important in terms of labour rights, It says that ‘The state shall endeavour to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organization or any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial, or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure, and social and cultural opportunities and, particular, the state shall endeavour to promote cottage industries on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas. Article 45 talks about free and compulsory education within period of ten years from

⁴⁷ Hara gopal, (1997) “*Political Economy of Human Rights: The Emerging Dimensions*”, Himalaya Publishing House, New Delhi, p.129.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p.131

the commencement of the constitution. Article 47 stands for the raising nutritional level of the people and the living standards.⁴⁹ All above mentioned article seems to faraway from the realization in the palamur district and the labour case.

4.6. Human Rights promotional Labour Welfare Legislations in India

The above mentioned articles were not only left to the documentation level, but had set to active realization through legal methods. In India these laws were meant for practical applicable mostly at the migration destination place. Migrant labourers are not an independent category in the labour market segmentation but there is mix of agricultural labourers, construction workers, contract labourers, plantation workers and so. They consist of major portion of unorganized sector Rogaly and etal, advocates for the political approach to the implementation of migrant labourers' rights as they enjoy their claims as being migrant labourers.' Mainly the identified migrants' rights as follow: Migrants have the right to be included in the welfare schemes sponsored by the state. Especially, women and children must get priority because they get very least attention at the place of origin and at the place of destination and they are more prone and vulnerable to human rights violation incidences. Inclusion in the welfare schemes like integrated child development scheme should be made compulsory. Getting shelter at the place of destination is a biggest problem faced by the migrant community. So getting shelter must be recognized as one of the basic rights. One more problem faced by the migrants is unsafe travel during migration period. This might prove a fatal experience to many. Recognizing safer travel as a right is must. Mostly migrants' dwellings are slums in the cities. They often have to adjust with the polluted weather, water, and food etc. unhealthy environment make them sick. Substantial earnings they have to allocate to their health care. Some times it become difficult to save out of earnings because absence of health facilities. So right to free health must be realized. Education makes a person aware of his/her 'being'. "The children of migrant labourers are deprived of education because of their

⁴⁹ P.M. Bakshi, (2006) '*The Constitution of India*', Universal law publishing co., New Delhi, pp-10-91

parents mobility. Right to education must be made compulsory.”⁵⁰ Justice K. Ramaswamys’ opinion is that, as mentioned earlier migrants are from deprived communities unaware of their rights. It is the duty of the sensitized citizens, government and non-governmental agencies, trade unions to work in tandem with human rights and to enable these segments of society to enjoy their basic human rights. “These rights are ‘right to shelter, right to food, right to unpolluted and congenial environmental conditions at the work place as well as education to their children.”⁵¹

In the wake of LPG Indian capitalist class could be able to influence the legislation process in Indian politics. At the same time much progressive legislation has been left behind. Likayat ali while examining the status of unorganized sector, defines it as “which consists of workers who are not organized to pursue their common objectives because of the casual nature of their employment, the small size of establishment per person employed, the scattered nature of their establishment, and the superior strength of the employer operating singly or in combination.”⁵² In the unorganized sector employees are the unending reservoir of relative surplus labour, in Marxist jargon they are floating, latent and stagnant population. More over this sector has very special identity of conditions like unhygienic working conditions, and living conditions, extremely lower earnings, middlemen phenomena, harassments, exploitative working conditions. Many studies show that there is increasing casualization of labour in the name of flexibility of labour. Among the unorganized sector the migrant labour consists the major chunk.

In consonance with the universal declaration of human rights, international covenants and Indian constitution provisions Indian state has promulgated several formal labour welfare legislations. The aims of these legislations are to respect and protect the rights of unorganized sector labour. All these legislations are *de jure* in nature. It can also be interpreted as the realization by the state towards its duty to respect the labour rights. The *de facto* situations of these legislations are violated in

⁵⁰ Ben Rogally and etal, ‘Seasonal Migration, Social Change and Migrants’ Rights: Lessons from West Bengal, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 36(49), p.4559.

⁵¹ K. Ramaswamy, ‘*Inter-state Migration and Human Rights*’. In K.Gopal Iyer (eds) ,2003, op.cit., n.46, p.12

⁵² Likayat ali, (1997) Unorganized Labour and the Legislative Measures for Their Welfare, *Social Action*, 47(2), April-June, p-182

the palamur labour cases. Article 19 of Indian constitution recognizes right to mobility to any part of the country without any distinction or discrimination. According to Lakshmidhar Mishra, migration in itself is not a problem. "It becomes objectionable only when it leads to exploitation culminating in human misery and deprivation of the irreducible barest minimum to which every worker as a human being and as a citizen entitled."⁵³ It is objectionable when it leads to denial of human dignity, justice, human rights of the underprivileged that need most. Article 43 of Indian constitution directs the state to formulate appropriate legislations for promotion of the labour welfare. Indian state has formulated legislations to protect and promote human rights of the migrant labourers. Among them following legislations are important. Apprentices act, 1961. Child labour (prohibition and regulation) act, 1986. Contract labour (regulation and abolition) act, 1970, Equal remuneration act 1976. Maternity benefit act, 1961. Minimum wages act, 1948. Payment of wages act, 1936. Personal injuries (compensation insurance) act, 1936. Workmen's compensation act, 1923.

The contract labour (regulation and abolition) act, 1970 seeks to regulate the employment of contract labour for certain categories, establishments and abolishes the contract labour system in certain circumstances. It applies to every establishment and every contractor who employs twenty or more workmen on any day of the preceding twelve months. The establishment which employs contract labour must register in the registering office. For the welfare of the contract labour government may require to establish to provide canteen, rest-room, drinking-water facilities, latrines and urinals, first-aid facilities and any other facilities required for the labourers. "The contractor is bound to disburse the wages in the presence of the authorized representative of principal employer. In case the contractor fails to make payment of wages within the prescribed period, it is obligatory for the principal employer to pay unpaid wages of contract labour."⁵⁴

The building and other construction workers (regulation of employment and conditions of services) act, 1996 is intended to provide social security measures to the

⁵³ Lakshmidhar Misra, (2003) '*Migration: factors, Policies, and Programmes*' in K.Gopal Iyer (eds), *op.cit.* n.46, p-449.

⁵⁴ Likayat Ali, (1997) *op.cit.*, No.52, p.192.

building construction and other construction workers, such as providing for their safety, health and other welfare connected to it. It is mandatory for any employer who employs 50 or more workers, to register at the registering office. The employer bound to maintain a register of beneficiaries, and beneficiaries must be issued the identity cards. All government should constitute a 'building and other construction workers welfare board.' The inter-state migrant workers are more prone to exploitative situations in the other states of their origin. The inter-state migrant workmen (regulation of employment and condition of service) act, 1979 seeks to regulate and provide better conditions of services to the migrant labourers. Before framing this law the law makers had taken certain things into considerations. The inter state migrants came from the lower strata of the society. They were primarily landless labourers, illiterate; unskilled, unable to understand the simple arithmetic of wages therefore very easily vulnerable to exploitation. There was no direct relationship between principal employer and the labourers; it is operational through number of intermediaries. "They lack any organization to advocate their causes by themselves and protect themselves. They do not have the bargaining power."⁵⁵ The act is applicable to every establishment or every contractor where five or more inter-state migrant workmen are employed on any day of the preceding twelve months. "Such establishment must register at the registering office and contractor must obtain license."⁵⁶ The contractor should issue identity card to the employer along with their photographs and their particular employment status. Such workmen is entitled to fixed wages under minimum wages act, 1948, displacement allowance (50 percent of monthly wage or 75 rupees whichever is higher) along with journey allowance. If the contractor fails to pay the wages to the workmen then the principal employer shall liable to pay the full or the balance payments.

Even agricultural labourers are covered under the human rights protection legislations. Along with other legislations the agricultural labourers are protected under the minimum wages act, 1948. "The act defines wages to include all remunerations capable of being expressed in terms of money which would be payable to a person employed in respect of his/her employment or of employment done in such

⁵⁵ Suneet Chopra, *Rural Migration: Patterns and Problems*, in K.Gopal Iyer, (Eds). 2003, op.cit., 46, P. 452.

⁵⁶ Likayat ali, (1997), *op.cit.*, n.52, pp-192-193

employment.”⁵⁷ The term wages payment of remuneration in respect of days or rest. The act casts a statutory obligation upon the respective governments to fix or revise the minimum wages time to time. Wages strictly fixed according to the cost of living index. The act provides mechanism to enforce the act through the inspection by the concerned authorities, settlement of claims related to non-payment or short payment of wages by the defaulters.

Certain type of migration has been identified as bonded labour, especially contract labour system which happens out of distress conditions of any area. The district of Mahabub nagar (Palamur) in Andhra Pradesh is such area in which contract labour system is most rampant and migrant bonded labour system exists. The bonded labour system (abolition) Act, 1976 was intended to legally protect such type of bonded labourers. This act covers the workers who are working in the informal sector. It also includes migrant labourers’ who are thought to be victims of the violation of the most of the rights. Many times they end up as ‘bonded labourers’ at the destination places. They become victims of it in the following consequences. They have to work without wages, or for normal wages or for less than the minimum wages. “They are denied freedom of employment or other means of economic livelihoods. They have denied right of mobility freely as a citizen of India which has guaranteed constitutionally, right to move anywhere in the country. They also have denied the right to sell their labour product at the market value.”⁵⁸ In this system of labour can not be analyzed through the concept of ‘free labour’ in the capitalist economy.

“This act was made for the purpose of operationalizing the constitutional commitment of abolition of “beggar” and other forms of forced labour enshrined in the article 23(1) of Indian constitution.”⁵⁹ Bonded labour involves infringement of the basic human rights and destruction of human dignity. The Supreme Court in its land mark Judgements in ‘Bandhua Mukhti Morcha’ and ‘ASIAD workers’ case clarified many things related to bonded labour system (abolition act), gave directions

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p.194.

⁵⁸ K. Gopal Iyer. ‘Migrant Labour and Human Rights Violation’, , in K.gopal Iyer (eds), 2003, , op.cit.,no. 46, p-33

⁵⁹ Chaman lal, ‘NHRC and Enforcement of Bonded Labour act, in K.gopal Iyer (eds), 2003, op.cit. n. 46, pp-18-19.

to the government for rehabilitation of rescued bonded labourers. They are working like slaves in the stone quarries, brick-kilns, silica mines and agricultural sector. 13 states including Andhra Pradesh were identified by the union labour ministry as the “Bonded Labour Prone” states. The act requires to be implemented certain schemes for protection and rehabilitation. It involves survey of bonded labour in the prone districts, awareness generating activities, and evaluatory activities to see the impact of the schemes. In the case of Katraju laxmi and other Chenchu tribals this act didn’t come and rescued them (case-2). The comparison between the Palamur labour cases mentioned earlier and the prescribed norms, standards, and legislation of human rights shows an uncoverable rift.

There are land mark judgments pronounced by the supreme court of India in respect to the rights of the migrants. The Judgment of writ petition No. 8143 (the famous Asiad case) and in writ petition No. 2135 of 1982 (the famous Faridabad stone quarries case). Chamanlal opines that “Despite all these efforts the magnitude of problem continues. The reason is that migration is a deep rooted socio, economic, and cultural problem. Economic under development of a country, backward regions within the country, and some neglected packets of a region makes prevention of distressed migration a difficult task.”⁶⁰ Mostly migrant labourers do come from poor strata of the society. They face the problem of acute land lessness and asset lessness causing to indebtedness leading them to fall in the hands of migrant recruiting contracts. Migration is the manifestation of the rural poverty, distress in the agrarian sector, inequitable distribution of resources by the state, non reach ability of government schemes to the poor strata of the society.

*Laws as the instruments of change are not easy to apply and, therefore, have failed to deliver the goods as the unorganized sector is spread over a vast area and the enforcement authorities have been able to touch only the fringe of the unorganized sector.*⁶¹

The assumed trickle down effect of present economy is not an automatic process. For that a strong responsive state is required. The present state contrary to the

⁶⁰ Ibid. p-20

⁶¹ Likayat ali, (1997), *op.cit.*, n.50, p.197

requirement is characterized as a retreating state, repressive state, and new Statism. Some regions are more prone to migration. Identifying those areas and taking appropriate measure also need an active state intervention.

During Inter world war period and post-world war period there was an anxiety about the peaceful co-existence of global society. Ideologically, during the times of cold-war politics world was divided. The human rights prioritization was also dichotomized. To safe guard the individual and community rights, the first and the second generation rights needed a documental expression. The universal declaration of human rights rightly captured that thrust in its content. Virtually it became the guide for majority constitution framing exercise in the world. All these documents propose for certain measures to be taken by the respective state parties for protection and promotion of the basic rights. Practical experience shows that there is a huge rift visible in the application part of these documents. Country like India with its colonial legacy of backward economy had to take care of promotion of agrarian and industrial sectors. During initial period of independence in industrial relations Indian state openly supported and took a pro-labour stance. This point was visible in its formal legal protection measures extended to the labour section of the country. All the legislations were framed according to the human rights standards. In the present context of globalisation of economy the rules are mostly favoring the capital over the labour. Economic nationalism and economic sovereignty of the nation states has been reduced to a considerable level. In this back ground it makes us to see the application of these human rights, in the case of distressed migrant labour. In all above mentioned cases it is very clear that palamur district and palamur labourers have been left behind in attaining the universal standards of human rights. As a consequence there is a rift between de jure rights and de facto rights of palamur labour with accentuated by the economic liberalization in the present context.

V

Conclusion

Much has been discussed and wrote about 'globalisation' especially concentrating on its economic ramifications with consequent implications on the zillions of lives throughout the world. It has almost become a cliché that losers have exceeded far great in numbers than winners. Intellectuals (both pro and anti-globalizers) sitting alike in comforted rooms deliberating on goods and bads of the very process but to what effect has remained enigmatic. Pro-globalizers are all for globalization and pressingly put that Economic globalization is a process of integration of the local markets in to the global market; that it is a process of expansion of capitalism with its expansionist market dynamics to the interior areas of the globe, that the 'state' can no more deliver the goods to its citizens; and that only market is an efficient mechanism to allocate resources efficiently and so on. Scholars also go on to analyze objectively (as they are willingly or unwillingly bound to) that the two historic forces of economic nationalism and economic globalization have been shaping the course of the world history.

Economic nationalism, which was known earlier with other names like protectionism, mercantilism was aimed at to building national economy stronger. The main thrust that this 'ism' intended was to build a self-sufficient, self-reliant economy. The production, distribution of goods and services were oriented towards the national markets. The economy was inward-looking and the state assumes ownership responsibilities of the national economic assets. Contrary to this, economic globalization stands for integration of different spatial markets. It advocates for production and distribution at the global level. It strives for building borderless economy replaces international trade with transnational trade. The main assumption of this type of integration is that, it would benefit all in a longer run. Every economy would gain through the principle of comparative advantage in the international

market. It seems that comparative advantage will not benefit every economy. Few economies will gain absolutely, because of their specialization in the international division of labour. They will gain at the cost of other less-developed economies. In this expansion, old discourse is replaced with new one, Inward-looking by outward-looking, exclusiveness with inclusiveness, protectionism with competition, and technological obsolescence with innovation so on and so forth.

Anti-globalizers argue that uneven economic integration at the global level has created some social cost to the less developed countries. Some of the social costs are increasing volatility of employment situations, shrinking organised sector, increasing over dependency on informal sector along with growing income inequalities, sufferings to the disadvantaged sections and so on. The labour day-by-day is becoming less organised. This is badly affecting their right to form associations. The absence of an effective organised activism by the labour class might result in their decreased bargaining power. At the same time the capital has become more flexible and the labour more casual. The employment situation has becoming more and more volatile with the capital's option of quick exit.

For world market integration there has to be some norms and values. The norms and conditionalities for integration are not framed by the less developed countries. These conditionalities imposition are implemented by the international financial institutions like World Bank and International Monetary Fund. The IMF stands for the macro economic restructuring and WB stands for Liberalization, Privatization and Globalisation. As a consequence labour was made more flexible, finance capital was made more volatile; and there were heavy cuts in social service sector budget expenditure across the globe. The rules of the global economic integration were framed by advanced capitalist countries. This integration is obviously favoring the advanced capitalist countries, especially the triad economies i.e. USA, Japan and European Countries. This present spell of economic integration is happening through the conditionalities, so it could be argued that it is conditionalities led globalisation rather a natural integration. This type of integration which is led by the conditionalities can be called rightly as an imposed global integration or 'the coerced globalisation.' The major losers are the developing countries; they are marginalized especially, in the international trade. The imposition is also a neo-imperial project advanced through technological sophistications which the

developed countries possess. This project subordinates national policy to the imposed global policies. It is a continuation of colonialism of big corporations in the post-colonial world is a 'corporate colonialism' project. Day by day markets are invading and occupying the public spaces. At the same time space for poor is shrinking, the ideologies of globalization process are self contradictory. Greater flexibility of labour and capital in the developed countries has created unemployment problems over there. Their industrial re-location is affecting the employment opportunities of the developed countries' labour. This re-location is meant for to exploit the favourable conditions in developing countries. The greatest danger lies with the financial capital; it has the capacity of speedy exit from any geographical location.

Developing countries are forced to be integrated by the western developed countries through their policies and the imposition of certain unfavorable conditionalities. The powerful instruments that the western capitalist world has at its disposal are World Bank and International monetary Fund. WB offers loans to the concerned state party for major project works but with conditionality. The concerned state has to accept to liberalize, privatize and globalize their economy. IMF offers Structural Adjustment loans with conditionalities like devaluation of currency to control the inflation for growth of trade, and for betterment of the balance of payment situation. These twin institutions look very democratic in their content and functioning but have been used for the expansion of 'capitalist market economy'. Loan packages are the major imposed integration mechanism that western countries have at their disposal. The quota that these countries enjoy in these twins makes the developing countries marginalized in decision making process.

India, a post-colonial economy marked a sharp brake form colonial conditions adhered to the doctrine of economic nationalism as its economic ideology and aimed at building socialist pattern of the society through political democracy. India being an intermediary state ruled by landlords, jaminadars, and aristocrat families shattered the progressive legislations very soon after independence. The progressive policies like land reforms and agrarian reform measures were done away with. Another side, India emphasized on economic nationalism through policies like building big irrigation projects, developing heavy capital industries and economic management for self-sufficiency and self-reliance. It raised aspirations among the people, but India's participation in two wars during 1960s, along with the famine conditions forced India

to depend upon the western countries, especially, USA. WB team visited India in 1964, and favoured liberalization policy as a solution to overcome the drying up balance of payment situation. Till 1991, Indian economic trajectory was characterized by mercantilist socialism to liberalism. In 1991, Indian government chose for a comprehensive economic liberalization policy, a shift towards globalizing Indian economy. At the time India was on the verge of defaulting situation at the balance of payment front. These situations arise, because much before 1990s, India had oriented its economic policies towards liberalization. Indian bourgeois class by that time was connected with the world liberalization lobby. Not only that, this paradigm shift could have averted without going for a comprehensive acceptance of conditionalities of the twin institutions. Instead India accepted conditionalities and favoured economic stabilization and SAP. From then onward Indian state is withdrawing from allocating function and is more emphasizing on the regulative functions. India shifted from command economy to federal market economy. In federal market economy, the federal units become the negotiators and competitors in the market place for greater investments, bypassing the central government. The Chief Ministers and top officials of the state become the entrepreneurs. They try to attract the Foreign Direct Investments to their respective state from across the globe.

By the mid 1990s, Indian states were exposed to market economy. This exposition had shown a negative impact on their budgetary allocations to maintain their state level populist pro-poor policies. In 1996, Andhrapradesh also faced the same problem. One section of the state had developed a strong orientation towards the ongoing economic liberalization process and they wished a greater integration. They perceived NTRs pro-poor policies as impediments in this direction. ChandraBabu Naidu the son-in-law of NTR became the Chief Minister of the state and he started criticizing the earlier policies and backwardness of the state. He assumed the chief minister's office with lots of promises, even to make the state *Swarnandhrapradesh* (golden Andhrapradesh). From his approach, one could observe that the Malaysian model of development could inspire him very-much and strongly favoured market economy. In the post-liberalization context Andhra Pradesh provided the ground for pushing forward the SAP at the state level. In its draft report WB strongly advocated for growth-oriented development as a remedy to the backwardness of the state. In the year 2000, state government negotiated with WB for loan packages. It granted 2,200

crore rupees with usual conditionalities. Thus AP was integrated into the market economy through the conditionalities of the World Bank. The vision document, Vision: 2020, which was prepared by an international consultancy visioned on behalf of the state people and clearly favoured for LPG. The vision document recognizes 19 industries as growth engines. It assigned the state the role of the market regulator. The grater emphasis was made on reducing budget allocations to social service sector. Service sector especially, information technology sector got the higher priority over agriculture and manufacturing sectors. The pressure on regime of ChandraBabu Naidu was mate with populist policies like *Janmabhoomi*, *Prajalavaddaku paalana* (administration at the door step of the people) and so on. These policies represented the social aspects of the reforms. It had been Replaced pro-poor policies with the populist policies in a big way. The policy shift was pursued with lots of enthusiasm without understanding the specificities of the state. Generally speaking, the economically deprived classes of India had been all along left at the mercy of “trickle down” effect whatever moderate growth had taken place. It had been adversely affecting the poor sections of the state. Especially, subsidy cuts have broken the rural economy. Cottage industries and agriculture sector are also worst hit, because the maximum suicides in the state were reported among the weaver’s communities and farmers. So far, this seems to be a top-down accounting of the process at hand. However, there is a bottom-up angle to the process.

Palamur was the old name for Mahabubnagar district and also has had been part of backward Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh state. It is one of the most backward districts in several developmental indicators. The district requires a radical state intervention to overcome from its under-development conditions. During his nine year regime, Mr. ChandraBabu Naidu adopted the district. He visited the district several times along with many international dignitaries. He neither tried to complete the pending irrigation projects nor started any new project for the district to overcome its backwardness. The district has a strong image as a labour district, migrant’s district, drought district and so on. Historically, the district was part of erstwhile Hyderabad state. Whole district was under a number of feudatories (*Samsthanams*). The deep rooted feudalism never allowed the district, progress on any productive front. Rather the system tried to expropriate the already existing scarce resources from the peasantry in the form of higher taxes. In this system bonded labour was prevalent

in the whole district. When the modern railways, road construction works were started, by the colonial power there was a need for cheap labour. This labour was provided from the district; mostly the bonded laborers were recruited for these works. Ever since, the district's poor are migrating in search of labour and livelihood. They were liberated from feudal clutches but only to be initiated in to migration in the post-independent India.

Geographically, the district comes under semi-arid zone. Average annual rainfall is very low, drought is a common phenomenon. But one positive thing is that the district is endowed with natural resources, especially, water resources. Given the severity of drought, district could have got utmost priority in irrigation policy initiatives. Major south Indian rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra flow through the district. The district has more than 66 percent cultivable land, but hardly 11 percent cultivable land gets assured irrigation water through canals. Rest of the land has been left for the other capital intensive irrigation methods. Constantly the district never got any priority in irrigation policy initiatives in the successive governments regimes. The state, in turn used palamur migrants for construction of major dams and other public department works across the country. There were some proposals for few small irrigation project constructions in the district. They were hardly materialized, all the major dam constructions favoured down stream coastal Andhra region. Mahabubnagar had been deprived its legitimate irrigation water sharings. Bachavath Award allocated 120 Tmc water to Mahabubnagar district from the Krishna River out of allocated 810 tmc for Andhra Pradesh state. The state had hardly shown concern towards the district, so far the district has got only near about 15 tmc water from its legitimate sharings. So the drought of Mahabubnagar is an artificial and man-made development. This makes the district to remain in a semi-arid condition permanently. This deprives lakhs of people their livelihood and creates distressed conditions in the district. It leads the situation of 'no work-no food situation'. Drought induced migration is synomous with survival and captive contract labour system from the district. Every year lakhs of people migrate and re-migrate. The magnitude of migration shows that they have so much deprived of their legitimate claims. For this type of development the Andhra Pradesh state has to be blamed. Non-responsive socio-economical and political conditions have been proved unfavorable to the district people. In the post-liberalization times the economic reforms especially, trade and

agriculture input liberalization has pushed the agriculture sector in to a distressed situation. The changing balance of labour and capital in favor of capital is affecting the organised labour sector in the country. The dependency on unorganized sector has increased in the wake of decreasing organised sector employment. Distressed agriculture, irrigation situation, employment opportunities and migration characterizes the life style of palamur people.

The palamur labourers face many problems at the place of destination. Mostly they become the victims of accidents, exploitative working conditions, harassments, unfavorable working conditions. The women migrants have to bear the double burden of taking care of household and have to work to substantiate to the male earnings. Many cases were reported in vernacular press about women sexual exploitations. The migrant children are deprived of their childhood; their education is affected due to their parent's uncertain mobility. Economic globalization and human rights have been inter-connected and both are marching together. The contradiction and paradox is that there is a greater emphasis on protection of human rights. At the same time under the guise of protecting human rights, there are human rights violations taking place. This is happening because of lop-sided implementation of the rights. This has been happening because the implementation and prioritization of only the civil and political rights, at the cost of economic, social, cultural and developmental rights. Deprivation of livelihoods of poor has been happening on the global scale due to policy shifts in-favour of the well-off section. The globalization process is leading to a kind of situation in which many marginalized sections/people have no choice other than ending their lives. So here it can be argued that the globalization process itself is a process of human rights violation. The incidence of farmers' suicides in the palamur district is also reported very high. The district needed a radical state intervention for an over all development and better living conditions in the district itself.

“The worsening state rights conflicts and the growing tendency of even democratic states to ignore the real issues on ground of helplessness in the era of globalization pose serious challenge to the very meaning of democracy’ the truth of the matter is that globalization discourse is rife with contradictions.”¹ After collapse

¹ Dolly Arora, (2002) ‘Globalization, Governance and Rights Struggles’, *Mainstream*, April 27, p.12

of USSR there is a theorization of the end of history, that there is no alternative and that the world has reached to a stage of ideological universalism, and therefore triumph of capitalism. But in reality these theorizations seem very problematic and polemical. Contestations are coming from the various directions especially, from the marginalized and deprived sections of the globe. The human rights language being a part of ideological universalism has been contested on the base of its being one-dimensional i.e. its representation of only civil and political rights. However, the modern constitutionalism was grounded on the human rights discourse. There is a necessity for expanding the rights discourse event to include the other generation rights, so that the marginalized sections also can be made part of the developmental process.

United Nations General Assembly declared 1994-2004, decade as the decade of 'international human rights education decade.' If the human rights language speaks only the limited language of civil and political rights, then this language may not be sufficient to protect the palamur labourers from their sub-human existential conditions. Because, the type of rights projected as universal rights are individualistic and self centric liberal rights. Universal declaration of human rights stressed the point about the living of human beings with humane conditions and recognizes it as a fundamental right. Because of the cold-war ideological reasons very soon these rights were bifurcated in to two generation rights. Civil and political rights were projected as the winner of freedom, where as social, economical rights were projected as winner of the bread. It was a tie between two choices of freedom vs bread. The tie was broken when unification of both the rights happened through the declaration of right to development. This right urges for international co-operation for enjoyment of the fruits of development. Development is not a privilege of developed countries and the well-off people, but is also a right of developing countries and the worst-off people. It necessarily implies that the conditionalities of international financial institutions, the trade negotiations and the present market integration shouldn't become the impediments for development of these countries and the people. The conditionalities of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund should be flexible enough to have enough space for development of these sections. These institutions should not coerce these countries for their integration in to the international market on unfavorable and unequal grounds.

The first generation rights are quite conducive for promoting economic integration, where as second and third generation rights demand more positive state intervention for enjoyment of the rights. These rights also emphasize on the importance of income re-distribution. Globalized universal rights are more concerned about the selective promotion of liberal rights. It reduces the positive rights to the level of mere claims by the poor and marginalized sections. Their empowerment is possible only through the implementation of the positive rights. The palamur labourers are migrating due to the prevailing distressed conditions of the region. The unfavorable structures of the region are forcing the people to migrate for survival. The Marxist interpretation of migration stresses on structural causes of deprivation and views migration as an option of survival. Unlike the other approaches which are concerned more about the volunteer choice of migrating agency. Marxist approach would see migration as a means of exploitation and subordination by the capitalist class. Marxist approach is applicable to analyze the palamur labour situation. The region of Telangana is been subordinated for the capitalist agriculture development of the coastal Andhra region. This subordination is been reflected in the backwardness of Mahabubnagar district. The water resources of Mahabubnagar district has been diverted for the capitalist agriculture development of the costal region. The coastal region's development has happened on the underdevelopment of Telangana region and more so Mahabubnagar district. For the development of neglected regions of the world we need the implementation of the successive three generation rights. The first generation human rights must be broadened from human rights to right to be human, by substantial implementation of the second and the third generation rights.

In the globalized rights movements palamur labourers are deprived of their basic civil right that is 'right to life.' This right has been deprived ever since, and has been aggravated in the economic reforms context. Their social rights like right to work, right to social security, right to adequate standard of living, right to access health services, right to rest and leisure also been affected. Legal rights like equal pay for equal work, right to join trade union, right to access unemployment allowances, cultural rights like right to education, right to participate in the cultural life of the community, right to enjoy the arts and to participate in scientific progress are also been affected. The Civil and Political rights like freedom of thought and expression, right to progress and right to vote have been severely violated. They are excluded

from the right to participate in the welfare schemes of the state. State is the responsible agency for observance of basic rights. Universal declaration reminds us in the article 20, that 'every one as a member of society has the right to social security and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each state, of the economy, social economic, cultural rights are indispensable for his/her dignity and freedom.' Even it directs the individual states to formulate proper legislations for promotion and protection of human rights, especially, protection of workers' rights to ensure a decent working condition.

Notwithstanding these universal rights palamur migrant labourers are subjected to violations of all types of rights. In many cases they are forced to work in an unhygienic working and living conditions. There is no guarantee of getting remittances out of their migration efforts. Many times an insufficient earning compels them for re-migration. The palamur contract labour system rests on exploitation; the labourers are the victims of the middle men phenomenon. Many times the principle employers are the government agencies. The government agencies mostly recruit the palamur contract labourers through the labour contracts. So in these cases the government itself is a violator of labour laws. There are formal legislations existing in India for the protection of migrants from all types of rights abuses. It seems that these laws are ineffective in protecting and promoting the welfare of the migrants. The legislations like minimum wages act 1948, the bonded labour abolition act, 1976, and so on are existent, but only on paper. But they have proved only to be formal legal remedies to the rights abuse of the labourers. Lately, in the domain of industrial relations government is favoring the capitalist class. There are rights conflicts and competing claims are being accentuated all over the world. In India the domain of rights also been very much contested. The opening of local market for the international market is not just an economic affair. It also involves wide range of concerns. One very important concern was human rights. Indian market integration also should have taken care of all these concerns of the have-not class. In order to make the integration more humane India should have gone for 'strategical-market integration'. It should have minimized the negative fallouts of the marginalized section of the country. It means the integration of the market along with the social safety-nets expansion should have happened, against the possible competition from the global market. Instead of that India had opened its market by doing away all the earlier

existing safety nets. In this manner the vulnerable sections were exposed to the ruthless competition at the mercy of the market. It had been better if India would have gone for a 'strategical-globalization.' It involves reaping the fruits of globalization along with simultaneous extension of safety nets. India must take care of human security concerns² in its policy formulations. The strategic globalisation must have proved a near humane globalisation option for all, rather than globalisation for few. The country could have progressed without any suicides. Now the responsibility lies with state to realize its duty towards the worse-off people of the country like migrant labourers and more so towards a worse-off district like Mahabubnagar to promote their rights and to restore their dignity. Otherwise all of us have to blame the state for not fulfilling its duty towards the rights of the people.

To achieve these human rights standards some specific measures are need to be taken in the near future. In India, in order to deal effectively with the under developed packets of the country attention should be given for dryland agriculture. These areas must be provided water through irrigation projects so that agrarian population can be provided with employment at their areas itself. Distressed migration preventive measures must be taken care of. With an end to prevent the distressed conditions of the migration prone districts, specific short term-and long-term policy measures should be taken into consideration. The agriculture sector seems to be in the crisis, the agriculture policies should be rationalized. Government must make sure that the farmers are getting their better out-put prices. Ensuring the better utilization of resources and promoting equitable distribution of incomes may reduce the distress migration. In the post-liberalization period, Indian agriculture sector has got less policy attention. This sector needs a macro level policy initiative to over come the crisis. For that state must take pro-poor measures.

Looking in to the specificities of Mahabubnagar district government should make sure that land reforms and irrigation development should go hand in hand in the district. So that the marginalized section of the district could be ensured of getting livelihood through the land and irrigation. Through that these' people will get assured

² United Nations Development programme's Human Development Report, and the Commission on Human Security' 2003, argued for broadening the threat agenda. According them the threat agenda in International politics should be broadened to include hunger, disease and natural disasters, because it further argued that, these kill far more people than war, genocide and terrorism combined.

livelihood in the district itself. Andhrapradesh government must rectify its historical injustice meted out towards this district, especially, in the irrigation sector. For temporary relief, poverty alleviation measures must be implemented very seriously. It should not stop there itself. There should be long term strategies like developing irrigation facilities, attention must be given in completing all the pending projects of the district. For the better protection of rights of the palamur labour, effective implementation of all government sponsored welfare programmes implementation is necessary. The mass migration can not go further it has to be stopped some where. As the researchers have put it that migration has become a very important livelihood option for the poor section of the society. This position is acceptable when the migration takes place selectively for the betterment of the socio-economic conditions. The migration must be stopped when the out-come of the migration remains unchanged. Palamur labour migration is equivalent to the dignity-deficit migration. Migration for them is not a mere livelihood strategy but a very important survival strategy. State must keep in mind while dealing the case of palamur labour that the whole palamur labour migration process revolves around the human rights violation issues. The dignity and rights of the palamur labour can be reclaimed through the state's positive action. It is a must duty of the state to reclaiming their humanity as a part of it's obligation towards the rights of these people. It can be achieved by providing the irrigation facilities. Irrigation is the most contentious issue in the state. Deprivation in irrigation is reflected in the lives and livelihoods of the people. Along with that it has to address the problems faced by the migrating population of the district, most of the above-mentioned macro-policy measures implementation is also important. These pro-poor policies are immediate necessities for the overall development of the district. The world is interconnected; the policy decision taken somewhere may affect the lives in the remotest areas of the world. Taking all these issues into consideration there is a need for reviewing the liberalization policies in India. To solve, the problems faced by the poor people proper income-distribution mechanism should be strengthened and it is only through that some parity between different income groups could be achieved.

If the magnitude of the palamur labourers, sufferings continuous it is non other than state is responsible. One has to blame the state for its non-fulfillment of its duty towards human rights of the palamur labour.

All said and done, nevertheless, a parochial application of Marxist theory of structural analysis of the existing globalizing order, allows the stark Indian reality to escape from hands. No will dispute if there exists a class contradiction in Indian society. But in the ultimate analysis what replaces 'class-contradiction' in India is 'caste-contradiction'. Caste is an extension of class in that Dr. B.R. Ambedkar puts that, caste is a class with its doors closed. Contextualizing the palamur labour in the present globalised scenario it become clear that the majority of labourers are drawn from SCs, STs and OBCs who have been traditionally the victims of invidious caste system. And these are the ones to be exploited during the globalisation process and this at any rate is not a coincidence. No doubt WB and IMF are exploiters but only partially and the 'Indian state' which is still characterizes by subtle caste consciousness in its make-up is equally responsible. There is an adage that 'end justifies means'. Seen in this lines we can notice that the twins being the mouth pieces of the advanced countries advocate and preach globalisation with the collaboration of the social elites based in LDCs and this they do under the disguise of promising sustainable and equitable development for LDCs. However, what really matters is that if the promised end has been materialized. The answer to this question is in the negative for it is a critical understanding that the ends and promises can not justify the means and it should be totally otherwise i.e., policies and strategies that finally culminate in to end results and if the former is flawed, that latter will be a flop. For if 'means' dose not justify ends' then what else will.

Viewed from real politicks point of view, there is a need for assertion on the part of the aggrieved to demand their entitlements. This can happen only through taking to social movements and politicking, for politics is nothing but an art of persuasion to effect an authoritative allocation of resources and this could be done only from the corridors of power.

Appendices

(A) Palamur Contract Labour Union

There are two volunteer groups working in the direction of highlighting the problems faced by the district in general and palamur labour in particular. The first volunteer group is Palamur Contract Labour Union (PCLU), and the second one is the Committee against Famine. The PCLU is an organised body of the labour contractors. They mainly take up the issues related to the Palamur contract labour. They take up cases when the victims approach them for redressal of their grievances related to deaths and other severe issues. So far they have been taking up several cases related to palamur labour and had also filed cases many times in Andhrapradesh High Court and National Human Rights Commission (NHRC). These are several instances where the PCLU had taken positive steps towards protecting the interests of the Palamur labour. The composition of the union and their affiliations with the mainstream political parties raises severe doubts about the union's credibility. To know their direct experience enriches any research in this area. The researcher personally approached them for getting some information regarding the human rights issues related to the palamur labour. The union members were reluctant to share their experiences. Later it was told that, the union members were having one pending police case against them. Some workers filed a case against them for their alleged role in aligning with the contractor in a death related case.

(B) Committee Against Famine

One more volunteer group working in this direction is *Karavu Vyatireka Porata Samiti* (Committee against Famine). It has been highlighting the problems faced by the Mahabubnagar district and palamur labour. The composition of this committee is mainly drawn from the middle class teaching community. They have been highlighting the several human rights violation related issues faced by the district people as a consequence

of drought and migration. The committee makes its position very clear through its occasional pamphlets and other publications. The committee has toured extensively throughout the district to assess the gravity of the situation.

One such pamphlet was published by the committee by addressing the concerned Member of Legislative Assembly and the Members of Parliament of the district. The pamphlet was a letter addressing the members, in that letter cum pamphlet the committee heavily criticized the state for its invidious attitude towards the district in all fronts. "In the last fifty and more year's governments have not done any thing substantially for the development of the district? Palamur migrant laboures who are working to wards building this nation with their blood and sweat were left out from their policy priorities." District is flooded by the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers and numerous rivulets. Yet there are no positive efforts from the government side to utilize resources to over come the drought situation. Many projects are lying unfinished. For instance the pending projects like Bhima-I, -II plans, Sangambanda, Nettempadu, Peddamarur, Kalwakurthy etc, have not been finished since decades. The committee also criticizes the state government for not allocating sufficient funds for the completion of these projects.

In the industrial front, the total industries in the district do not cross more than on thousand small and medium sized industries. These industries are unable to offer any fruitful employment for more than sixteen thousand people. There is complete failure of land reforms in the district. The perennial drought conditions forcing small and medium holding farmers to sell their land for cheaper rates. It is resulting in to concentration of land in the district. In this manner the district land is gradually shifting in to the few hands. All these causes are pushing the palamur people for migration. According to their estimate there is an un-ending migration process of nearly ten lakh people every year.

This Committee has been working since 1996, and highlighting issues related to the district. Especially, issues like famine, irrigation, migration and resultant human

rights violation. In its pamphlet¹ the committee has come up with very general demands. It was published during their hunger strike on 3rd and 4th June, 2000

The major demands put forward by the committee are:

- ✓ Famine related deaths must be stopped (these deaths includes hunger deaths, suicides, and migration related deaths). The each victim's family must be paid five lakhs compensation.
- ✓ Water sources should be developed to provide adequate drinking and irrigation facilities and work should be done by the manual labour not by the machines.
- ✓ Free food material should distribute to the victims of the drought.
- ✓ Only the government should distribute the food materials in all drought affected villages.
- ✓ Pensions should be distributed every month without any interruptions and perished crops should be compensated.
- ✓ The promises which are made by the Chief Minister and the people's representatives of the district should be fulfilled. Because chief Minister had adopted the district.
- ✓ The basic natural resources transportation from the district must be stopped.
- ✓ The efforts should start to utilize the water resource and all the tanks must be filled with the water of the rivers.
- ✓ In all works corruption, exploitation must be eradicated. Minimum wages act should be implemented. Also the equal wage for equal work act should be implemented and the child labour should be eradicated.
- ✓ Essential commodities prices should be controlled and purchasing power of the poor be enhanced.
- ✓ Migrating population must be recorded the victims of it should be compensated and be protected.
- ✓ For agricultural needs of the farmers government should provide seeds, fertilizers, and other investment needs at subsidised prices.

¹ Published by The Committee against Famine dated 27-5-2000.

Ultimately the committee points towards the state for being the first in violations of palamur people's rights. It is the obligation of the government to protect the palamur labourers from the abuse of human rights violations. Rights and obligations are the integral part of the rights discourse. In order to enjoy my rights I have the obligation to respect the rights of the others. This agreement was the base of the modern political society and the political society was arranged according to this agreement. If the protector violates the rights then what is the remedy. Indian state a signatory of United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) has the obligation to respect and protect the rights of its citizens.

In the conclusion the committee makes a categorical statement that for all the human rights violations "the state is responsible."

(C) The international Convention on the Protection of Rights of all Migrant Workers' and Members of Their Families

In the present context of economic globalisation, national as well as international migration has been increasing. In the case of international human mobility, this migration is happening through the selective skilled labour recruitment and asylum seeking process. Some times this is creating uneasiness in the international politics. Aggressive nationalism, parochial thinking, and racism all these becoming instrument of rights violation in the case of international migration. Keeping all these aspects in the mind international community has evolved certain legal instruments to directly protect the migrants and their families. Such instrument came in the form of convention on 18 December 1990 namely "the international convention on the protection of Rights of all Migrant Workers' and Members of Their Families." It defines migrant worker as "a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerative in a remunerated activity in a state of which he or she is not a national."² It sanctions civil, and political and economic, social and cultural rights to the migrant workers. Also it stands against all sorts of inhuman treatments.

² Encyclopedia of Human Rights, p-233

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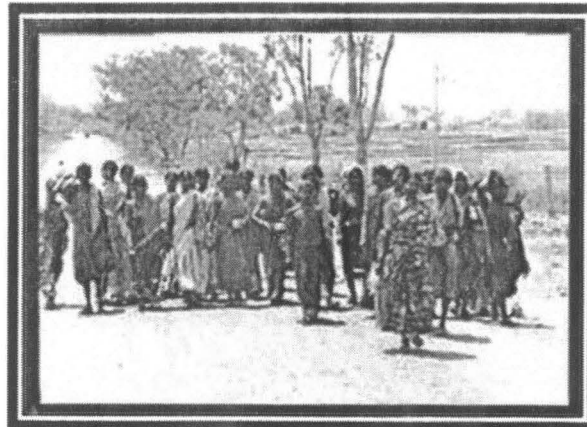
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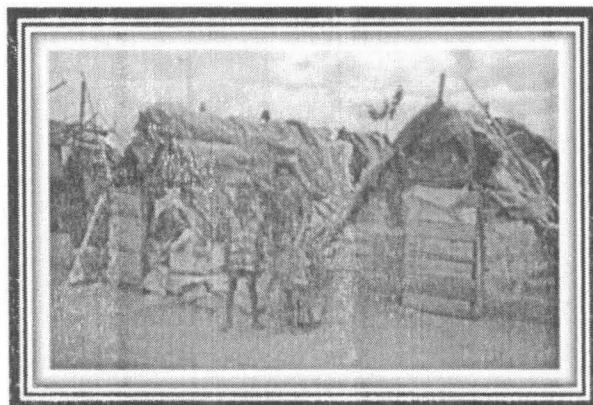
Source: Online edition of The Hindu
Sunday, Jun 08, 2003

(2) Female migrants going for work



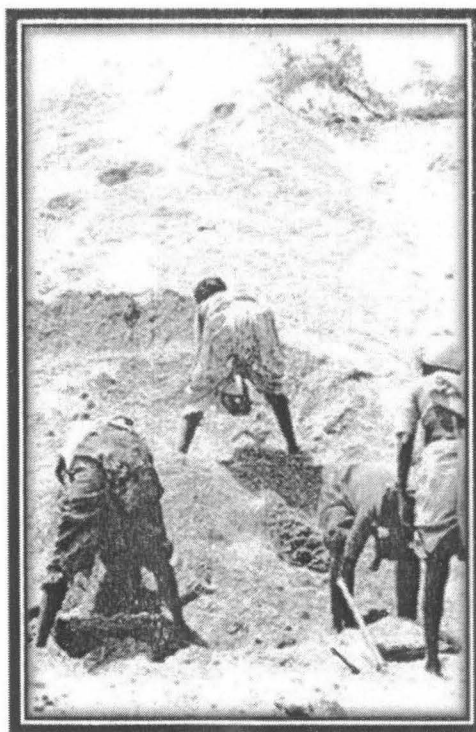
Source: [www. Mahabubnagar _Com.htm](http://www.Mahabubnagar_Com.htm)

(3) Migrant children at the destination



Source: www.rd.ap.gov.in/aprlp/publicationd/role%20migration%20lives.pdf.

(4) Female migrants at a work site



Source: www.Mahabubnagar_Com.htm