Introduction
The main purpose of the study is to understand the nature of changes in agrarian structure and relations in the context of growing commercialisation, capitalist tendencies and increasing state intervention in agriculture. The study is based on a micro level study of a village, namely Palaparru, situated in the dry cotton growing region of Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh over a period of forty years from 1950-91.

The village Palaparru witnessed significant changes in the socio-economic and political life of the people in general and agrarian structure and relations in particular during 1950-91. These changes are located in the wider context of the development policies and programmes introduced by the state after independence. These interventions are to be seen as part of the overall strategy of the Indian state to reshape Indian society its culture, economy, polity and institutions. While the economy was guided through centralised planning under the theoretical framework of 'mixed economy', the politics were conducted within the liberal democratic framework as provided by the Constitution of India.

In the context of agrarian structure and relations these include development interventions aiming at equity and
distributive justice. Thus the land reform policies including abolition of intermediaries, tenancy reforms, land ceiling acts, distribution of waste land to the poor, a variety of anti-poverty measures including the policies aiming at generation of employment in the rural areas, creation of assets for the poor through the subsidised credit, distribution of essential commodities through public distribution system and so on. In addition the state introduced policies to increase productivity of land. Thus the irrigation development programmes through constructions of wells, tanks, canals and major and minor irrigation projects, the introduction of new agricultural technology (popularly known as the "green revolution") in the form of H.Y.V. (High Yeilding Variety) seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides etc., expansion of institutional credit facilities, crop marketing facilities, and price support policies, expansion of transport and communication facilities and so on.

1 As part of an overall strategy to bring about changes in the agrarian structure a number of institutional changes were introduced through legislations by the union and state governments in the 1950s and 60s. In Andhra Pradesh these include, the Estates Abolition Act, 1948; Andhra Tenancy Act, 1956; Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Act, 1950; Andhra Pradesh Land Reform (cieling on holdings) Acts, 1961 and 1973 etc.

2 Since independence both the union and state governments have introduced a number of anti-poverty measures to help the rural poor. Union government policies include, the Community Development Programmes of the early 1950s (C.D.S), the Small and Marginal Farmers Development Programmes of the early 1970s (S.F.D.A and H.F.D.A) which were latter brought under a common programme called the Integrated Rural Development Programme (I.R.D.P) in 1978. In addition to the I.R.D.P. the union government also introduced a new programme called Jawahar Rojgar Yojana (J.R.Y) aimed at creation of additional employment in the rural areas. In addition to these policies of the union government, the government of A.P also introduced a number of special programmes such as the Subsidy Rice Scheme and Old Age Pensions Scheme.
The introduction of universal franchise, elections to panchayatraj, state legislatures and the parliament have generated an awareness and exposed the electorate to a wide variety of propaganda campaigns. In the process of their votes being sought, they have been repeatedly exposed to the phenomena of electoral politics, varied political parties, public campaigns, speeches, demonstrations, processions, competition for electoral base among different groups and the consequent wooing of electorate and so on. In sum the nuances of the electoral politics gave importance to the voter as a subject. These changes brought new social groups (which were hitherto denied a place) into mainstream of politics giving them a new status and identity. This is historically an entirely new experience for these groups.

The village Palaparru which was integrated into the nexus of commercialised market and agriculture even during the colonial times has been affected by the above developments. More specifically, the policy of green revolution in the late sixties made a significant impact on the nature of production and exchange relations. The introduction of cotton crop in the late sixties deepened the commodity relations and brought the village economy increasingly closer to the wider market nexuses. The expansion of transport and modern communication facilities furthered this process. The net result of these changes is the integration of the village into wider market and political processes. Keeping in view all the developments that have occurred in the village society the present study focuses only on the nature of changes in
agrarian structure and relations.\textsuperscript{3}

The contemporary debates on the nature of change in agrarian structure and relations in post-independent India is centered around the following questions. Has the green revolution made any significant impact on the agrarian social structure and brought about qualitative changes in production and exchange relations?. Does it lead to the differentiation or polarisation of the peasantry\textsuperscript{4} or to the creation of a large body of market oriented

\textsuperscript{3} Agrarian structure is seen as a net work of relations among different groups of people who are dependent upon land. It is the sum total of the ways in which each group operates in relation to other groups in the process of production and exchange (Throner, D. 1957).

\textsuperscript{4} The term 'peasant' is not used in this study in a traditional sense. This term has traditionally been used in the literature with reference to cultivators who subsist on their own produce, and whose production depends mainly on their own family labour. A classic example of this kind of definition is found in Shanin's (1972) famous work, 'The Awkward Class'. He defined the peasantry in the following way 'The peasantry consists of small agricultural producers who, with the help of small equipment and the labour of their families, produce mainly for their own consumption and for the fulfillment of obligations to the holders of political and economic power (Shanin, 1972; p.204). This type of definition might be better suited to characterise the small scale agricultural producers as peasants in the study area in the the pre green revolution period (before 1960s) but is inappropriate if used to characterise them in the post green revolution period. With the development of commercialisation and capitalist tendencies the character of peasantry has changed in the study area. They are now actively involved in product, credit and labour markets in varying degrees. The subsistence production which is one of the important characteristics of the peasantry, in the pre green revolution period is no more a feature of present day small scale agricultural producers in the study area. Inspite of the spread of market forces and the changing orientation of the peasants in the study area, they continue to have their social and historical roots in a tradition that has persisted for hundreds of years. Moreover, there has not been any change in the form and unit of organization of production i.e. family labour based production which is considered to be the central characteristic feature of peasantry (Shanin, 1987; p 5). Therefore, the present study continued to use the term peasant to characterise small
farmers?. What is the role of state in agrarian social transformation? What is the relationship between capitalism and peasantry? Two different theoretical perspectives i.e., Marxist and Neo-Populist, offer a range of insights into the above questions. The Marxist scholarship in this regard is heavily influenced by the writings of Lenin and Kautsky, Neo-Populist tradition has its origins in the writings of Chayanov.

The common theme among Marxist scholars who follow the views of Lenin was that, the introduction of green revolution in India has strengthened the commodity production and capitalist tendencies in agriculture which resulted in a process of depeasantisation and proletarianisation (Pearse, 1980; Patnaik, 1987; Byres, 1981; Griffin, 1974 etc ). On the other hand those who agree with the views of Kautsky recognised the growing tendencies of capitalist development in agriculture but argued that this has not resulted in depeasantisation or polarisation of classes (Harriss, J. 1982 &1987; Banaji, 1976; Athreya et al, 1990; etc ). In contrast to the Marxist views the Neo-Populists argued that the introduction of green revolution in India has not contributed to the growth of capitalism in agriculture in any significant way and hence there has not been any trend towards the formation of capitalist classes with the process of disintegration or polarisation of the peasant classes (Attwood, 1979; Cain, 1981; Reddy, K.V 1985 etc ).

scale agricultural producers for both pre and post green revolution periods.
In the light of the above discussion, the present study examines the nature of changes in the agrarian class structure and relations in Palaparru. To understand the changes in the agrarian class structure and mobility it examines the retrospective data on changes in the pattern of land ownership and labour use practices among 76 sample households. The changes in agrarian relations are examined using the data on changes in labour and employer relations, credit and tenancy relations.

The study is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one presents a review of contemporary theoretical debates between Marxists and Neo-populists on the question of relationship between capitalism and peasantry with special focus on South India. It also discusses the methodology adopted in the present study. Chapter two deals with the historical development of agrarian structure and relations in the study area. It also provides broad description of the life and economy of village under study. Chapter three examines changes in agrarian class structure and class mobility analysing the data on land ownership, and labour use mobility of the sample households between 1950 and 1991 and factors governing the mobility. Chapter four deals with the nature of changes in labour and employer relations. It specifically focuses on the changes in forms of labour arrangements and examines various factors which contributed to these changes. Chapter five discusses the changes in credit market relations. It examines the role of formal and informal
credit in reproducing small scale peasant production. Chapter six deals with the nature of changes that have taken place in tenancy relations. Chapter seven presents a summary of the broad trends and observations of the study and attempts to locate them in the broad theoretical perspectives discussed in the second chapter.