CHAPTER VII

Occupational Adjustment
(With Special Reference To Agriculture)
In migration people move from one social milieu to the other by means of spatial mobility. In this process we may discern factors of a push and a pull character. It is generally assumed that there is a high propensity to out-migration from villages with land scarcity or unequal distribution of land or both. Yet the migrants are not necessarily those who suffer mostly from these two factors. For instance, it is the members of the land owning families in these villages who can best afford the cost, risks and delayed returns involved in migration. On the other hand, by examining the income of different groups, one can notice that it is the poorest, the landless and those holding the lowest position in the social hierarchy of the village, that have the greatest tendency to leave the village and migrate. Scudder and Anderson (1954) found that most migrant households from the Majula village were those with the greatest man land ratio and the poorest in the village. Hill (1972) found that the sons of poor farmers had a much greater propensity to migrate than the sons of rich farmers (though she points out that many farmers simply do not contemplate migrating, presumably because the poverty prevented this). Shaw (1974) in an analysis of data from Chile and Peru similarly found a positive and significant
relationship between the rate of out migration from a district and small farm size. But Cone! et.al.(1976) confirmed that most migrants in the sample of north Indian villages came from other than the landless labourer households. Sovani (1965) in a survey of migrants from two districts in Bihar found that households with the highest propensity to migrate were in the lowest and highest income groups from the same village. Interaction between the rural environment, a series of wider economic networks and the perception and position of the migrants in that system is presumably of paramount importance (Raju, 1989).

Migration has acquired special significance in the context of modernization of agricultural operations in India. Rural to rural migration has been taking place at a rapid pace in India and in terms of volume it dominates over all the streams of migration.

It is commonly thought that the immigrants as a whole are socio-economically less well adjusted than their counterparts at the place of origin(Kelley and McAllister, 1984). The local people are generally prejudiced against the new comers, either on purely racial grounds or because
they fear job competition or more typically for both reasons. This prejudice leads to discrimination and as a result the immigrants fare less well in terms of job and wages relative to the native born.

It is found from several studies that the migrant farm workers experience the adjustment problems in the new social system due to their socio-cultural stereotypes. They have low degree of social participation, lack of monument, more of frustration, non co-operation and cool behavioural treatments from the locals and a feeling of relative deprivation. Another impact of migration may result from the process of acculturation of the migrant group in the new setting because the migrants acquire some of the local cultural traits and new skills which they might like to introduce in their own social set up, thus, initiating a change process in their own social system.

The modernization of agricultural production in Punjab as a result of the introduction of high yielding varieties programme in late 1960s has necessitated timely sowing and harvesting operations. This required much number of agricultural labourers in the peak of agricultural seasons.
Since local labourer could not meet this requirement agricultural labourers from the adjoining states started migrating to Punjab in large numbers. The state has been attracting farm and industrial labour from other states in the past also, but after the on set of green revolution, the inflow of the farm labour from states far away from Punjab increased manifold. From 1965-66 to 1972-73, the total farm labour requirements in Punjab increased by 78.65 per cent and a substantial proportion of this labour come from Bihar to supplement the local labour in the peak agricultural seasons. The increasing inflow of migrant agricultural labourers in Punjab in recent years has far reaching consequences which need scientific analysis. The migrants not only help overcome the local labour shortage in Punjab but they also improve their socio-economic status and agricultural skill (Rao, 1981).

Land is greatly valued in rural life as a continuous source of income and security. A monotonically increasing relationship between land size and income has been reported in several studies. The possession of land by a household is very likely to be one of the significant determinants of the pattern of migration where most people earn their
livelihood from land. A number of studies especially in developing countries, on the relationship between land holding size and the propensity to move have shown dissimilar results.

Since adjustment in agricultural sphere of the host society is the main focus of our study, we have collected data on present land holding pattern of the immigrants. In fact it provides us a fair picture about the economic status of the migrants. Also we have enquired about the land shifting pattern that has been underway during last 20 years. Information regarding year of addition of new land, additional land in acres, ethnic group of the person from/to whom the land was purchased/sold, price per acre, etc., were collected for the purpose of our analysis.

It may be pointed out that Hirakud Dam Irrigation Project started in 1964, around the period of green revolution. Prior to that no hybrid varieties of crops were grown here. Similarly the use of fertilizers and pesticides was very limited. However it is significant to note that the immigrants had adequate exposure to those methods in their places of origin. Therefore, taking advantage of the
situation the immigrants started availing various facilities provided under the project by the then government. Moreover, the local people being mostly illiterate and ignorant did not come forward to take any help from the co-operative society or other rural agencies. Against this backdrop an attempt has been made here to know how the immigrants adjusted themselves in the host society.

Labour problems and labour-farmer relationship form an important aspect of agricultural adjustment. The labour-farmer relationship is an outcome of the long dealings between the two classes based upon their economic status, demand and supply and the political forces operating around. We have also focused our attention on labour problems. The Immigrants being alien to host society must be experiencing labour problem since the number of agricultural labourers among the migrant community is not so significant.

The respondents were asked whether they confront any labour problem, whether they hire labour for agricultural purpose, the communities from which they hire labour, whether they exchange labour for agricultural purpose. We
also asked them about the changes that they have marked in the agricultural practices of the local people during the last 25 years. Since satisfaction with work opportunity is an index of adjustment, we also focused our attention on this aspect also.

The cultivable land of this region can be divided into four types—Ant, Mal, Berna and Bahal. Berna and Bahal are relatively more fertile than Ant and Mal. Data reveal that of the 300 respondents, 24 per cent have their own (private) land, 27.33 per cent have private along with leased in land, 21 per cent do not own any private land but have only leased in land, 4 per cent have leased out their land and the rest 23.67 per cent have no land at all (Table No.53). Of the 300 sample respondents, 12 (4 per cent) respondents have leased out their land and 145 (50 per cent) have leased in other's land (Table No.54).

The duration for leased in and leased out of land vary from that of less than 1 year to 25 years. Of the 12 respondents who have leased out their land, 7 (58.33 per cent) have leased out for 2–7 years, 4 (33.33 per cent) for less than one year. Data on condition for leased in land
show a somewhat different picture. Of the 145 respondents who have leased in land, as many as 77 (53.10 per cent) have leased in for 2-7 years, 30 (20.29 per cent) for less than one year, 11 (7.59 per cent) for 20-25 years. This shows that the immigrants are very keen to lease in land and, therefore, they lease out their land only in exceptional cases.

As regards the ethnic community of the person to whom the land has been leased out, it was found that 12 members have leased out their land to other people. Of these 12 respondents, 4 have leased out part of their land holdings whereas the remaining 8 their entire land holdings. However, it is significant to point here that all the 12 respondents have leased out their land to the members of own ethnic community (Table No.55). It is further interesting to note that except one (8.33 per cent) respondents, the remaining 11 (91.67 per cent) respondents have leased out their land to kin members. However, 53 (36.56 per cent) and 41 (28.28 per cent) respondents have leased in land from members of other local castes and own caste group respectively. Only one (0.69 per cent) respondent has leased in land from a Bihari (Migrant from Bihar).
As regards informants relation with the persons from whom they have leased in and leased out land it was found that a good number of the sample immigrants have entered into such transaction with kins (Table No.56). Those include their primary kin like daughter, son, brother, secondary kin like mother's brother, sister's son, sister's husband, father's brother, daughter's son, etc., and tertiary kin like wife's mother's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son, wife's mother's sister, wife's sister's husband, etc., and other distant kin members like mother's father's son's wife's father, father's sister's daughter's husband, etc. Thus, the above analysis show that respondents' leasing out of land is confined to their kin groups. However, they prefer to lease in land from the local people at relatively cheaper rate.

It is significant to note that not a single respondent has made or received payment in cash for the leased in or leased out land. The nature of payment is mostly in kind, i.e., quintal of paddy per acre. 5 to 10 bags of paddy per acre is given or received for leased in or leased out land depending on its nature. A bag of paddy contains about 75 kg. of paddy. Majority of the respondents (77.24 per cent)
who have leased in land pay 8 bags of paddy to land owner. 41.67 per cent of the respondents who have leased out land also receive 8 bags of paddy in return.

We have also tried to find out the land shifting pattern that has taken place during last 20 years. Of the 166 respondents who have landed property, 99 (59.63 per cent) have added some additional lands during last 20 years. Not a single respondent had purchased less than one acre or more than five acres of Ant land during last 20 years (Table No.57). Many of them had also purchased Mal, Berna and Bahal land during last 20 years. As regards the ethnic group of the person from whom land was purchased, it is found that a couple of respondents purchased Ant land from their own caste (Table No.58). Out of the 47 respondents who purchased Mal land, the highest number of respondents, i.e., 21 had the same from their own caste within the language group. Of the 42 respondents who purchased Bahal land, 17 had it from the members of own caste and language group. Similarly 6 respondents purchased Bahal land from people of other caste within the language group.
To gain insight into the other aspects of the land shifting pattern, we have collected data regarding selling of land during last 20 years. Out of 166 respondents those who have landed property, 37 (22.28 per cent) respondents answered in an affirmative to the question "Have you sold your land during last 20 years?" A total number of 19 respondents sold their Bahal land for one or the other reason. 2 respondents sold their Ant land and two other their Berna land. Highest number of respondents sold their land, especially Mal and Bahal, between 1970-1980 (Table No.59).

Of the 37 respondents who sold their land in the recent past, 24 sold it to members of their own caste within language group. It is interesting to note that 9 respondents sold their land in order to utilise the amount for purchasing comparatively cheaper land. 7 respondents sold their land in order to meet the expenses of their daughters'/sisters' marriage. They were forced to dispose a part of their cultivable land in order to meet the high dowry price (Table No.60).
Of the 229 respondents, who have landed property, as many as 190 (82.97 per cent) use HYV seeds, whereas 195 (85.86 per cent) respondents use pesticides and fertilizers (Table No.61). Only 30.13 per cent do not use modern machines & implements. Our data also reveal that of the 229 respondents, as many as 170 (74.23 per cent) make use simultaneously HYV seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, modern machines and implements.

Of the 229 respondents, 141 (61.57 per cent) respondents sell their paddy at the nearby Godbhaga weekly market, whereas 61 (24.64 per cent) respondents sell those to the rice mill owners of Attabira also members of their own ethnic community (Table No.62). For 9 (3.93 per cent) respondents, the buyers of their crop are from local marwari community. Thus it becomes evident that paddy is the only crop which the immigrants use for commercial purpose. A majority of 209 (91.27 per cent) respondents sell their own crop in exchange of cash (Table No.63). However, 17 (7.42 per cent) respondents exchange their paddy for other goods.

Borrowing of agricultural implements from either own or other communities form a part of agricultural adjustment. Of the 229 respondents, 221 (96.51 per cent) cultivate their
own land, whereas the remaining 8 (3.49 per cent) respondents have leased out their entire land holdings. Of the 221 respondents, 191 (86.43 per cent) borrow tractor, 20 (9.04 per cent) borrow sprayer, whereas the rest 10 (4.52 per cent) respondents borrow both tractor and sprayer from others (Table No.64). As many as 170 (76.92 per cent) respondents borrow these implements from people of their own ethnic community (Table No.65). 25 (11.31 per cent) respondents stated that their kin members provide them with those agricultural implements (Table No.66). It is important to note that 7 (3.17 per cent) respondents borrow the implements on mutual basis, whereas 214 (96.83 per cent) respondents borrow the same on hire basis (Table No.67).

As regards labour problem, of the 221 respondents, 70 (31.67 per cent) admitted that they confront labour problems, whereas the remaining 151 (68.33 per cent) respondents stated that they do not face any such problem. To our question "Do You hire labour for agricultural purpose?" all respondents answered in affirmative. 89 (41 per cent) respondents do not exchange labour, whereas the remaining 132 (59 per cent) respondents go for labour exchange (Table No.68).
Data on ethnic communities of the people from which they hire or exchange labour reveal that of the 221 respondents only 16 (7.23 per cent) hire labour from kinsmen, own caste group, own language group and local Kultas, whereas the rest 205 (92.77 per cent) hire labour from Ganda, Ghasi or mostly from lower castes people of Chattisgarh (M.P) (Table No.69). The former category of respondents hire labour on contract throughout the year, whereas the later avail only seasonal labour. Data on exchange of labour reveal that majority of respondents exchange labour with the people of their own ethnic community. Only 3 (3.27 per cent) and 5 (3.79 per cent) respondents exchange labour with Kultas and Saharas respectively.

It is significant to note that there has been a lot of changes in the agricultural practices of local people since the arrival of the Telugu immigrants. 212 (92.58 per cent) respondents acknowledged that they perceive a vast difference between the agricultural system of their own and the local people, whereas the remaining 17 (7.42 per cent) respondents do not perceive any such difference between the two. The first category of respondents pointed out some
major differences like inferior agricultural practices, late plantation, less expensive, local agriculturists are very lethargic, lack of knowledge about proper and scientific cultivation etc. A few immigrants stated that the local people have little knowledge about water resources management. During the course of our field work, it was further noticed that the local agriculturist are less laborious and thereby they always produce less than the immigrants.

Of the 229 respondents, a great majority of 225 (98.25 per cent) answered in affirmative to the question "Do you think your agricultural practices are superior to that of the local people?" The remaining 4 (1.75 per cent) only answered the same in negative.

Earlier it has been mentioned that before the migration of the Telegu immigrants, the local people were ignorant about modern agricultural skill and knowledge. However, the Telugu immigrants brought with them knowledge of scientific agricultural techniques. With the passage of time the local people gradually started abandoning their age old traditional method of agriculture and picking up the more
scientific agricultural practices of the Immigrants. Of the 229 respondents, who are primarily agriculturists, 225 (98.25 per cent) stated that the local people have already adopted the agricultural practices of the immigrant community. The major changes that have been noticed in the agricultural practices of the local people are the use of electric pump, tractors, fertilizers, pesticides and improved seeds, improvement in land and water resources management. Now they go for the paddy replantation in stead of the traditional method of sowing seeds. They use more pesticides and fertilizer and their expenditure on agriculture has increased considerably over the years. This has obviously raised their production to a remarkable extent.

Since satisfaction with work opportunity is an index of adjustment, we have focused our attention on this aspect. Our data reveal that of the 229 respondents, 227 (99.13 per cent) acknowledged that they are very much satisfied with the work opportunity in host society, whereas only 2 (0.87 per cent) are dissatisfied with the same. As regards skill utilization in agricultural field, of the 229 respondents, 220 (96.07 per cent) answered that they are satisfied with
the same. 200 (87.34 per cent) respondents are similarly satisfied with their agricultural achievements (Table No.70)(Graph No.7). It is significant to note that all the 29 (12.66 per cent) who are dissatisfied with their agricultural achievement belong to low income group. Majority of them have either leased in or leased out their land.

Individual social mobility may be considered "change of position" within a hierarchy of reference in society. The hierarchy of positions may be specified by any one or a combination of qualities which provide a scale or at least which we can conceive as having saleable properties. Position determining qualities common in sociological research are economic status, occupation and social prestige.

The use of occupation as the sole indicator of social status is justified to a degree by such a finding as that of Warner (1949). Kohl and Davis (1955) in a systematic test of a variety of social placement techniques show that occupation is one of the best referents by which one can estimate position.
Change of occupation or occupational mobility is an important aspect of economic adjustment (Weiermair, 1971). In order to know how far our respondents have deviated from their previous occupation, the present occupation of the respondents are compared with their previous occupation at the native. Both the primary and secondary occupations of the respondents are taken into account. An analysis of secondary occupation is useful for understanding of successful and compatible economic integration. Also study of secondary occupation of the immigrants will help us to understand the extent to which the immigrants are satisfied with their primary occupation.

Income always plays an important role in the study of adjustment process of the immigrants. Because it is always the economic factor that plays a lead role in the process of migration. Moreover, income and occupation are found to be significantly associated with socio-economic status (Nair, 1978). Socio-economic status in turn plays an important role in the process of adjustment of the immigrants.

Data on change of occupation of the respondents reveal that of the 300 respondents, 32 (10.66 per cent) have changed their occupations. Of the 207 agriculturists, only
5 (2.42 per cent) respondents have switched over to the present occupation of agriculture. Two respondents each from "wage labourer" and "traditional occupation other than agriculture" categories have shifted to agriculture. Both the respondents from the latter category belong to weaver caste. Of the 17 respondents presently engaged in small scale business, 14 (82.35 per cent) have shifted to this occupation from other occupational categories. As many as 10 such respondents had agriculture as their primary occupations at their native places. Of the 14 respondents, 6 respondents sell milk, 4 sell egg, or have a kirana/fertilizer shop, 2 are engaged in tailoring and the rest 2 sell vegetable. One respondent each from daily wage labourer and traditional occupation categories have now shifted to milk selling. It is interesting to note that one respondent from Kamsali caste who was a government employee in his native place has returned back to his traditional occupation of goldsmith to earn his livelihood in the host society. Of the 23 skilled respondents, 7 had agriculture, agricultural labourer or government/private company service as their occupation in native. 3 respondents left agriculture and have shifted to tractor driving, 2 respondents have changed their occupation from private
company service to that of welders. Of the 16 agricultural labourers, only 4 respondents had agriculture as their previous primary occupations. These are the respondents who have failed to improve their economic conditions in the host society.

Taking the above statistical analysis into account we may conclude that the major changes in occupation have taken place within agricultural and its allied occupations. Occupational changes among the immigrants have occurred mainly in response to the new economic opportunities available in the host society (Profiles 7 & 8). Also majority of respondents stated that they entered into the new occupations precisely for improving their economic standard.

Data on secondary occupation of the respondents reveal that of the 300 respondents, only 16 (5.33 per cent) have secondary occupations. 8 respondents who have agriculture as their primary occupation are engaged in one or the other secondary occupation, like selling of milk or fertilizer, having a kirana shop, small scale business, etc. One respondent each from the primary occupational categories of
priesthood and small scale business have adopted agriculture as their secondary occupations. 3 respondents who have leased in land for cultivation also supplement their earning through secondary occupation of agricultural labourer. It is important to note that all the respondents, except one, engaged in secondary occupations are from low income category. Only one informant from the upper economic stratum, has a secondary occupation of medicinal practice. Thus, we may arrive at the conclusion that majority of the respondents are satisfied with their primary occupations and, therefore, do not feel the necessity to go for a secondary occupation.

The above analysis provides us a clear picture about the occupation adjustment of the sample respondents. This is followed by a discussion on the participation of the immigrants in the political activities of the host society.