SETTING: THE FIELD OF STUDY AND VILLAGE PROFILES

The study was conducted in the state of Punjab. It has three socio-cultural regions viz. Majha, Malwa and Doaba. For the present study one village from each region was selected so as to cover whole state and all the features of the state. The main purpose was to see the effects of socio-cultural and regional disparities across regions. This chapter divided into two parts. First part covers the introduction of the state and followed by social profile of the selected villagers. Second part of this chapter cover all the cases taken for the study.

Punjab

Introduction

The first known use of the word Punjab is in the book Tarikh-e-Sher Shah Suri (1580), which mentions the construction of a fort by "Sher Khan of Punjab". The first mentioning of the Sanskrit equivalent of 'Punjab', however, occurs in the great epic, the Mahabharata (pancha-nada 'country of five rivers'). The name is mentioned again in Ain-e-Akbari (part 1), written by Abul fazal, who also mentions that the territory of Punjab was divided into two provinces, Lahore and Multan. Similarly in the second volume of Ain-e-Akbari, the title of a chapter includes the word Punjab in it. The Mughal king Jahangir also mentions the word Punjab in Tuzk-i-Janhageeri. Punjab literally means five (punj) water (ab) i.e. the land of five rivers — Satluj, Beas, Ravi, Chenab and Jhelum. All are tributaries of the Indus River. The present day state is a small area of the erstwhile Punjab whose borders touched Afghanistan (desert mountain) in the west, Jammu and Kashmir (ever green Himalayas) in the north, Uttar Pradesh (land of Ganga and Yamuna) in the east and Rajasthan (hot desert) in the south.
Geographical Area

It has a geographical area of 50,36,000 hectares. The area under cultivation is 42,37,000 hectares, which constitutes 84.13 percent of the total area. Most of the Punjab is an alluvial plain, bounded by mountains to the North. Despite its dry conditions, it is a rich agricultural area due to the extensive irrigation made possible by the great river system traversing it. Punjab region temperature range from -2° to 40°C (Min/Max), but can reach 47°C (117°F) in summer and can touch down to -5°C in winter. Punjab has five rivers flowing through it which leads to various land formations such as doabs etc. Doaba is the land between two river.

Section A: Doaba

It is the region of Indian Punjab surrounded by the rivers Beas and Sutlej. The name "Doaba" literally translates to "land of two rivers" (do is two, ab water). It is one of the most fertile regions of the state, and was the centre of Green Revolution. To this day, it remains one of the largest per capita producers of wheat in the world. It includes the districts of Hoshiarpur, Nawanshehar, Kapurthala and parts of Jallandar. Doaba has a continental climate. Temperature in summers ranges from 30° to 32 °C while the maximum can go up to 45°C. Winter is moderately cold with normal temperatures falling between 10 and 15 °C. Hot winds (loo) in the summer and frost in the winter are common features. It has an area of 8844 square kilometers, 17.6 percent of the total area of Punjab. Doabi is actually the most common dialect spoken. The Doabies are adventurous people who have migrated to all over the world.
SOCIAL PROFILE OF VILLAGE BHAJJAL (District Nawanshehar)

(from a report prepared by Prof Birinder Pal Singh under a Project Ground Water Governance in Asia: Theory and Practice for the International Water Management Institute (IWMI), Colombo).

**Name:** Bhajjal is believed to be 300 years old. No one is sure about the name of this village but according to a popular belief it is so named because the inhabitants of this village used to run away from here when officials of the erstwhile state would come to collect the revenue. In Punjabi language, *bhajna* is to run and *bhaj jana* means who ran away. This was the practice as the village in the foot hills of the Shivalik range had infertile land. There was hardly any worthwhile production of grains and the people were very poor.

To my mind this belief is not correct in the sense that the village must be having a name as soon as it came into existence. The inhabitants of this place and the neighbouring villagers must be calling it by some name. Thus to my mind which of course is an observation only as it is not based on any concrete evidence is that as the inhabitants of Bhajjal had migrated to this place from the neighbouring areas and mostly from Mahalpur, this name was given to the early settlers who had run away form their original place of residence and settled here. Thus *bhajjal* as adjective would mean *bhajje hoye*, that is, those who had ran away. As the place was not fertile thus it must be lying vacant hence accommodated the absconders from the neighbouring areas “who had ran away” owing to the fear of the revenue collectors.

**Location:** This village falls between the two rivers hence this region is called Doaba. It has its own socio-cultural distinctiveness compared to two other socio-cultural regions of Punjab called Malwa and Majha. It had 1087 people in 2001. It is about
three kms from an old town of Garhshankar, and one km. from the trunk route to Hoshiarpur, the district headquarters. This road passing through the village goes to Jaijon, once a thriving town having a special rail head that is now abandoned. Rampur-Berhlon on this road is two kms from Bhajjal. It is a large village with many civic amenities– government high school and hospital, and a sufficiently developed market- on which the people of Bhajjal depend. Other villages around Bhajjal with which it has no organic link of dependence are Purkhowal, Purewal and Golian. A historical link with the last village is that many families had migrated from there about three or four generations away.

**Gateway to Bhajjal:** The structure of the gateway is a symbol of the status of a village. An imposing structure at the entrance impresses the visitor of the grandeur of that place. That is why the large forts and mansions always had imposing gates. Bhajjal is no less. A member of the Badhan family settled in England has contributed to build such a gate to the village near the trunk route to Hoshairpur. It is a colourful gate dedicated to Amar Singh Sahunki, supporting his life size portrait at the top of the arch. This has been completed recently in 2004.

**Settlement Pattern:** A very prominent feature of the village settlement is that it is influenced rather determined by the caste system, a prominent characteristic of the Indian rural society. The road passing through the village is the dividing line between the high and low castes. The left side of the road has the settlement of the low caste people called Ad-dharmi. Since it is the western side of the village hence inferior status is attributed to it which is why the low castes in all the Punjab villages are settled on this side. In local parlance it is called lehndi patti, literally a ward of the village on the western side, that is, the side of the setting Sun. It is also called lehnda passa, that is the western side of the village. The high castes are found on the eastern
side of the village hence called chardi patti, literally the ward on the eastern side. Since it is the side of the rising Sun, it has superior status.

**Lehndi Patti:** The Ad-dharmi is no caste but a name given to those who subscribe to an ancient religion that which preceded the caste system. Since the hold of the caste system is so strong, whatever name is given to the low castes their social or ritual status does not improve. It remains the same, as it also happened with Gandhi’s concept of the Harijan. This (Ad-dharmi) generic name includes the chamars or Ramdasia and harijans or balmiks. Traditionally the later deal with scavenging while the former deal with the skin of the dead cattle. It is however a characteristic of Doaba region only in Punjab that these castes are known as Ad-dharmi.

In the 1920s one Mangu Ram who returned from abroad started the Ad-dharam movement to ameliorate the social conditions of these castes, fighting against the traditional brutalities of the caste system. As a result of this movement there was definite awakening in these castes who tried to get out of the vicious circle of exploitation set by the high castes. No Ad-dharmi in Bhajjal works for the landholder or other high castes. This is sure step to get out of the traditional relations of domination and exploitation. All agricultural labour here consists of the migrants from Bihar or Uttar Pradesh. Some of these are employed annually but as the season of harvesting or sowing approaches, streams of migrants flow in. At the time of our field-work there were about 200 such labour as it was the period of maize and paddy harvesting. In other parts of Punjab these low castes are dependent on the peasants and landlords as they work for them even on annual wage system. In the lehndi patti of Bhajjal there are 124 households in which the Ramdasia dominate overwhelmingly.

**Chardi Patti:** On the eastern side of the road live high and other backward castes totaling 156 households but not Ad-dharmis or the scheduled castes. The former
include the dominant agricultural caste namely the Jutt Sikhs. They have
landholdings, big and small but each one of them must have some. Those who have
small holding lease in from others who either have more land or have migrated to
other places in the country or abroad for employment or business. Numerous gots
(gotras in Hindi), that is, the exogamous patrilineal clans of Jutts inhabit this village.
The Bains were the first ones to settle here, followed by Dhillon and Badhan gots.
These three dominate the village while other gots like Kooner, Mahal, Manak,
Dhugge, Sahota and Sangha have fewer households.

A part of the Chardi patti in the centre of the village constitutes the Gharla patti that
inhabits the Badhans, a numerically large got of Jutts who were also one of the early
settlers in this village. Gharla is an al, a nick name given to these people as they
would keep quarrelling with one another speaking indistinctly, appearing to others as
producing a sound like gharal-gharal, hence the name Gharle. This sound is
produced by the running water sucked in a pipe. They would, however, not fight
either with their own gotis or other villagers.

The Jutts have gradually moved out of an area what is now the centre of the village.
The main reason is the Green Revolution that had made agriculture capital and
technology intensive. The tractors and trolleys, thrashers and cultivators etc. could not
be kept under ones control and supervision in their traditional houses along the
narrow by- lanes of the village. Therefore those peasants whose houses were not
having wide access to big machines moved out to the periphery making concrete
houses with larger courtyards and high gates.

The Brahmins no doubt are at the top of the caste hierarchy enjoying high social and
ritual status but in Punjab it is not so for two reasons. One, they are not the
economically dominant caste in the rural areas as they have either no or very small
landholding. Two, the theory and practice of Sikh religion has completely dispensed with their services at the times of all ceremonies of the rites of passage. Thus in the Punjab countryside, a Brahmin is considered an austere and a poor fellow looking for alms. In Bhajjal there are only two households of the Brahmins.

Other castes who live in the now centre of the village include the *tarkhans* or carpenters, *jheers* or water carriers, *lohars* or blacksmiths, *chhimbe* or washermen. Among these the jheers are the largest in terms of numbers. To begin with there were only two households, now they are more than two dozens. Traditionally they used to supply water to each household as there were no taps and hand pumps.

Another community that is very conspicuous in terms of their dress and demeanour are the *Gaddi lohars* who are camping at a vacant plot on the western side of the main road near the main Gurdwara. This is a nomadic tribe that keeps moving, carrying the whole household on a bullock driven cart hence the name, that is, blacksmiths with a cart. Traditionally they were making weapons and arms but now they repair the iron utensils or implements. No doubt they are occupying this plot for the last four or five years but they keep coming and going. At the beginning of the field-work there were about eighteen households that were reduced to half towards the end of our work. They do not interact with the villagers nor bother them for anything except begging for fodder for their cattle and sometimes food for themselves.

**Sacred Spaces:** These are an inevitable component of the village social structure. As a matter of fact it would not be an exaggeration to state that these spaces occupy the central position in the village. The villagers’ lives revolve around these. There are a number of such spaces with their own different deities and sacred elements.
**Gurdwara:** The largest and the oldest one is Gurdwara Singh Sabha that is situated on the main road to Jaijon. It is a Sikh place of worship as prescribed by the tenets of Sikhism. The sacred dome has the Sikh scripture called Guru Granth Sahib. This place was initially constructed about 85 years ago in the form of a *sarai*, a resting place for the travelers as the construction of the Gurdwara was not allowed by the erstwhile authorities, so believe the villagers. The present form is given by the non-resident Indians of this village who contributed generously to enlarge and beautify the existing structure. The management committee consists of eleven members who represent all the major communities of the village. There is no bar of caste or class.

Another such place is called Gurdwara Baba Jawahar Singh on the other side of the village in the south. It is named after the ancestor of the Bains *got* who were the first to settle here. The management of the gurdwara is in their hands only though everyone is welcome to visit it on any day. To celebrate the founding of this gurdwara all and sundry are invited to partake food prepared from the contributions of the Bains *got*.

The third gurdwara is in the centre of the village in Gharla patti on a plot of land donated by Naseeb Kaur daughter of Chhaju Singh. Bhajan Singh and Natha Singh got it constructed once they were ousted from the management of the Gurdwara Singh Sabha. The story goes that one day they were refused entry into the Singh Sabha though tension was prevailing between these men and those at the helm of affairs there.

**Pirs:** A pir is a Muslim holy man who is worshiped by people to seek boons of various kinds. Panj Pir and Baba Lakhdata are very popular amongst people here. As a matter of fact these pirs are commonly worshipped in the peasant communities of the north west of India.
Baba Lakhdata literally means one who gives lakhs or hundred thousands. He is believed to be the brother of Gugga Pir, the snake god who was a Hindu Rajput by birth but later on adopted Islam. This place is very popular amongst the villagers as they seek boons from Lakhdata. This complex has other deities too like Gugga Pir and Siddh Baba. Besides this main complex individual households have also raised structures in their houses in the name of Lakhdata. On a particular day he is offered churma made of wheat flour and jaggery (gur).

**Punj Pir** is also recently constructed structure whose deities cut across all religions and communities. Muslims believe in the five pirs namely, Khwaja Khizr, Zakaria Noor Gohri, Bahauddin Zakaria, Syed Jalal Bukharia and Lal Shahbaz Bahisht Hoori. This set of five corresponds with the set of five Pandavas of Hindus namely, Yudhishtar, Arjun, Bhim, Nakul and Sahdev. Number five itself is considered auspicious with an element of the divine power in it. In the sanctum sanctorum stands a black coloured life size statue of Bhairon. There is a small raised platform that makes a resting place for the deity. In one corner there are five diya (lamps) that are lighted to pay obeisance to the Punj Pirs. A large portrait of Guru Nanak is also hanging on the wall.

**Khwaja Khizr** is the water god, once again very popular amongst the peasantry. This is also a pir that is worshipped to keep the resources of water full and flowing. Water no doubt is extremely important for any kind of life that is why this is one of the most ancient pirs. Offerings are made to water resources. Before digging a well or sinking a pump, sweets are offered to Khwaja Khizr so that the water may be sweet and abundant. A pond in the village is a representative of Khwaja Khizr. That is why offerings are made to it and diya (lighted lamps) are floated on its water. This of course is a folk deity but in the Sikh scripture (Guru Granth Sahib) too, water is
considered a living entity that has created all life. It is held equivalent to Father while
the earth is called the great mother and the air represents the guru or teacher. So says
the Scripture: Pawan guru, pani pita, mata dharat mahatt.

**Baba Rabbal’s Samadh:** This is another sacred space where villagers of all castes
and communities pay obeisance by lighting *diyas* (lamps) on the *samadh* (a raised
platform or shrine on the ashes or the grave of the diseased) of an invincible wrestler
of this village called Rabbal. He was a Mahal and a State wrestler of the erstwhile
Patiala kingdom. Earlier there was an ordinary structure made of clay but now it is
made of concrete. The offerings consist of milk and *patase* (sugar-bubbles). In his
memory an annual fair is now organized by the villagers collectively on the first
Tuesday of the month of *chet*. This month of the lunar calendar corresponds to the 2<sup>nd</sup>
or 3<sup>rd</sup> week of March.

**Baba Kharak Singh:** He is another ancestor of the Bains got in whose memory a
raised platform exists in the centre of the village. A large hall has recently been
constructed by the members of his lineage. Not only the members of lineage but all
villagers pay obeisance (*mathha tekna*) there.

**Janj-ghar or Ravidas Dharamshala:** There is only one *janj-ghar*, literally a place to
welcome the marriage party, in the lehndi *patti* of Bhajjal. It is situated on the main
road. No doubt the Ad-dharmis have constructed it but all castes and communities are
welcome to use it for holding social functions. It is a modest structure having two
rooms with a verandah and an open court yard most suitable for such functions. On
normal days it is used by the old people to sit and chat and by the youngsters as a play
ground.
Shamlat: It is the common plot of land in the premises of a village used for various activities. Each patti has its own shamlat. The one in the lehndi patti is most appropriately used by the residents of this area. Since their houses are built on small plots

There is hardly any space for keeping a buffalo or storing the fodder or fuel wood or pathian (cakes of cow dung) etc. This shamlat proves very useful to them. On the contrary the shamlat in the charhdi patti has been appropriated by a single family only that uses it for dumping the garbage or the cow dung or some other waste material. This plot is right on the main road opposite to the main Gurdwara Singh Sabha.

Ponds or Water Reservoirs: There are three ponds or tobhas, as in local parlance, in Bhajjal. The largest one is situated on the main road near Gurdwara Singh Sabha. It used to have clean water before the on set of the water supply system and the tap culture. The rain water from a large choe (seasonal stream of water) in the north used to feed it. The water overflowing this pond used to be collected in another smaller pond in the lehndi patti. Once full the excess water would flow down to another pond near the railway track (now dried and made into agricultural plot) that finally led to the bein (stream) flowing under the railway track. The Consolidation of landholdings in 1952 and the installation of water supply system have played havoc with these natural reservoirs of water.

The main tobha or pond used to have clean and clear water that was used for bathing of men and animals and for washing clothes etc. Now with the onset of tap culture there is excessive use of water that is drained out of the house into the ponds on the three sides of the village. The pond water is no longer useable as it the dumping ground for the village sewage. Interestingly, in the good old days the large pond was the centre of interaction between different people and castes alike. It was a truly
common place used by the high and low castes. The necessity of water and its scarcity was probably instrumental in forging a sort of unity among people.

The situation now is the converse of above. The free flow of water and appropriation of its sources in the form of water tanks and taps in each house have become more a cause of conflict in the village than integration. The draining of water has become a sour point between neighbours. No one likes the waste water stinking before one’s house. Whose waste water shall go on which side and where has become the bone of contention in the village affairs. So much so that a couple of months ago this issue led to open hostility and even fighting between two groups and the matter was reported to the police too. A person was also jailed for three months. The creation of the third pond in the southern most part of the village is a recent development. The conflict over drainage led to this situation.

School: There is only one elementary school (up to class 5) that has about 25 students. It is situated on the main road next to the main gurdwara. It has a sufficiently large play ground that is used more by the village youth for playing football in the evening than by the school children. The opening of “English medium” schools around Bhajjal, charging high fees are more popular with people than the government school. The Sarpanch, Jaswant Rai of the village panchayat worries the closure of this very school if the present trend continues for some time. The proper functioning of the Rampur-Berhlon school (up to class 12) and the proximity of Garhshankar are also telling upon the functioning of this school.

Transport and Communication: The village is well connected with Jaijon and Garhshankar by two government buses that ply in the morning and evening. Besides, there are tempos that ply every 20 minutes. The opening up of the Indian economy has also led to a boom in the ownership of vehicles especially the two wheelers. More
than 60 percent houses have one vehicle or more. Hence connectivity with neighbouring villages and towns is not a problem now.

Besides the means of transportation, communication channels have also opened up. A mobile phone or a land line is more common than having a vehicle. Television is also owned by almost each house in the village. The cable connection has also been introduced about two months ago. There are also five public call offices (PCOs) or STD (Subscribers Trunk Dialing) booths that connect people with the outside world. The development of the modern means of communication have enabled people to cope up with the absence of a post office in this village.

**Civic Amenities:** A few civic amenities are existing in the village to meet the requirements of daily use of the people. The most needed grocery shops are six in number that are situated on the main road. Traditionally only Banias used to engage in trade but now there is not a single shop owned by them instead there are Brahmans and Ad-dharmis besides others who run these shops. There are also two shops for electrical appliances and one for furniture owned by the village carpenter family only. One flour mill is also managed by the co-operative society comprising of the neighbouring villages. Last but not the least there are two “doctors” who look after the minor ailments of the villagers. There is neither a government dispensary for the humans nor one for the animals which is why quacks flourish.

The village has the water supply system ensuring the availability of drinking water in each household with the turn of a tap. A large water storage tank has been constructed near the main pond for the purpose. The water supply remains uninterrupted if the electricity is available round the clock otherwise it is accessed for fixed hours in the morning and evening only.
Linked with the water supply is the system of drainage. Earlier the drainage channels were not made of concrete. The lanes and by-lanes of Bhajjal have been brick-lined recently though not metalled. The water drains have also been made of concrete though only recently. This has facilitated a smooth flow of sewage to the ponds. Earlier it used to collect at some places due to blocks etc. and make the whole passage/street muddy.

Now almost all main routes have been brick-lined but for the one going to the cremation grounds (marhiyan) on the Purewal road, about half a km. from the village, to be precise from Gurdwara Singh Sabha. The cremation area consists of a tin shed raised on four pillars only. This belongs to the high castes only. The Ad-dharmis do not use it but cremate close to it in the open only. It lacks the tin shed over head.

**Social Structure:** Integrated social relations are the dominating feature of the village. Different castes are in cordial relations. With interdependence and cooperation villagers lives their life.

Agriculture is the main source of livelihood of the villagers. Jats are the land owning caste for agriculture and other lower castes often rendered their services in the fields. Land is the symbol of power and prestige in village milieu. It is greatly loved and valued. Jats avail the services of other lower castes for work and cash payment has been paid to the engaged person. Factions exited in the village to exercise their power over others in the village.

There are some of the cases where the traditional labourer families has changed their occupation and got jobs in the near town. Traditional practice of exchange in kind is replaced by cash payment. Thus the hold of old values has been on decline. Exchange and free borrowing of implements has gradually replaced by hired from the market.
**Production Relations:** Lower casters often hired out their services in agriculture. Contractual relations dominated the relationships. The outlook of the farmers toward servant is purely work oriented. Traditional services are replaced by market relations. Payment is no more in kind. During peak season migrant labour was also engaged on cash payments. If labour did not have its own house in village then owner provide him a simple room in the field called kotha. It has dual advantage. First it protects the crop and second labour act as guardian to the installed motor. The room is generally constructed where the motor is installed. Traditional siri system has declined in the village. The contractual farming is in operation. Peasants sold their produce to the *arhtiya* (commission agent). Generally there is a broker in the market who acted as the agent of a particular village. Nearness to market and availability of transportation facility reduced the burden of peasant. Land owner marked that though the owner enjoyed the power in his fields but now servants did not tolerate it any more.

**Section B: Malwa**

Malwa is a region of Punjab. It is between Satluj and Yamuna Rivers. The Malwa area makes up the majority of Punjab region consisting 11 districts, and has the most fertile land. The dialect of this region is *Malwais*.

**SOCIAL PROFILE OF VILLAGE LEHAL KALAN (District Sangrur)**

**Name:** Lehal Kalan is an old village which came into being in 1600 A.D. It is located in the Malwa region of Punjab. This village can be located in the Sangrur district almost 6 kilometres from the nearest town of Lehragaga. As the folklore goes there were three brothers named Lehla, Dehla and Kakrala. They hailed from a family of very big landlords. They had a fight and decided to divide the land. Lehla occupied the larger portion of land as he was the eldest one. Hence, that place got to be known as Lehal Kalan. And the place where the younger brother settled down that place
came to be known as Dehra. It is 3Kms from Lehal Kalan and the youngest brother settled down near the town of Nabha. This is how this village got its name: Lehal Kalan.

**Location and Demography:** A metallic road running from Sunam to Jakhal is the nearest main road at a distance of 9 kilometres. This is a relatively big village, comprising of 917 households as per the 2001 Census report. The total population of the village is 5308 with total population of males being 2876 and that of females being 2432. Lehal Kalan has an average literacy rate of 34 percent. About 1410 workers are engaged in agriculture and 945 are engaged in non-agriculture work as per the 2001 Census report. It is a large village with many civic amenities like government high school and hospital, and a sufficiently developed market- on which the people of village depend.

**Settlement Pattern:** Caste is among the prominent features in the settlement pattern. It is an integral part of Indian rural society. It should be mentioned here that in Punjab the caste system is weak as compared to other states of India. An interesting feature of this village is that people of all castes live together and are never in conflict with each other. The community feeling in the village people is very strong.

The village is divided in five parts or *patties* - Sukhyana, Aasra, Parvana, Chugria and Bahrla vehra. All the *pattis* in the village comprise of Jatt, Ramgharia Mistri, Ramdassia Sikh, Hindu, Muslim, Pandit etc. Bahrla vehra comprises of Ramdassia community. It is one of the backward classes. Though majority of the households (190) are of Ramdassia community in this *patti* but it also comprises of some households (110) of Jatt community. Sukhyana *patti* consists of Jatts, Mirasis and Sadhs. Total number of households in this *patti* are 143. Parvana *patti* comprises of Jatt, Pandit, Baniya, Ramgariha Mistri, Sadh etc. It consists of about 183 households.
Chugria patti consists of Jatts, Baniya, Mehre Sikh and Ramgharia Mistri. It comprises of 110 households and Assra patti consists of Jatt, Majhbi Sikh, Pandit and Ramdassia having around 721 households. A few families of prosperous Jatts have moved out and settled down on the outskirts of the village.

**Social Structure:** Though the village is big in size but it is united and organized for its development. They have solidarity and cohesiveness. Each patti has its own distinct features.

**Shamlat:** It is the common plot of land in the premises of a village used for various activities. This shamlat proves very useful to them. Panchayat leases it out on a regular basis to the farmers for agricultural purposes.

**Sacred Spaces:** Religion has always been an integral part of society in villages. Out of these numerous religions, there are a few that are followed by people all over India and some religions are restricted to certain regions. People in the villages remain engaged in various types of religious practices on a regular basis. Most of the villages have a temple of the village deity and the villagers believe that the village deity will protect them from any kind of natural calamity or other threats. The villagers also establish sacred places within their home and often use an entire room as a place of worship. They worship the gods and goddesses and follow various religious customs and domestic rituals as well. Besides the religions in villages, the people also sometimes inhabit a world full of divine and semi-divine beings. They believe in local, personal or ancestral gods. There are different deities and sacred elements in the village.

**Gurdwara:** The oldest Gurdwara in the village is naunvi patshahi Guru Teg Bahadur Gurdwara Sahib. It was built in 1750.
**Mandir Bhagat Ravidas Ji**: It is situated in the north of the village. On the outskirts of Bahrla vehra and it is the Mandir of only the Ramdassia community. They offer prayers here before starting any important work. Though it is like a gurdwara as they also worship the Guru Granth Sahib Ji (the holy book of the Sikhs) but the people of the village call it Mandir of the Ramdassia community where people of other castes offer prayers.

**Sheetla Mata Mandir**: Known as Basanti Mata Mandir in the village. Sheetla Mata is the goddess of smallpox. It is believed that pustules appear on the body of a child as a symbol of the displeasure of the Mata. She is worshipped to save the child from this fatal disease. She stays on the banks of the village pond. Her shrines are clusters of small structures made of few bricks signifying the shrine of seven sisters who are associated with other ailments of children. She is worshipped in the month of March or Chet. Grams or chhole are soaked in water and next day are offered to Sheetla Mata.

This village also has a Shiva Mandir in Sukhyana patti. People offer prayers before going on marriage procession and other ceremonies.

**Pirs**: A pir is a Muslim holy man who is worshiped by people to seek boons of various kinds. There is a place for Lalanwala Pir. He is also known as Nigoha and Sakhi Sultan. A samadh was constructed on it. The power of Lalanwala Pir is evoked to be blessed with sons and for the protection of children and animals from disease. Thursday is considered a sacred day to worship Lalanwala Pir.

**Samadh Baba Baid Bhagat**: This is another sacred space where villagers of all castes and communities pay obeisance by lighting diyas (lamps) on it. The land owned by samadh has become the bone of contention between panchayats of Lehal Kalan and Lehal Khurd.
**Dera Baba Surstigarh:** It is located in Aasra patti. All villagers offer prayers here on *ekam* i.e. a day after *massya* (full dark).

**Gugga Mari:** Gugga is worshipped in the month of August and September especially on the ninth day or *naumi* of the month. The *nishans* of Gugga are long bamboo sticks decorated with colourful clothes and peacock feathers. It is worshipped and people sing songs in his praise called *sohle*. In the centre of the shrine there is tomb or *smadhi* of Gugga. He protects his followers from snakebites and blesses sterile couples.

**Major Cultural Events:** There are no such major events in Lehal Kalan. The village has one *mela -dasvin-* every month at the *nauvi patshahi* Gurdwara Sahib. It is celebrated with great enthusiasm. Devotees gather here from neighbouring 9-10 villages for fulfillment of their wishes.

**Important Personalities:** Lehal Kalan has a very important personality, Shahid Akali Phula Singh who bought fame to the village and with whom the villagers proudly associate. He was Jatehdar of Akal Takht during Maharaja Ranjit Singh’s time. His statue mounted on a horse is established next to the main Gurdwara.

**Occupational Structure:** Agriculture has always been the principal occupation of people in the villages of Punjab. The main occupation of the villagers is agriculture. There are two main harvests in a year, *rabi* or spring and the *kharif*. The main *rabi* crop is wheat and *kharif* is rice and cotton.

**Ponds or Water Reservoirs:** There are four ponds or *tobhas*. One situated in the centre of the village near Sukhayana *patti*. The other one is near Ramdassia *patti* and is solely used by them for bathing animals and for washing clothes etc. Another one is on the eastern side of the village near Aasra *patti*. The fourth one is on the periphery
of the village. It was earlier used by farmers for irrigating purposes but now due to less rain fall this pond does not have sufficient water for irrigation.

**School:** There are many primary but one secondary school in the village. Half a kilometre away from gurudwara is the Government Senior Secondary School (class 12). There are also three private schools - Shaheed Akali Phula Singh Public School, Dasmesh Public School and Shahid Udham Singh Public School. All these schools are co-educational. The village has no college and the nearest one is 10 kilometres away.

**Transport and Communication:** The village is well connected with the towns of Lehra and Moonak by government buses plying through out the day. Besides, there are tempos. The villagers have their own cycles, motorcycles, scooters etc. thus with high connectivity with neighbouring villages and towns. The village has one post office and 175 telephone connections, highest in the sub-district of Moonak.

**Civic Amenities:** A few civic amenities exist in the village to meet the daily requirements of the people. There are eight to ten grocery shops and one cloth shop. It also has one government dispensary for the humans and one for the animals. There are four registered private medical practitioners.

The village has the water supply system ensuring availability of drinking water to every household. A large water works is constructed on the outskirts of the village. There is no concrete sewage system. Availability of electricity is a big problem as it is released for only 5 to 6 hours for domestic and 2 to 3 hours for the fields. The drainage pipes are fitted but they do not work.
**Cremation Grounds:** The village has five cremation grounds for each *patti*. Majhabis have their own cremation ground. There is a branch of State Bank of Patiala and one Co-operative Society.

**Production Relations:** Relations are contractual and labour is hired on contract on cash payment. Caste or family background of the labour is not taken into consideration. Implements are hired on market rate. Modern mode of production increased the production. It is mainly for the market.

**Section C: Majha**

It is also called the upper bari doab, its area is 17.17 percent of the total area of Punjab. It is one-fourth the size of Malwa and slightly smaller than Doaba. This region is surrounded by the three rivers; Ravi is in the west, Beas in the east and Sutlej in the south. They separated Majha from the other regions of Punjab. In the west of the region is Pakistan.

Mājha is a historical region of the Punjab comprising the modern districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Tarn Taran in the Indian State of Punjab and the districts of Lahore and Kasur in the Pakistani Province of Pakistan. Historically, Majha comprised the older settled parts of the bari doab (in particular Sheikhupura) and the rechna doab (in particular, Gujranwala), the newer settled parts belonging to the *canal colonies*. Major towns in the region include Amritsar, Batala, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Kasur, Sheikhupura, Gujranwala, and Tarn Taran Sahib.

The largest part of Majha called the *bari doab*. It lies between two of the five great rivers of the Punjab: the Ravi and the Sutlej. As such, Majha lies in the heart of the ancient Punjab region. No wonder then, that one meaning of Majha is 'the central plains' or 'the central country'. The people of Majha are known as *Majhisor Majhails*. 
The Majhi dialect of Punjabi is the basis of standard Punjabi. Doab means a region between two rivers flowing in the same direction; for this English has a little used counterpart, interfluves.

**SOCIAL PROFILE OF VILLAGE BAL LABE DARYA (District Amritsar)**

**Name:** Bal Labe Darya is a compound word Bal + Labe + Darya; Bal refers to the got of the residents; Labe means “near” and Darya means river. As the folklore goes there was a very famous saint Baba Bakalo. He had two sons, Teher Sabho and Jabho, hence two pattis in the village. Villagers told that earlier the course of river Ravi was through the village. It has played a significant role in the settlement pattern of the village. Due to recurrent floods, the village was destroyed many a times. Every time natives resettled themselves.

**Location and Demography:** It is situated in Ajnala block of Amritsar district. India-Pakistan border is just 2 kms away. A metallic road running from Ajnala to the border is the nearest main road at a distance of 9 kms. It has a population of 636 according to 2001 Census.

**Settlement Pattern:** In 1989 the village faced floods and since then river changed its course. Now it is safe. The border has played an important role in the daily social life of the villagers. Village folk mentioned that during militancy, the Border SF did not allow any outsider to enter in the village. Even the villagers were not allowed to move in or out of the village after 5 P.m. For the safety purpose movement of any person was not allowed. Some of the prosperous peasants have built their houses in their farms (khett) so that if they could be late while returning from their farms and Border Security Force did not allow them to enter in the village then they could stay there. Thus some of the peasants moved there called deras and settled there.
There are few families who moved out from their traditional houses and got settled either in outer area of the village or constructed their big houses in their farm. Some has migrated to towns in search of better life and occupation.

Due to recurrent flood the natives of the village got displaced and few of them migrated to other villagers to save their life. Sometimes flood had destroyed the village completely. Without migration of the villagers the agricultural land and their houses were occupied by the natives of other villages.

The courageous ones remained there even after the flood and faced hardships in resettlement. Flood destroyed the houses as well as the source of livelihood i.e. agriculture. With cooperation and solidarity they resettled themselves.

**Shamlat:** It is the common plot of land in the premises of the village.

**Sacred Spaces:** Villagers have firm belief in traditional values and norms. This is the reason that the villagers have two gurdwaras.

**Gurdwara** - It is a Sikh place of worship. The sacred dome has the Sikh scripture called Guru Granth Sahib. Village has two gurdwaras. One is inside the village is Gurudwara Tapsar Sahib and other one is on periphery. It is mainly to provide shelter to the villagers. Natives collected the money and got it constructed.

**Pir** - A pir is a Muslim holy man who is worshiped by people to seek boons of various kinds. Village has a *mari* of *Gugga pir*, the snake god who was a Hindu Rajput by birth but later on adopted Islam.

Mandir - Shiv mandir is located in the centre of the village. It was also destroyed with floods. Villager’s faith helped in its reconstruction. Earlier there was *khera* there which was destroyed by floods.
**Occupational Structure:** The main occupation of the villagers is agriculture. The village has alluvial soil due to Ravi. The principal *rabi* crops are wheat and pulses and *kharif* crops are paddy and maize. Some farmers cultivate sugarcane too. Maize was traditionally the main crop although in recent times the farmers have taken to the cultivation of wheat and rice. Earlier cultivation was for self consumption but now it is for the market.

Earlier river water and *hults* were the main sources of irrigation. The natural resource was reliable throughout the year. The dependence on nature was clear. With changed course of river it has shaped the agriculture. Due to strict surveillance of the army the migrant labour from other states is not available. During season the labour from the Rai Sikh community of nearby villages is available.

**Ponds:** There is one *tobha* in the village.

**School:** It has only one elementary school situated near the main road. It also has an anganwari school with a small strength.

**Transportation and Communication:** It is well connected by metallic road. Only one local bus plies through the village. The financially well off people possess personal vehicles as the mode of transportation. It has one S.T.D booth. Majority of the villagers owned mobiles and telephones.

**Civic Amenities:** A few civic amenities are available in the village to meet the requirements of daily use of the people. The most needed grocery shops, private medical clinic, shop for fertilizers and pesticides. Village has one floor grinding shop. The people of village can depend often went to main town of Amritsar for shopping.

**Cremation Grounds:** The village has one cremation ground on the outskirts of the village. People of all castes in the village has one common cremation ground.
**Castes**: Village has numbers of castes. The village depends on near by villages for secondary education. The socio-economic pattern of the village got affected with floods. The village consists of Sansi, Adharmi, Brahmin, Jutt and Mehra castes. They all live in harmony and are hardly in conflict with one another.

**Water Table**: Water level is at 120 feet but contaminated hence dug up to 250 feet. The tube-well and pumping sets are in use for harnessing water from ground. The new pumps are called as *bambi* in locally parlance. Earlier Ravi river was source of irrigation. With time it changed its course and to fulfill the demand of irrigation water farmer adopted tube-wells and submersibles so that adequate water whenever required could be met.

**Social Relations**: Social relations among the villagers are cordial. Festivals and other social functions were celebrated together. They live in harmony and helpful to one another. Some peasants lease-in others’ land for cultivation. Low caste people have small houses. They are mainly landless agricultural labourers, depending on daily wages. They even do not have necessary facilities in their houses.

**Production Relations**: Peasants hired labour from the near villages. Due to strict surveillance peasants did not have migrant labour. For agricultural inputs like pesticide and for fertilizers villagers are dependent on cooperative society. Village did not have cooperative society. So peasants have their account in cooperative society of Ajnala Block. They take loans, fertilizers etc. from cooperative society which in local parlance is called store.

**Section B**

This section incorporated all the nineteen case studies taken for the research. For understanding the nature, scope and consequences of problem, case study method was
used. Thus the endeavor is to get deep insights into the subject. It presents a very profitable means of testing and verifying theoretical aspects of the study. This attempt facilitated in getting the detail information, where respondents are made to speak her heart shelling out details.

For tracing the history and origin of problem, information of a long time span is taken. It helped in gauge the changes taken place over a period of time. As the very nature of sociological study demands descriptive and true information without bias, the selected method helped in achieving the aim. Personal meeting with the respondents and long stay in the field helped in conducting the study.

Different agro-climatic regions and social setting made different relations and mode of production. Through the lens of sociological understanding the each region independently and comparing with other was done.
Case No. 1

Background

This is the case of Ajit Singh. He lives in Chardi *patti* and is Jat Sikh from Dhillow gotra. His father, Tara Singh was a simple, illiterate farmer. Agriculture was his only sourse of livelihood. He belonged to Pakistan and after Partition he was allotted agricultural land in the village Bhajjal in India. The land allotted to Tara Singh was in two lots, 8.5 acres and 4 acres. Two brothers from a Jat Sikh family, Karam Singh and Jagat Singh were his immediate neighbors in four acres of land. Fortunately, the four acres land had a well with Persian wheel, as a source of irrigation. This Persian wheel belonged to a Muslim family which had migrated from the village during Partition. When Tara Singh took possession of this land and the well, the neighbouring brothers too shared the water from this well. Tara Singh developed intimate relationship with them. They were very cooperative and helpful to one another. They started visiting each other socially and also exchanged services in the field. Thus their economic as well as social relations developed and with time became strong.

Tara Singh was the head of his family. He had three sons, Ajit Singh, Gurdeep Singh and Nirmal Singh and two daughters. His youngest son has some physical ailment. He sent his children to village school, but owning to lack of interest in education and lack of proper infrastructure, all his sons dropped out after elementary class. Eventually he engaged them in his agricultural work. His sons used to pass their time mainly in playing and helping their father in taking care of the crops. He had a semi-pucca house and a separate *haveli* for cattle and bulls. The family lived in a simple way. However, with advancement in irrigation technology, they installed an engine for irrigation in 8.5 acres in 1960. The remaining four acres were rain fed. During the
season he used to take one or two ‘waterings’ (without charges) from neighbouring Karam Singh and Jagat Singh’s pump. It was a result of his cordial social relations with them.

Tara Singh spent most of his free time with the neighboring farmers. They mainly discussed the agricultural problems like late payment from arhtiya (commission agent) etc. Delay in payments was one of the reasons for his problems. He was hard working and social in nature. He gave his implements to neighbouring farmers when they required. He woke up early in the morning and went to the field. He came back home for meals and in his absence his sons used to work in the fields. Division of labour in agricultural work reduced their burden.

In 1970, he settled the marriage of his daughters’ and of his eldest son Ajit Singh in 1980. Ajit Singh was educated only up to 5th standard. He and his brothers learned all the skills from their father. Ajit Singh’s wife was from a jat Sikh family of the nearby village. All the marriage ceremonies were performed and the bride brought a number of gifts for her in-laws. Every thing was moving very smoothly. Under the headship of their father, sons were cultivating the land. The father was the major decisions and he used to guide them through the entire work.

With the increase in family size, in 1985 Tara Singh gave Ajit Singh the haveli to live in. After Ajit Singh moved there, his two brothers Gurdeep Singh and Nirmal Singh remained with their father. The land remained under joint cultivation. Then in 1986, Tara Singh arranged the marriage of second son Gurdeep Singh. After marriage his wife started contributing in the household chores. Of all brothers, Gurdeep Singh was of dominating nature. Since his childhood, he was very aggressive and clever by nature. He had strong desire to have the hold on family decisions. His wish came true when his elder brother Ajit Singh moved out. He became closer to his father and took
advantage of his old age. He started taking all the decisions in relation to agricultural and household. He had good social contacts with all. He arranged the marriage of his younger brother.

After spending more than six decades of his life in agriculture, Tara Singh was now retired. He formally divided the land among his sons in 1988. Gurdeep Singh wanted the land with the pump so he forced him to give land without pump to Ajit Singh. His father agreed. Since he was living with Gurdeep Singh and Nirmal Singh, it was obligatory for him to make them happy, so that in future they would live peacefully and sons would look after him. Therefore, the eldest son Ajit Singh inherited four acres of land after division. Whereas Gurdeep Singh and younger brother, Nirmal Singh got 8.5 acres with the pump. Tara Singh also took a portion of land for himself. He now owned half an acre of land from his 8.5 acres. Due to his old age half acre of his land was also cultivated by Gurdeep Singh and Nirmal Singh and they shared its profit. After the division of the land, they got the responsibility of looking after their father.

Nirmal Singh did not keep well due to some physical ailment. Since he was younger, Gurdeep Singh did not consider him a threat. They remained in the ancestral house with their father.

Ajit Singh’s relations with the siblings remained cordial. He with his wife and two sons, was staying in the haveli. *Gurpurab* or their children’s birthdays or other special days were celebrated together. They exchanged gifts with one another. Similarly, in agriculture, the brothers looked after each other’s land. At the time of sowing, weeding, caring of land and selling grains in the market, they managed everything together, though they lived separately. All brothers were still on good terms. Even after the division of the land and the house, differences did not crop up between them.
Ajit Singh was running his household with four acres of land. He was fulfilling all his duties. He sent his children to school for education. He never complained to his father Tara Singh about any thing. With time, he felt the importance of individual ownership of pump. With out it he started facing problems in irrigation. He started complaining to his father. He looked up to his brothers and father for help. He got a big jolt when they refused to provide any help. This resulted in the collapse of family bonding, animosity in their relations replaced cohesiveness.

His land and production were badly hit due to water scarcity. His financial condition did not support him for installation of pump. To resolve this problem, he gave his land to brick kiln on contract to manage money for installing the water pump. Finally, he was able to install the pump but he could not get the electricity connection. His investment of rupees one lakh went waste.

![Tree Diagram]

Agriculture

Tara Singh had 8.5 and 4 acres of land and three sons. The four acres of land were very fertile and had a Persian wheel (hult) in it while 8.5 acres were maru, that is rain fed. With Persian wheel he cultivated grains, mustard seeds (sarson), wheat and tara mira (rape seeds) in four acres. In other portion, he grew fodder and maize because it was without any artificial source of irrigation. He managed agriculture in traditional mode. He shared his hult with his neighbouring brothers. They used it in turn and each one had his own pair of bullocks to operate it. Tara Singh did not own all the agricultural implements so he borrowed some of these from others and from neighbouring brothers.
With depletion of water table, the Persian wheel became useless. Karam Singh and Jagat Singh wanted to install an engine in partnership with Tara Singh. But he was not interested in installing an engine in his four acres of land. Rather, he wanted to install it in his 8.5 acre portion. Finally, he installed an engine there and his neighbours installed one in their land independently. It improved the yield and saved a lot of time.

Tara Singh used to borrow water one or two times from the neighbouring brothers for his 4 acres of land. Cohesiveness and good social relations with them helped him in sustaining his 4-acres. Tara Singh was alone to manage his fragmented land, so to reduce the burden he started leasing out his 4 acres land on share cropping (adth te) to some other farmer. In such system, the owner had to give the land and half of the share on expenditure of fertilizers etc to the tenant. In return the owner would get half of the produce of the harvest. The tenant bought water from Karam Singh and Jagat Singh at the rate of Rs 2/- per hour. It was 1971.

With the introduction of rice cultivation, Tara Singh was not left behind. He discussed the pros and cons of the new crops with the big peasants. After accessing the benefits, he adopted rice cultivation in 1973. To meet the needs of the new crop he took loans from the cooperative bank. He became a member of the cooperative society and started purchasing seeds, fertilizers and pesticides from there. He started hiring local labour for chemical sprays. The expenditure on input increased but at the same time, the output also increased manifold. From 1975 onwards, he commercialized his agriculture and took his produce to the regional market (mandi).

His three sons were also providing help in agriculture. Therefore, he stopped leasing out his four acres of land in 1973 and started self cultivation. He maintained cordial relations with his neighbours and kept buying water from them at the same rate as the
tenant. Rice, fodder and wheat were grown then. Later he divided the responsibilities among his sons and himself became the supervisor.

In the sowing season, Tara Singh’s wife also helped in the field. As all the work was manual, so it required hard labour. The entire family pooled there labour in the cultivation. Tara Singh hired casual labor only during the season.

Entire family jointly worked and grew rice, fodder, sugarcane and wheat in their 8.5-acre land. In four acres, the rate of water increased so he reduced the area under rice crop, as it was the most water-consuming crop. He cultivated maize and fodder in major area. Family progressed and improved their economic condition. Tara Singh upgraded the technology and installed a mono block pump in 8.5 acres to cope up with declining water table. He got the water pump from the city, as his village did not have a shop. The repair and upgrading of motor was an entirely new thing for Tara Singh and his sons. Every time they had to call the mechanic from the city for fixing any fault in its motor.

He purchased a tractor in the summer of 1983 on loan for tilling the land. It was also used for transportation including visiting relations etc. It also reduced physical work and improved their status in village. With passage of time his financial condition improved.

During electricity cuts, he used his tractor for pumping out water. With time he started hiring permanent local labour for agricultural work and cattle. Tara Singh’s elder son Ajit Singh got married in 1980. In 1988, his father gave him his portion of land and he started living separately. He got four acres without pump. The land was dependent on neighbouring pump for water because there was no pump near to his field. Ajit did not find it problematic because they had good relations with Ajit and his father Tara. He
started purchasing water at the rate at which the father used to buy, that is, Rs 10/- an hour (1988) which was increased to Rs 15/- in 1992. Thus he was happy and comfortable in agriculture. He used to take his father’s implements. His brothers also provided services in fields. Later in year 1990 when father purchased a tractor he gave his pair of oxen and cart to him and he used it for plouying and transportation.

Due to lesser rain and depleting groundwater resources many farmers installed advanced pumps at deeper depth. Even the neighbouring farms of Ajit Singh had no pumps so the neighbouring five farmers Sulakhan, Gurnek and others came together for installing a shared pump. They installed tube-well pump near Ajit Singh’s fields. Ajit Singh was not financially well off to put his share in the pump. These five farmers were from the village and jats by caste. They were in good terms with Ajit and used to help him in agriculture. They used the pump by turns. Sulakhan was Ajit Singh’s house neighbour. He wanted to help Ajit Singh so during his turn in pump for irrigation he started selling out water from pump to Ajit Singh. He charged nominal rates from Ajit Singh. So he had an advantage of using the water from that pump. Ajit Singh became comfortable and relaxed for irrigation because some time he took water from Sulakhan and some time from neighbouring brothers. He also borrowed implements from him when required.

But later in year 1995 Sulakhan sold his land and share in the pump. Ajit Singh was left without water. He requested rest of the four farmers for water but they refused to sell water. His partners decided that none of them would sell water to anyone the defaulter will have to pay a fine of Rs 5000/-. They started making distance from Ajit Singh.

Providing one or two ‘waterings’ from the pump could not effect them much but they avoided just to harass the small farmers like Ajit Singh who was left with no option
beside to return to Jagat Singh and Karam Singh for water. With depletion of water
table even they installed the high capacity motor. They had gone old and retired from
agriculture. Their next generation took the responsibilities. They continued water
transaction with Ajit Singh on high rates.

Till 2000 Ajit Singh was able to sustain his agriculture with rain water and with
purchased water. At least he was getting food grains. After 2000, the water table
receded in the area. Other well off farmers opted for submersible pumps with huge
investment to cope up with falling water table. This increased the water rates. The
neighbouring four farmers also installed a shared submersible pump.

The pump owner increased the water rates and it affected Ajit Singh badly though he
continued with agriculture. In 2004 the sons of Jagat Singh and Karam Singh were no
more willing to sell water to Ajit Singh though he was not refused directly. Each
farmer wanted to cultivate rice and their pump was 8 horse power. It was not
providing enough water. In such a situation Ajit Singh pleaded them for regular
supply of water during the season. However, he managed the rabi season but in kharif
season he did not get enough water for his crop. His production suffered as it was
completely dependent on rain water. Thus he started cultivating less water intensive
crops like maize instead of rice. He also started a side business of selling milk to run
the household.

He could not lease out land because it provided food grains for the family. Even if he
leases out land he will not get good amount of money as it is without pump. He has no
other profession besides agriculture.

He blamed father for such condition and biased division of ancestral land. In 2005 he
went to his father to find the solution. He demanded either his share in pump or
money for installation of pump. The relations became hostile. His brothers tried to settle the problem by providing him the logic that the land has already been divided so he would not get any thing now. None from the parental house supported him. He was badly disappointed and ended his relations with the parental family. He planned to install an individual pump.

He took loan from the bank and he also gave his land to a brick kiln on contract mitti chukayi si khet di (had got the top soil lifted from the field to brick kiln) to arrange money for installing a pump. Finally, he was able to install one but could not get the electricity connection. His investment of rupees one lakh went waste. Now he is under the debt of a bank. Even after spending a big amount of money he was still without an individual pump. In the rabi season of 2008 he did not have money to purchase water so he had no crop then. Only fodder was grown which was managed with rain water. He took money from a local money lender for running the household expenditure. It gave him a lot of psychological tension.

Finally, he had no option but to move to a distant pump about four khet away to get water for his fields. For that he had to incur heavy expenditure on the plastic water conduits and extra expenditure also, as some farmers whose fields were on the way did not allow him to lay the pipe. He also could not lease out the land for less lease money of Rs. 5,000/- per annum only, hence the water pipe. He has sentiments and values attached with the land so he did not want to sell it.

The low crop yield affected his financial condition as a result it gave him depression. He had to spend Rs.10,000 on his health care. Still he is not well. He blames his father for all these problems because he gave him the land without a pump. He thought that the brothers acted very smartly at the time of division. They owned the land with pump. Even now father is staying with them. He was not satisfied with the division.
and due to conflict over the pump he did not remain in good terms with his brothers and father. At the time of division he was not aware of the importance of the pump.

The sense of deprivation affected his family life. He has two sons. Now elder son is looking after the agricultural work and the younger son is planning to migrate abroad on study visa. Sons’ behavior and attitude toward agriculture is very different from their father. They do not like this profession. They want to earn money and improve their financial condition.

On the other hand, younger brothers Gurdeep Singh and Nirmal Singh got 8.5 acres. This portion of land had the pump as a source of water. They were not dependent on water market and grew rice, wheat and sugarcane. With time, they made progress and mechanized their agriculture. They hired permanent and migrant labour for work. They furnished their house with all the luxury items. For regular supply of water and to cope with depleting water table they installed submersible in 2005 on their old electricity connection as it was very difficult to get a new one.

Gurdeep Singh, the second son and the third son, Nirmal Singh were doing well in agriculture. They had well-constructed house with all the necessary facilities. Just on account of their access to the latest irrigation technology, they were amongst the most prosperous farmers in their village. They grew crops of their choice as they had ample supply of water.

When brothers refused any help to Ajit Singh, it created the friction in their relations. Finally, they ended all the relations with Ajit Singh’s family. Their house was just opposite to Ajit Singh but now they never visited each other. The animosity started when Ajit Singh wanted help from the siblings for installing a separate pump.
The eldest son (Ajit Singh) who initially had an advantage in terms of access to fertile land was at loss, while his siblings who initially were at loss due to separation from the most fertile share of their land were better off as they had traditional ownership of technology and upgraded it time to time. Ajit Singh’s sons are hard working. He wanted his eldest son to get into some job and youngest to migrate abroad. Youngest is preparing for going abroad. Ajit would manage the money by either selling the portion of land or by mortgaging the land. He does not want his sons to be in agriculture.

Women’s participation

Tara Singh was an owner of around 13 acres of land in two fragments 4 acres and 8.5 acres. Wife of Tara Singh looked after the household chores. During peak season, she helped her husband in the agriculture. Women mainly participated in sowing and the male members managed harvesting and rest of the work.

Caring the cattle, providing them fodder was among women’s chores. Tara Singh’s wife cooked food for family and looked after the old members and children. Traditional chulha was used. Cow dung cakes and wood were used as fuel in it. It was her duty to make cakes and collect fuel wood in chulha. She and her daughters collected the fodder from the field and cut it for cattle. In a small portion of land she grew vegetables, pulses and spices for domestic consumption.

Milk from the milch cattle was for the family. They have all the essential commodities at home. Water for domestic purposes was fetched from the village pond. It was the meeting point of women folk where they used to exchange their views and village news. They wore simple clothes and had simple way of living in semi pucca house.
With the mechanization of agriculture in 1980’s the workload of women in Tara Singh’s family reduced. They looked after household work only and remained inside the house. They cooked food and used to bring it to field. Women supervised farming during peak season. Labour was hired on field and it provided help to women. After harvesting, women of the family used to offer small portion of grains to the Gurudwara. Tara Singh’s wife was social in maintaining relations. She had good will among the villagers and kins. So she used to give some grains to the near and dear ones like daughters and old members. “dhian nu te vadde bazurgan nu.”

With time Tara Singh constructed (pucca) his house and married his eldest son Ajit Singh. His wife started helping in house hold works. She hardly went to field for help. Tara Singh’s wife was happy that her daughter-in-law was helping in house hold work. Whole family was united under one roof. With the increased family size, Tara Singh provided haveli to Ajit Singh.

Ajit Singh did not want to bear the pangs of separation but due to increased family size he gave havelli to him. In 1980’s Tara Singh’s wife passed away and Ajit Singh’s wife got all the household responsibilities. She used to look after the domestic work but never worked in fields. His wife asserted that though she was living in havelli but she continued working in their house.

In summers of 1987, the second son Gurdeep Singh got married and the family size increased. The father constructed a wall between the rooms for Gurdeep Singh’s family. But they remained under one roof. Women divided the work among them to avoid any conflict. Women were in good relations.

Ajit Singh’s wife started helping him in agricultural work after division of property. She sent his sons for education but due to poor economic condition his sons dropped
out after completing matriculation. Elder son was forced to help the father in field due to his ill health.

It is worth mentioning that to earn money for the livelihood she started selling the milk. Due to poor financial condition her mobility was restricted. She hardly went out. Once in six months she visits city just only for her medical check up. She avoids visiting any of the collateral or agnate relatives. She wanted to have colour T.V for recreation but financial condition did not warrant spending money on such amenities. She washes clothes with hands and did the entire house hold work. With age her health is not supporting her to do work.

She ended all the relations with her in-laws. She is not happy with the division. She feels her in-laws responsible for their poor financial condition. She is disappointed when she compares her lot with the Ajit Singh’s brothers. They have all the luxuries whereas they have a small piece of land. Thus she does not want her son into agriculture. She wanted his younger son to settle abroad so that the financial condition of the family improves.

Analysis

1. Landholding: Ajit Singh inherited four acres of land in 1988 and retains that much since then.

2. I. Water technology: He did not inherit any pump. In 2008 he installed a submersible but did not get the connection and thus he is still without pump.

   II. Water (purchasing, sharing, selling): It was borrowed at the rate of Rs 10/- from the tube-well of his neighbour. The rate increased to Rs 15/- in 1992. He purchased it from two sellers. One of them stopped selling water in 1995. Another one
continued at the same rate. He too stopped in 2004. Then he approached a distant
neighbour for water in 2009. In between he depended on rain water only.

3. **Crops:** He has cultivated wheat and maize only since he inherited the land. In 2008
he could not obtain water, so started cultivating fodder only. He started sowing earlier
crops from 2009 when he could obtain water from a distant pump.

4. **Agricultural Implements:** He inherited cart and pair of oxen. Other implements
like plougher were hired his father. But later he purchased his own and hiring tractor
from the big zamindar on cash payment.

5. **Agricultural Labour:** During peak season he involved his brothers and wife
provided their services in the fields. When his brothers purchased more land. They
stopped providing any help to him. He could not hire permanent labour due to poor
economic condition and more over his land was marginal and he could not grow rice
which is labour intensive so he hires only seasonal labour only.

6. **Social Relations**

   I. **Family:** He lives in nuclear family. He has two sons and wife in the family.
      All are happy in the family. With interdependence and cohesiveness he
      manages all the work.

   II. **Extended/joint family:** After separation from his parental house he
      maintained cordial relations with them. When he felt the need of
      independent pump then he approached his father and other brothers for the
      share in the ancestral pump but he got nothing. They were not ready to
      provide any help for new pump thus his ended his relations with them. He
      has cordial relations with his extended family members but he maintains
      formal relations with them.
III. Field neighbours: When he inherited the land his neighbours were in good terms with him. On the northern side his neighbours are two brothers (Karam and Jagat) and on the other side the neighbours are from the same caste and village. All were in good terms with one another. Ajit used to buy water from two brothers. In 2004 their sons refused to sell to Ajit Singh and as a result he maintains only formal relations with them. The neighbouring peasant on the other side did not like Ajit Singh. They were five and they came together in installing a tube-well. They refused to sell water to Ajit Singh. They marked that if any of the shareholder would sell water from the pump then they would fine him Rs 5000/-.

IV. Village neighbours: He maintains cordial and healthy relations with the villagers. He is helpful and has good terms with other villagers.

V. Labour: He has marginal landholding and he does not cultivate rice hence he hire only migrant labour during peak season and maintain formal relations with him.

7. Women’s role (home/agriculture): His wife plays an active role in maintaining relations with the in-laws. After separation she was in good relations with them. She actively looked after the agriculture with Ajit Singh. Since then she is looking agriculture and household work too.

NOTES

1. Tara Singh had a haveli (a kuchha house) just opposite to his house. Food grains for the family consumption were stored there and milch cattle, bulls were also tied in a separate room of the havelli. In the evening old members of the house sat in havelli for gossiping.
2. For two reasons Tara Singh gave the responsibility of his half acres to Gurdeep and Nirmal. Firstly he was living with them and they looked after him and took all his
responsibilities. Secondly, half acre of land was adjoining to eight acres so Gurdeep and Nirmal could easily manage it.
Case No. 2

Background

Bakshish Singh is a Jat Sikh from Bains gotra of Bhajjal village. Kabal Singh was his father. He lives in a semi-pucca house with his wife and children in chardi patti. His main source of livelihood is his inherited 9 kanals of ancestral land. His father had 4.5 acres of land allotted during land consolidation. It had a hult as a source of irrigation. He has four sons and three daughters. He sent his children for education. Due to lack of importance to education and poor economic condition the children had dropped out early from school. Eventually sons started helping their father in his agricultural work and daughters helped their mother in household chores.

Kabal Singh settled the marriage of his daughters\(^1\) in 1971. For this purpose he took loan from a money lender and also from his relatives. Hence, he became indebted. His eldest son Sarban Singh got married in 1978. He died in 1980. Mother took the reigns of the household. The family was under debt. The eldest son looked after the agriculture. He was not happy with the existing situation and wanted to raise the income of the family.

Under the influence of friends who had migrated abroad he also took the decision to go abroad. He took loan from his relatives “ristedaran kolon paise phare” and migrated to Dubai in 1983. He left his wife with his mother. He did all kinds of menial jobs there. After settling abroad he started sending money back home.

With remittances, his mother cleared the debt and arranged the marriage of second son Bakshish Singh in 1985. At home, Sarban Singh’s wife assumed superior status. She did not like to do household chores. She behaved as the owner of the house and dominated the household decisions. It was not tolerated by the younger brother’s
(Bakshish Singh’s) wife (derani). It became the source of regular conflict in the family. The situation was turning out of control. Both regularly complained to mother-in-law about each other.

Villagers further aggravated the dispute by provoking these women. Kin added fuel in the fire too. They were not able to adjust with each other. Beneath the surface, the progress of Sarban Singh was the problem and it was not liked by the jethani. Thus to save the family from disgrace and to maintain peace and status of the family, the mother in 1987 separated Bakshish Singh and his family by giving him his share of land and house. He inherited 9 kanals of land. The mother constructed a wall within the house and a separate gate for Bakshish Singh’s portion. The joint family broke and relations turned more hostile.

_Bakshish di wife ne rishte khatam kar te per uh ma nal kade kade bolda si. Ik duje de ghar nahin jande si. Ma kade kade aa jandi si per eh gal Sarban di wife nu pasand nahin si._

Balwinder Singh’s wife ended all the relations with her in-law’s and her husband some time talked with mother. They did not visit each other. Mother some times visited them which were not liked by Sarban’s wife.

Bakshish Singh’s wife was not happy with the division and showed her anger by ending all relations with her mother-in-law. Mother tried to settle the dispute but efforts were of no use. After separation Bakshish Singh faced difficulties in managing the land and household expenditure. The division was fatal for him. He felt alone in cultivation. Thus he faced a down fall. Managing the family with a small piece of land increasingly became burdensome and led to poor financial condition of the family. In poor monetary condition, he could not afford hired labour as well as the machinery.
The family labour was also not enough. His only son dropped out of school and got involved in agriculture. His social status declined. As a result villagers maintained limited relations with him.

Younger brothers Amarjeet Singh and Jasbir Singh were living with the mother. They were cultivating their land jointly and this practice made their life easy. In 1989 Sarban Singh (eldest son) returned home. He was an illegal migrant. In 1990 mother arranged the marriage of younger sons. The family size increased. Sarban Singh invested his earned money in renovating the house so that each brother would get a separate room.

Sarban Singh “aa ke vehla reha te paise kahrachada reha.” After coming back to India he remained free and started waste full expenditure. Mother stopped him and then he took his primary occupation of cultivating the land. He wanted easy money. With in short time he got fed up from agriculture because it required hard labour. He again planned to go abroad. He met a travel agent and gave him nearly 5 lakh and went to Dubai in 1993. He did all type of work there and remained in touch with the family. After earning enough money he came back in India 1998.

He motivated his younger brothers Amarjeet Singh and Jasbir Singh for migration. They were hesitated but both migrated to Dubai in 2002. They left their family back home with mother. For illegal migration they spent huge money. What ever they saved and earned in agriculture they spent it for migration. In India, Sarban Singh got the entire responsibility of his own land as well as his brother’s.

Amarjeet Singh and Jasbir Singh are still abroad. Sarban Singh and his family is cultivating their own as well as younger brothers’ portion of land. He purchased more land from the remittances. He rented-out his newly purchased land and the ancestral
land is his operational land holding. He still lives in ancestral house with his mother and other brothers’ families. In 2003 he renovated the house with all the necessary amenities. Children are studying in a convent school.

Kabal Singh

Sarban Singh  Bakshish Singh  Amarjeet Singh  Jabir Singh

Agriculture

Kabal Singh (father) owned 4.5 acres of fertile land. The land had *hult* as a source of irrigation. The land was their only property and source of livelihood. He did not have much of the agricultural implements. “*Hathin kaam karde si*” did manual work. When he required implements for agricultural work, he borrowed them from their neighbours or from their friends on *lihaj*. Transaction in *lihaj* was the important way for survival and dependence on one another. *Ek lihaj te sandh dinda si te duja us da hor lor vehle kaam kar denda si. Is karke kheti saukhi si te rishte guhre si* one would lend his implements in consideration of relations and the other did his other work whenever the need arose. Therefore agriculture was easy and their relations were good.

He had a pair of bulls for ploughing and also used it for transportation purposes. Seeds were indigenous and prepared at home. They kept the produce for self consumption although it is certainly possible that rest they sold in the local market. They used to exchange grains as gift.

During peak season their siblings also came for his help and vice versa. In kharif season he cultivated maize, sugarcane and fodder. In rabi season they sown fodder,
wheat and vegetables. Later with the depletion of water table he installed engine in 1972. It simultaneously reduced water scarcity the work load.

Exchange of implements was significant to sustain in agriculture. During harvesting season he hired casual labour and in payment he gave a small portion from the produce. Majority of the agricultural work was managed with the help of family labour. Labour was hired under jajmani system that the sense of reciprocity or they exchanged the grains to prevail the services.

With provision of electricity in the village he installed electric pump in well. He took loan for the mono-block pump to develop his agriculture. Collective actions reduced the physical and land stress. Installation of new pump brought change in scale and scope of irrigated agriculture. It minimized the chances of crop failure by providing sufficient water even in deficit rainfall. It was periodically deepened as the water level fell.

After the death of Kabal Singh his four sons inherited 4.5 acres of land. They grew rice, wheat, fodder and sugarcane. They hired trolley for transporting produce to the market and used to take loans for the input. Water was enough for the rice cultivation. In 1980 they upgraded the technology by installing mono-block pump.

After separation Bakshish Singh got 9 kanals of land.² He also got a pair of cart and oxen. Ancestral land has only one pump. So he got the share in the pump but pump was installed on eldest brother’s portion. Thus he used to enter his portion for operating the pump. With turns brothers started irrigating their land.

Bakshish Singh took care of his turn and contributed in upgrading and maintenance of pump. Brothers usually did not take his opinion and took the decision of their own.
They only met for operating the pump. None of the brothers could think of installing a separate individual pump because of marginal land holding. Installing a pump for just 9 Kanal was not a profitable investment.

However, the marginal land holding was no more profitable for Bakshish Singh. He grew maize, fodder and wheat. He could not grow rice because of lack of finance for expenditure on hired labour. He was alone to cultivate his land and rice crop required proper supervision and regular labour. Nonetheless, cropping was the only source of income and he continued doing it for self-consumption. In return for using the pump, other brothers generally had tensions with Bakshish Singh. Though brothers faced the conflict but they continued sharing the pump.

In 1992, Bakshish Singh took a smart step to improve the financial condition. Due to marginal land holding he started taking 5 acres of land on rent at Rs 5000/- an acre. Lease-in land was with the pump as a source of irrigation. But unfortunately it has not rained that year (1992). Pump did not provide enough water in kharif season due to scarcity of water table. It badly hit him because he has sown paddy and due to lack of enough water, the crop yield was affected. At the end of the year he was tensed that how he would pay off the rent. None of his siblings provided him help. Then finally he took loan from the aarthi (money lender) at high interest.

Sarban Singh came back in India. In 2002 his younger brothers migrated abroad. The responsibility of entire land came to Sarban Singh. Since long Sarban Singh was out of country and was cutoff from agriculture. In such situation Bakshish Singh started helping him. Sarban Singh mechanized his agriculture and hired permanent labour for help. The share of migrated brothers was also looked after by Sarban Singh. It was
difficult for him in managing entire land holding. Bakshish Singh started providing his guidance and services to him when required. Therefore both brothers came together at work. Even they exchange their implements and labor. Bakshish Singh helped and guided him in agriculture. Slowly they started exchanging their views and share their agricultural problems.

With the depletion of groundwater Sarban Singh and Bakshish Singh decided to update the water pump. So they contributed the money in proportion to the land size. Each brother contributed his share for the installation of submersible pump in proportion to their land. Sarban Singh gave the share of other two brothers and Bakshish Singh gave his share. In 2007 they installed a submersible pump at 250 feet with 2 lakhs of investment.

Now Sarban Singh is not investing the remittance in purchasing more land because he is also planning to migrate. His other brothers are already in abroad. He wanted his children to settle abroad for their better future.

Bakshish Singh is still working hard for livelihood. He does not hire labour and tractor for plouying. He tills the land with bulls and used cart for transportation. For harvesting he hired tractor for a day because he has marginal landholding. Entire family works to reduce the financial pressure. He sold milk and his wife also provides her services in family agricultural work. He did not hire labour for marginal piece of land. With the new emerged pattern Bakshish Singh’s cost on input reduced. Still the financial condition is same. He has semi-pucca house with few necessary amenities. He prepares gur from sugarcane. His relations with villagers are cordial and have good reputation. Relations with neighboring zamindars are also cordial.
Women’s participation

Traditionally women remained at home and looked after the household chores. Caring of draft animals and cattle was women’s responsibility. Women looked the household chores and cattle. After finishing the assigned work they took food to family field and provided their services in the family field too. In the peak season they rendered their services in the family field.

Mother used to work in the fields and grew food crops in small portion of the land for family consumption. It was her responsibility to manage that portion. After marriage of her sons she gave the responsibilities to her daughters-in-law.

*Jethani* and *derani* was not able to adjust with each other. In the absence of Sarban Singh *jethani* (his wife) supervised the agricultural work and accounts. She dominated the decision of the family. She exercised her power over the family members because her husband’s income was the main source of livelihood of the family. *Jethani* regularly entreats her mother-in-law for better share in property.

*Derani* mentioned that *jethani* broke the joint family and mother-in-law showed favored toward *derani* in division of ancestral property. *Jethani* got land with pump and it was not liked by *derani*. She got separation because of *derani*’s attitude and got land without pump. The condition turned worst for her family. She mentioned that they became marginal farmer. She started contributed her services in family fields. She helped in sowing till harvesting. She collected the fodder for cattle. They did not have necessary amenities in the house. Traditional *chulha* was used for cooking. It’s her duty to manage the milch cattle and take milk to local dairy for selling. Still she is doing the same duties. She is old and her health does not allow her to do work but she does not have any alternative. Daughters are helping her. She wanted her son to settle
abroad so that their financial condition would improve. She mentioned that now villager’s does not liked to visit their house due to their poor condition. She has hopes from the son. She wanted that her husband would send their son abroad so that he could earn enough money to raise the standard of the parents in village and among relatives.

She is disappointed from family position. She finds her in-law’s responsible for their poor condition. She did not like the development of the Sarban Singh and other brothers (deor). She feel deprived when she compare her lot with them. She is still angry that mother-in-law did not give them the better share in ancestral land.

Analysis

1. **Landholding**: He got 9 kanals of land in 1987 and retains that much since then.

2. (i) **Water technology**: When he inherited the land he had shared tube well with his brothers and his partnership continued and they installed shared submersible pump.

   (ii) **Water (purchasing, sharing, selling)**: Water for irrigation is get by turns.

3. **Crops**: He cultivated wheat and maize and now he grow the wheat, maize, fodder and sugarcane.

4. **Agricultural implements**: He inherited cart and a pair of oxen. He used to take implements from his neighbouring peasants in lihaj. But later he started hiring it from them in cash payment. With improved relations with his brothers he takes it from his them on reasonable rent.

5. **Agricultural Labour**: Earlier he did not hire any permanent labour and managed entire work with family labour. During peak season he hired wage labour for few days. Till now he does the same practice.
6. Social Relations

I. Family: Joint family broke into nuclear family. Bakshish Singh lives in nuclear family with his wife and one daughter and son. His children are studying. Due to poor economic condition family is not happy. Progress of his own brothers is not liked by Bakshish Singh’s family.

II. Extended/joint family: After separation his relations with his brothers turned hostile. He ended all his terms with his brothers. But with time his relations turned cordial and they started meeting regularly in fields. Still they do not visit each other’s house.

III. Field neighbours: His relations with his neighbours are cordial and has good reputation in village.

IV. Village neighbours: His brothers are his neighbours and with other villagers he had good relations. He mentioned that villagers maintained limited relations with them due to their poor economic condition.

V. Labour: He did not hire labour for marginal piece of land.

7. Women’s role (home/agriculture): Derani and jethani faced regular conflict. Jethani dominated the other family members because her husband was in abroad and remittances were the source of livelihood. Due to this she got better share in property. Bakshish Singh’s wife did not like the authority of her jethani. She did not able to maintain the relations with her in-laws. After separation she helped her husband in agriculture and also managed household chores. She looked after the dairy work and did stitching etc to run the household expenditure.
NOTES

1. Daughters in the village were married in their early age. Providing them education is not considered important.

2. Bakshish Singh was a mature and married son. It was arbitrary for mother to make those sons happy who would take her responsibility or take care in her old and bad times. So she showed favoritism toward eldest son because he was sending money from abroad at the same time his wife took the advantage of her position and entreat her mother-in-law for getting better share in land and to get control over the family decisions.
Background

This is the case of Balbir Singh of Bhajjal village. He belongs to Mahal gotra and lives in chardi patti of the village. His father Gurbachan Singh had six acres of land and share in a hult. After father’s death respondent Balbir Singh and his other five brothers inherited ancestral land. Among all the sons eldest son was married. After father all the brothers collectively worked on land as it was their main source of livelihood. Eldest son Avtar Singh was married and he became the decision maker while her mother held the authority of household decisions.

Mother fulfilled all her duties and one by one settled the marriage of his sons. She took loan for her sons’ marriage and for renovating the house. In 1962 mother made her sons independently by dividing the ancestral land among her sons. Thus each son got his share of land and got separated. Ancestral house was divided by constructing a wall in between the house. Other things like implements and milch cattle got divided among sons. She started living with the eldest son and had equal eye for all her sons. All the sons started managing their land independently. Each son got an acre of land and became marginal farmer. The relation among them remained cordial after separation. With cooperation they managed the agricultural work. Neighbouring field peasants were also helpful to them. Sharing of good variety seeds and borrowing of necessary things like implements etc. created a deep bonding and dependence among them.

They were in cordial relation with field neighbours and met one another regularly and discussed every problem with one another. In free time they sat together and jointly went to market to purchase the inputs. In socio-religious activities they jointly
rendered their services and treated one another as brother. Neighbouring field peasants were their partners in hult. Solidarity with one another helped them in managing the agriculture and in using hult for irrigation. Their partnership continued in shared electric pump. Marginal landholding was not economically viable for the individual brothers. With time the family size also increased and expenditure too. Brothers’ economic condition became worst for brothers. However, with marginal landholding, brothers were not happy. Gradually they were pushed into poverty. It became difficult for them to make both ends meet. Nevertheless, cultivation was their only source of income and they continued doing it for subsistence.

Brothers discussed the problem with one another and started searching for some new source of income. Eldest brother Avtar Singh was dissatisfied with his economic condition because agriculture was not providing him adequately. He wanted to make progress and that was the reason why he thought of migrating abroad. He had the support of his brothers. He arranged money from his relatives and mortgaged his land for going England. He left his family under the supervision of other brothers. It was a big step indeed but he was compelled to take it for a better future. He was the first migrant to England in quest of better opportunities. In 1971 he went to England, he worked hard and did all kinds of menial jobs so that he could earn money to send it back home. When he was financially comfortable, he started sending money back home twice a year and also sent gifts to his brothers. His family’s economic condition improved. Within three years that in 1974 he took his family to England. Presently he is running his business in England comfortable.

Second son Sajjan Singh is educated among all the brothers. Due to less income from agriculture he started searching for a new source of income. One of his friends appointed him in a bank and he suggested him a job. In the quest for progress he
started doing joined a job in a bank in 1975. His economic condition improved with additional source of income. He shifted his primary occupation and leased-out his land to younger brother Balbir Singh. Presently he lives in Chandigarh with his family and become a bank manager.

Chilmil Singh the fourth brother was impressed with the progress of eldest brother and he wanted to progress and earn money like his eldest brother. In 1978 eldest brother Avtar Singh helped him in moving out of India. He went England. He illegally migrated. He gave all the responsibility of his family and land to Balbir Singh. He started working with his brother Avtar Singh in abroad. Since then he permanently settled their. Both brothers started sending money to other brothers in India. Later Chilmil Singh got permanent residency of England in 1985 and he called his family there. Now he is working in Ford company. Families of Avtar Singh and Chilmil Singh are in cordial relations. Both are well settled abroad. It helped in improving the financial condition of other brothers. It also raised their status and standard of living.

Under the influence of brothers and friends who had migrated abroad Jarneil Singh (fifth brother) also took the decision of going abroad.¹ Jarneil Singh got financial help from brothers and went Canada in 1980. Later he took his family too and leased his land to Balbir Singh. Now they are happily settled their. He called his youngest brother Nirmaljeet Singh in Canada with his family. Both are doing job in Canada in a store. Thus all the brothers went abroad in search of better future.

Since all the brothers have shifted abroad in India only third brother Balbir Singh was subsequently entrusted with the task of looking after the entire land that was six acres. He started hiring permanent labour for help in agriculture. He has two sons and a daughter. He educated his sons. He involved his sons in managing ancestral land. His sons did not want to get into agriculture. In 2000 his elder son also went to Canada
and now working as a driver their. After his migration Balbir Singh was left with younger son. He is in his old age so could not able to give much time to agriculture.

Niranjan Singh is cousin (chache da munda) of Balbir Singh. His eldest brother Prem Singh is settled in U.K and has leased out the entire land to him. Niranjan Singh is managing his own 3 acres and brother’s three acres of land in India. He has one son. Both Niranjan Singh and Balbir Singh were neighbours and helpful to each other. Both were getting remittances from their brothers. With depletion of water table they jointly installed new submersible for irrigation. Unfortunately they had conflict in 2007 over water technology and as a result both ended the terms with one other.

**Agriculture**

Basant Singh, the head of the family was cultivating his 12 acre of land with rain water. In next generation, his sons Gurbachan Singh and Dilip Singh inherited the land in 1965. Each got six acres of land. Gurbachan Singh put his share in hult with other two partners Bhagat Singh and Bisa Singh. They were also field neighbours and were from same village. Dilip Singh did not put his share and managed land with rain water.

Since hult was jointly owned so it was operated by three shareholders. Partners treated each other as brothers and used it with cooperation. With turns they irrigated their
land. With depletion of water table all the partners jointly installed a shared electric pump in 1971. They also got introduced with rice crop and started cultivating wheat, maize, sugarcane and rice on small portion. During sowing season, each partner helped another in fields. During 70s they hired local labour for harvesting. For selling the produce in local market partners jointly hired trolley on cash payment. After selling the produce they settled the account spent on transportation.

When Bhagat Singh and Bisa Singh became old, their next generation replaced them that the old share holders were replaced by their sons and sharing continued. Some time certain conflict like repair of motor or in sharing turn took place but it was short lived and resolved among them selves. Partners exchanged their implements and helped one another in fields. The crop selection was mutually decided. Caring of land and hiring of labour was mutually done. Only migrant labour was hired on wages in 70s.

Gurbachan Singh’s has six sons. After his retirement from agriculture his six sons took the partnership in pump and responsibility of the land. Sons were in cordial relations with their one another and with partners. They were helpful to one another. Due to marginal land holdings they did not had much work load and remained free most of the time. As mentioned in the introduction that four out of six sons migrated abroad for better future. Balbir Singh the third son of Gurbachan entrusted with the authority of his brothers’ land in 1985. Hence the work load of Balbir Singh increased.

Bisa Singh and Bhagat Singh’s sons helped him in managing the entire land. Balbir Singh some times hired the implements from them and took their guidance too. Later his brothers settled in abroad and started sending him money. He purchased his own implements and tractor. His status improved in the village with improved economic
condition. He started hiring permanent labour on annual basis for the help. With his own implements and labour his dependency over his partners reduced. His wife helped him in supervising the labour in the fields.

On another side the younger brother of Gurbachan Singh i.e. Dilip Singh died in 1989. He has two sons and they inherited 6 acres of land from their father. His eldest son saw the prosperity of Gurbachan Singh’s sons (his cousins) and filled his paper of migrating abroad. He illegally migrated in 1988. In India his younger brother Niranjan Singh got the responsibility of his land. It was without any artificial source of irrigation. In 1990 he installed an engine for irrigation. He started cultivating rice and wheat. Balbir Singh was cultivating wheat and maize with shared pump. Both Balbir Singh and Niranjan Singh had financial support of their brothers who were earning comfortable abroad. For development of their land and to make more profit they came together. In 2002 Niranjan Singh and Balbir Singh contributed lumpsum money and jointly bought 30 acre of land. They wanted more profit by cultivating rice in inherited land. Availability of water was their main concern. The shared water technology was no longer economically viable and conflict gave further disincentive to continue sharing. So Balbir Singh took out his share from the tube well pump and installed a submersible pump with Niranjan Singh. Partners in tubewell wanted to become partners in advance water technology but they did not want their partnership in pump.

Other partners were left with the old pump. They were badly hit because with declined water table, their pump was not providing sufficient water. They could not afford to install a costly submersible pump. They wanted to become partners in submersible pump but Niranjan Singh and Balbir Singh did not take them in partnership. They were without water so they seek water from their pump but they
did not get it. In return they demanded the cash for water. Beside the fact that the terms between them were very good but they did not give water to old partners in free (lihaj) bases.

After installation of submersible, Balbir Singh shifted from maize to rice crop. Further, remittance helped Balbir Singh and Niranjan Singh in their progress. They brought two submersible pumps. In 2002 he got a new tractor with all the attachment. He started engaging two permanent labours on yearly basis. Labour lived in fields and took cash payment.

In 2005 they installed their third submersible pump at 250 feet depth and started getting ample supply of water. Balbir Singh installed jointly water pump because individual installation of pump is very costly, so to reduce the burden he put his share in joint pump with Niranjan Singh. Field neighbours generally asked for irrigation in kharif season and in return they demanded cash for water. Neighbours did not like the demand and as a result social capital between them got affected.

Both Balbir Singh and Niranjan Singh were comfortably progressing. Both cousins jointly hired thresher and spent free time together. They jointly hired migrant labour too. Balbir Singh has two sons and a daughter. His eldest son was not interested in agriculture so in 2005 he sent him abroad. Since then he is settled in England. Youngest son started helping him in agriculture and he became supervisor. In 2006 he settled the marriage of his only daughter and gave her number of gifts. He gave submersible pump to his son-in-law because he has 12 acres in two fragments. His one fragment was without pump so Balbir Singh gifted him a submersible pump. Thus pump became a prize commodity.
Eldest son of Balbir Singh was looking after the entire agriculture. His son managed the work with hired labour. He hired two permanent labour and did not had much work load. The problem took place in 2007 when Balbir Singh went England to meet his eldest son. His son got the responsibilities of managing the land alone. Niranjan Singh took the advantage of the absence of Balbir Singh. He started selling water from the shared submercible pump. He managed his fields and rest of the water he sold to others. During the turn of Balbir Singh, Niranjan Singh did not give him proper time for irrigation and that was not tolerated by Balbir Singh’s son. They generally had conflict over the timing, operation of pump and ownership of pump. Niranjan Singh tried to show his authority over pump. He wanted more profit by selling water to needy peasants. For this he cheated Balbir Singh.

Balbir Singh’s crops started affecting with lack of water. When Balbir Singh came back he had dispute with Niranjan Singh. At last Balbir Singh stopped using pump and independently installed a new pump. Both are not in terms now.

**Women’s Participation**

Balbir Singh and her wife were living in a joint family. Women managed the entire household work jointly. After division of ancestral property, joint family broke into nuclear family. Each son got separate household. Even after separation women regularly meet one another. Balbir Singh’s wife managed all her household work alone and also worked in the family field. When eldest brother migrated abroad, his family was looked after by Balbir Singh’s wife. She was in good terms with all the relatives. She maintained cordial relations with old and young ones. Balbir Singh’s cousin was Niranjan Singh and his wife was also in good terms with her. When other brothers of Balbir Singh left agriculture and leased-out their land to Balbir Singh then her wife equally contributed in agricultural work.
Niranjan Singh’s wife and Balbir Singh’s wife jointly supervised the hired labour. They looked after the milch cattle and household chores. In free time they sat together with other women and gossiped. With remittances both families progressed. It reduced their participation in agriculture and raised their standard of living. Both Balbir Singh’s wife and Niranjan Singh’s wife do shopping from the city. Then they hardly worked in family fields for work. They got all the necessary amenities in household work. Balbir Singh’s wife was in good social relations with other villagers. She was happy that her relatives were in abroad. With the installation of joint submersible pump she was happy. Some times she made her household work done from the hired permanent labour for agriculture.

Analysis

1. Landholding: He inherited an acre of land and later got his brothers’ five acres land on lease. In 2002 he purchased 15 acres with remittances. Now his total land is 16 acres.

2. (i) Water technology: He inherited a share in joint pump. Later he broke his partnership and installed submersible pump with his cousin brother Niranjan. Their partnership was short lived because cousin cheated him. He started selling water to other peasants without the consent of Balbir Singh. It affected the agriculture and relations. For the sake of profit cousin cheated Balbir Singh. Their partnership broke down.

   (ii) Water (purchasing, sharing, selling): After installing new advance pump he was not willing for giving water in lihaj. When started charging for water from his old partners.

3. Crops: Earlier he grew maize, sugarcane, wheat, taramira, majra. After installing advance pump he started cultivating rice and wheat.
4. **Agricultural Implements**: He did not inherit any agricultural implements. He managed them by borrowing from field neighbours. With remittances he purchased his own implements and dependence on each other decreased.

5. **Agricultural Labour**: Earlier work was manually done. During harvesting local labour was hired and kind was paid in return. Now he has large landholding. He hires two permanent labour. He did not involve family labour. Now he is abroad so his son is looking after the land.

6. **Social Relations**

   I. **Family**: He maintained cordial relations with his family. His son did not want to enter into agriculture so he sent him abroad. He settled the marriage of his daughter and gifted a submercible pump to his son-in-law.

   II. **Extended/joint family**: He enjoys cordial relations with relations and brothers. They helped him financially and he leased in their land. He visited them abroad and vice a versa.

   III. **Field neighbours**: Neighbours on the west and east side of his field were from the village and also his partners in water technology. With remittances he installed his submersible pump by breaking the old partnership in pump. When old partners demanded water from his new pump then he asked for cash for water. As a result social capital declined. In the north side of field, his cousin was his field neighbour. He installed joint submercible with him. Later he faced conflict with his cousin over water technology. He broke his relations with him and installed an individual pump.

   IV. **Village neighbours**: He enjoy cordial relations with villagers.
V. Labour: He has contractual relations with labour. He hired labour on annual basis.

7. Women’s role (home/agriculture): With mechanization the participation of women in agriculture reduced. Balbir Singh’s wife got all the amenities at home. Now she takes the services of hired permanent labour in household activities.

NOTES

1. Most of the peasants migrated abroad during 70s. It was a reinforcing factor for others for migrating abroad.
Case No. 4

Background

Gurnam Singh of Bhajjal village is the respondent in the case. He gave all the information. His grand father was Jaimal Singh, the head of the family. He was a Jat Sikh of Bains gotra. He owned five acres of fertile land. Farming, though for subsistence, was his principal occupation. He lived in Chardi Patti, which includes the households of high caste ‘zamindars’ of many gotras like Mahal, Bains, Dhillon, Badhan etc. An old man of the village informed that it is a status symbol to have one’s house in this patti.

He had two sons, Bhagat Singh and Sadhu Singh. Both were married and living together happily in the parental house such was the tradition. Togetherness and cooperation were thought to be the strengths of the joint family. These five acres of land were irrigated by Persian wheel which was jointly owned and operated by Jaimal Singh and his distant cousins Satinder Singh and Basant Singh. The latter two were from Jaimal Singh’s shreeka.

At that time Persian wheel was used for pumping out water from the aquifer that needed a lot of human resource and animal power. Each shareholder had its own pair of oxen that were made to join the wheel in turn. Because sharing of wells decreased the cost of irrigation, it was preferred by villagers. The draft animals were driven by the owner or sometimes by one of his partners. This mode of irrigation was a labour intensive technology that required a lot of physical work. Besides family labour, partners also helped each other. The cost of repair and maintenance of wells was jointly shared by the partners. Each partner got the turn to use the well in proportion to the land held. For instance, one day was allotted for an acre of land and the person
who, like Jaimal Singh, had 5 acres would get 5 days to irrigate and then the turn shifted to others.

With the passage of time, the size of Jaimal’s family increased. After the marriage of his elder son, Jaimal Singh decided to divide his land and house among his sons - Bhagat Singh and Sadhu Singh- each getting 2.5 acres.

With division of land the share in the Persian wheel also got divided. Jaimal Singh had a very big house, with two main gates - one opening towards the fields and the other towards the village. He divided the house equally between them. The division of property had no adverse effect on the cordial relations between the two brothers.

Each son had the responsibility of his respective family and property, but the decision-making authority remained with the father. He found his elder son, Bhagat Singh, more responsible, hence stayed with him.

However, with fragmentation the land was no longer viable for the two families of his sons. Gradually they were pushed into poverty. It became difficult for them to make both ends meet. Nevertheless, cultivation was their only source of income and they continued doing it for subsistence.

They grew jawar, bajra, wheat and fodder primarily for self consumption and little for market. So economically they were getting poorer day by day. In such conditions, family labour was their only source of work on land. At that time for rich and prosperous farmers, hired labour was the alternative. Village adharmis would work on their fields either on seasonal or yearly basis. Women folk of lower caste would also participate in field work and they in return preferred to take share in crop or fodder for home rather than money.
This was the practice among the rich farmers but sons of Jaimal Singh were poor one. Therefore family unity only helped him in making two ends meet. Women equally contributed in agriculture and did all the required physical work in the fields like caring of crop, harvesting etc.

Sadhu Singh was dissatisfied with his economic condition because agriculture was not providing him adequately. He wanted to make progress and that was the reason why he thought of migrating abroad. He arranged money from his father and brother Bhagat Singh and went to England. It was a big step indeed but he was compelled to take it for a better future. He was the first migrant to England from his family in quest of better opportunities.

After Sadhu Singh’s migration, all the responsibilities of household work and agriculture were transferred to Bhagat Singh. They did not settle any contractual terms because he had faith on his brother. Bhagat Singh happily took the responsibility. After harvesting he gave as much money and grains to Sadhu Singh’s family as required. He always tried to give equal share to his brother’s family. Both sides were very happy and satisfied with such an arrangement. In England, Sadhu Singh worked hard and did all kinds of menial jobs so that he could earn money to send it back home. Within three years he was in a comfortable position and in 1965 he took his family to England.

Later Sadhu Singh and his son Mahinder Singh helped Gurdial Singh (son of Bhagat Singh) to go to England. Gurdial Singh’s family is now well-settled there. He is working with Mahinder Singh. Bhagat Singh died in due course of time and his elder son Gurnam Singh was subsequently entrusted with the task of looking after the land.
Both the brothers Sadhu Singh and Bhagat Singh remained on good terms as long as the latter was alive. Each brother did a lot for the other and that is why the latter took the responsibility for the former’s land. When Sadhu Singh was financially comfortable, he started sending money back home twice a year.

In 1980 Gurnam Singh invested the remitted money in purchasing four more acres of agricultural land in his and his cousin (Sadhu Singh’s son’s) name Mahinder Singh. He grew wheat and maize in it and managed with the rain fed irrigation.

When he felt that his brother is financially comfortable then he stopped sending money. Same was with Gurdial Singh. Initially he was not economically comfortable so he did not send money back home to father in India. But when he got financially comfortable then he also sent money and when he felt that brother is comfortable then he stopped sending it. Both Sadhu Singh, his son Mahinder Singh and Gurdial Singh has not been taking any share from the income of the agriculture. Gurnam Singh is not greedy so now he has invested their portion from agriculture in improving land and taking implements or depositing money in their bank accounts.

Sadhu Singh is still alive but due to his old age all his responsibilities were shifted to his son Mahinder Singh and he is maintaining social relations very well. Now all brothers have cordial relations. He sends money twice to Gurnam Singh’s family and he invested remitted money in agriculture.

In 1996 he purchased 10 acres of land more adjoining the previously 4 acres. With the large landholding thus acquired, his class, status and standard of living also changed and he was counted among big landlords. His social network also changed.
He did not involve his children in agriculture and fortunately both his son and daughter were able to complete their secondary education. His daughter went to complete her graduation and got married in 2001. His son is also pursuing graduation.

His house was well furnished with all modern appliances and necessary amenities. The researcher did not feel that she was sitting in some rural house. He told the researcher that he renovated the house before his daughter’s marriage in 2000. He renovated the house and made it well furnished with marble and other necessary requirements. He said, “Well furnished house shows the status of the family due to which their daughter could get a suitable match.” Land ownership further enhanced their economic status. This also helped in creating an upward mobility in the society. Thus, with the improved family status he got a good match from a near-by village for his daughter. Gurnam Singh incurred huge expenditure on his daughter’s wedding due to improved economic condition. He also gave dowry to his daughter.

He is not taking loan from the bank and has got his daughter married with his own money. He informed that due to his own sources of irrigation his financial condition has changed drastically. His status and social relations have also changed. Earlier he was dependent on others for help in the field. He said “pehlan tan pani laan nu bohat mehnat lagdi si” Earlier irrigation required hard physical labour.

Gurnam Singh’s son is studying, so could not help his father in agriculture. He feels that as his son does not want to adopt agriculture he should send him abroad where he could join his brother’s business. However, Gurnam Singh is very disappointed with the new generation. He asserted that the new generation does not want to do physical work and for them agriculture is not a prestigious occupation. They are more attracted towards urban areas and over seas countries for a better future. He said “assi tan mitti nal mitti ho jande si sanu tan eh changha lagda si, par aj-kal de bache tan kujh wi
“nahin karna chaunde” We used to do hard labour and enjoy working in fields but the present day generation does not wish to do hard labour.

For this reason, the relation between him and his son is quite formal and in fact strained. The son does not obey his father. He told that his son may migrate abroad and he might be compelled to lease out his land. He did not have any other alternative as after his son no active member in the family would be left behind who could be given the responsibility of the land.

He himself also wants to settle abroad but here in India he wants to lease out land and not sell it. His attachment with the land does not allow him to sell it off. He wants to retain his land in India and return to look after it. The attachment with land is so strong that he neither wants to sell it nor leave it. Since all his relatives are abroad the land is the only source of attachment for him for his motherland.

Agriculture

Gurnam Singh has a large landholding and all his relatives stay aboard. He has hired a permanent adharmi labour on yearly basis and also hired temporary bihari labours during peak season for help in the fields. Payment to labour is made in cash. Now days contractual relations are the bases of cultivation. Labour is either on daily, seasonal or yearly bases and after that time he is free to work anywhere and an owner can change his labour. The old system of seer where the transaction was made in kind has been replaced by contractual labour where the payment is made in cash. He
manages his work with wage labour as due to his age he just manages to supervise the fields and his dependence on machines and labour has increased. However, he himself goes to the grain market for selling the produce.

Earlier he grew jawar, bajra and wheat and after Green Revolution he shifted his new crop selection and adopted maize and sugarcane. Initially he purchased a tube well and installed in old well (*khui wala bore karvaya*) for four acres of land in 1992 because he felt the importance of abundant water in improvement of production. This was his ‘independent’ and individual first pump. Other near by farmers also wanted that he should also involve them in it. *sahnu vi rala leh.* But he installed it individually as he had enough money.

Later in 1996, he purchased 10 acres of land more adjoining the previous 4 acres. This piece of land was relatively cheap as there was no facility for individual irrigation like a tube-well. The registration of this land was in the name of two brothers Gurnam Singh, Gurdial Singh and their cousin (*chacha’s son*) Mahinder Singh who resides in England. He managed irrigation of this land from his own pump in the adjoining field. Thus one tubewell now irrigates 14 acres of land. His landholding stood at 19 acres and a pump: 14 acres of land with one pump and rest of the inherited 5 acres shared with others.

It is the agricultural pattern that partnership in a well is transferred hereditarily. If any new member wants to enter in partnership then he needs the consent of all partners and have to pay as decided by the partners. He may even be asked to bear the present day cost price of the pump according to the allotted portion.

Gurnam Singh got the hereditary share in pump. As there were many partners, so each partner could not receive sufficient amount of water for irrigation. Due to this the
production of the crop suffered. Prerequisite quantity of water could not be met so he could not grow the crops of his own choice. Gurnam Singh in 2004 took out his share from the ancestral partnership and installed second individual submersible pump which cost him another Rs 2 lakhs. Thus he bought his individual pump for inherited land. He withdrew himself from the shared well.

Now he got two pumps of 7 horse power each. One was on ancestral land and other on 14 acres of land. Gradually, with improved technology and with mechanization he moved towards crop diversification and cash crops thus reaping more profit.

It resulted in reducing the number of partners and simultaneously increased their burden of repair and maintenance. Thus it became a big reason for the conflict. Other partners also wanted share in the new advanced technology pump and they were not happy with withdrawing of his share from the well.

Operating individual pump without anybody’s interference was an extra convenience to him. However, old partners did not have any relations with him. According to Gurnam Singh the main reason behind his prosperity was the changed water technology that he installed individually.

In 2004 he upgraded his pump. So now Gurnam Singh has independent source of irrigation. The neighboring motor pumps pull less water because his bore is still 250feet deep. It is a high power pump while the neighboring motors are not that powerful. Due to this his relations with the neighbours got constrained, largely on account of the new technology. He is no more liked by his neighbours as his pump affects their irrigation and also because he enjoys a better crop production. Moreover, he also grows many crops in his field because he does not have water scarcity.
The profit from agriculture has increased with regular supply of abundance of water. Dependence on others for help in agriculture has further decreased with increase in income from agriculture. He also visits England frequently and plans to send his son there. His improved status can definitely be attributed to abundance of water due to which he could select crops of his own choice. He could also now grow cash crops which further increased his profitability. The family thus has progressed economically on account of good returns from agriculture, the credit for which goes to improved technology.

Free electricity for agriculture has proved boon because he can run his pump for a continuous period. However, he told the researcher that erratic electricity is a big headache “raat raat nu uth ke motor chalan jana penda’si” (they have to get up during the night for switching on the pump). Waking at night to switch on the button is a big burden for him.

Nevertheless, submersible pumps have reduced the time devoted to irrigation. For instance, irrigating one acre of land now takes 6-7 hours, and the farmer has just to switch on the button and which does not require any physical effort. On the other hand, traditional irrigation systems like with Persian wheels took several hours to irrigate their one acre and it needed regular supervision and physical labour involving many people.

He has all the necessary modern agricultural implements which have made agriculture an easy job for him. He also has two motorcycles, one old and another new one. He mechanized his agriculture and bought tractor, tiller, and fodder cutter. He purchased tractor in 1992, which he sold in 1998 and purchased a new one in 2005. He provides his tractor on rent and charges Rs. 400-500 per plowing.
Gradually other farmers have started coming to him for hiring his implements. He gives his implements only to those who share good relations with him and ignores his older partners. Due to contractual relations he hires out implements and tractor and in return takes money from them. The system of ‘lihaji bhaichara’ no more exists.

**Women’s participation**

Jaimal Singh’s wife was a simple and illiterate woman. She looked after the domestic chores. During the peak season she worked in the fields as well. She dexterously managed the entire domestic work alone. Entire family was happy. Due to poor economic condition of the family, vegetables and pulses were grown in their farm. Clothes were stitched at home. Since the medical facilities were negligible in the village, diseases were cured with home made medicines. When her sons got married she assumed the role of a supervisor. The domestic chores were divided between the daughters in law.

She was good at managing the cordial relations between her daughters in law. Both darani and jethani had cordial relations. Both obeyed and respected their in laws. They amicably looked after the house after the demise of their mother in law.

When her brother-in-law (deor) migrated abroad she (jethani) supported her darani (younger brother in law’s wife) in every way. The land and house were looked after by Bhagat Singh (her husband). When every body- Sadhu Singh and his family, Bhagat Singh’s younger son- migrated abroad then only her elder son (Gurnam Singh) was left here.

She and her daughter in law looking after the house hold here. They maintained cordial relations with all the members of the family and looked after them when they
were here. She was an intelligent and a knowledgeable woman. Soon after marriage she did not mind doing physical work in the field. She learnt weaving and stitching from her mother in law.

After the death of mother-in-law she played an active role in keeping the whole family together. She is proud of her family settled abroad who also help them financially. She also has some domestic help.

Gurnam Singh’s wife asserted, “I am highly satisfied with own pump. Now we are not concerned about the turns in watering the field and about sharing of expenditure in repairing.” With the improved technology her ideology has also changed. Doing manual work in field is no more a respectable job for her but switching the button resulting in ample water has made her family happy and prosperous. New water technology has resulted in reduced work in fields. The work that was earlier managed by her and family members is now done either by machines or by hired labour.

**Analysis**

1. **Landholding:** Gurnam Singh inherited 2.5 acres of land in 1968 and was subsequently entrusted with the task of looking after the 2.5 acres of land of his brother. In 1980 Gurnam Singh invested the remitted money in purchasing four more acres of agricultural land in his and his cousin (Sadhu Singh’s son’s) name Mahinder Singh.

Later in 1996, he purchased 10 acres of land more adjoining the previous 4 acres. The registration of this land was in the name of Gurnam Singh, Gurdial Singh and their cousin (chacha’s son) Mahinder Singh who resides in England. All are brothers. Thus his total land is 7.5 acres.
2. (i) **Water technology:** The inherited land had a ancestral partnership pump. In 1992 he installed a tube well (*khui wala bore karvaya*) in four acres land which was rainfed. It was his ‘independent’ and individually owned pump. Other near by farmers also wanted that he should also involve them in it *sahnu vi rala leh*. But he installed it individually as he had enough money.

In 2004 he took out his share from ancestral pump and installed individual submersible pump which cost him another Rs 2 lakhs in other fragment of land. This was his individual submersible pump. He withdrew himself from the shared well.

Now he got two pumps of 7 Horse Power each. One on ancestral land and other on 14 acres. Gradually, with improved technology and with mechanization he moved towards crop diversification and cash crops thus reaping more profit. In 2004 he upgraded his pump. So now Gurnam Singh has independent source of irrigation. The neighboring motor pumps pull less water because his bore is still 250ft deep. It is with high power motor pump while the neighboring motors are of low horse power.

(ii) **Water (purchasing, sharing, selling):** in the beginning he shared water but now he neither share water nor sell or purchase water. Neighbouring peasants did not like it. They reduced daily interaction with him. He spoiled his relations well as his image among neighbouring peasants.

3. **Crops:** When he had shared water technology he grew wheat, maize and sugarcane on small portion. With submersible he started cultivating wheat and rice.

4. **Agricultural Implements:** Initially he did not possess the implements and used to take it from other peasants. As he progresses he purchased all the necessary modern agricultural implements which have made agriculture an easy job for him. He mechanized his agriculture and bought tractor, tiller, and fodder cutter. He purchased
tractor in 1992, which he sold in 1998 and purchased a new one in 2005. He provides his tractor on rent and charges Rs. 400-500/- per ploughing.

5. Agricultural Labour: with increase in landholding he started hiring a permanent *adharmi* labour on yearly basis and during peak season he also hired temporary *bihari* labours for help in the fields. Payment to labour is made in cash. Nowadays contractual relations are the bases of cultivation.

6. Social Relations

I. Family: He is the head of the family and decision maker. Thus exercise the authority over children and wife. He has cordial relations with family members. Daughter got married and son wants to settle abroad. So relation with son is formal.

II. Extended/joint family: He maintained social relations with his siblings. He looks after his cousin and brother’s land. He visited them regularly.

III. Field neighbours: When he started using his high power pump for irrigation and his neighboring motors are not that powerful. It affecting the water table and low power motors could not extract sufficient water. Due to this his relations with the neighbours got constrained. He is no more liked by his neighbours as his pump affects their irrigation. Due to increased landholding he has changed his social network too. He maintained limited relations with neighbourig peasants. When he took out his share from the ancestral pump his other partners were not happy with withdrawing of his share from the well. The relations also got strained.

IV. Village neighbours: He has good relations with the villagers. He attained high status and position in village milieu.
V. Labour: He maintained contractual relations with his labour. He hires permanent labour and change permanent labour after a year.

7. Women’s role (home/agriculture): Gurnam Singh’s wife was active worker in agriculture but her participation reduced with the improved economic condition and with mechanization. Now she confined to household tasks. Now she has a well furnished house and mode of transportation.
Case No. 5

Background

Swaran Singh of Bhajjal village is the respondent in this case. He gave the detail information and genealogy of his family. His father was Dilip Kumar, a Jat Sikh from Thind gotra. He was an uneducated peasant, living in a kucha house in Gharli patti on the main road passing through the village. He had four acres of agricultural land in the village, his only source of livelihood. His family labour was sufficient to meet the farm needs.

That time hult was the source of irrigation. He had shared hult as a source of irrigation. It was on Sajjan Singh’s land from the same village and also a Jat peasant of Chauhan gotra. Both had good relations so they came together in owning a well on cooperative basis. They irrigated their fields by turns. Dilip Singhand Sajjan Singh treated each other as brothers. Both jointly managed the hult as well as its repair and maintenance.

Dilip Singh had four sons. All the cultivation work was jointly managed. Family labor also contributed to field work during sowing and harvesting season. In 1975 the partners (Dilip Singhand Sajjan) jointly installed an electric pump at the existing well. Sajjan Singh had six and a half acres of land, two and a half acres more than Dilip Kumar. So he was at better place and got the electric connection under his name. It did not effect their relations. Both the shareholders were happy.

As both of them grew old, their sons took over their responsibility and they mainly supervised. Sajjan Singh has two sons and Dilip Singhfour. They settled their sons’ marriages in due course of time. Sajjan Singh’s elder son was not interested in agriculture. He wanted to settle abroad. At that time majority of the youth in the
region were migrating abroad. In 1981 Sajjan Singh sold his two acres to arrange money for sending him abroad.\textsuperscript{2} His partner Dilip Singh willingly purchased one acre only, totaling five acres.\textsuperscript{3}

The remaining one acre was sold to his another neighbour Harbans Singh, a school master in the village. He had good reputation. He also became a partner in the pump. But he had his own pump on his ancestral land and mostly irrigated his newly purchased land with that: “\textit{Jad motor khad jandi si jan paani poora nahin si hunda tan sanjhi motor vichon pani le lenda si.”} He took water, when needed from Sajjan Singh’s pump.\textsuperscript{4}

Sajjan Singh’s son Sukhwinder Singh migrated abroad in 1982 leaving him with another son Savraj. He looked after the remaining 4.5 acres of land. Due to cordial relations with Dilip Kumar’s family, they managed agriculture without hiring labour. Unfortunately Dilip Singh died in 1985. Owning to large family size, Dilip Kumar’s wife found it difficult to manage the land hence she divided the land and house amongst her sons. Each son got his share of land and house.

The brothers thus started living separately in 1987. Each got equal share of 10 kanals of land. They became economically and socially independent to run their households. The mother stayed with the second son Parkash because he was unmarried. She did not discriminate between her sons. After divisions brothers kept their relations cordial.

Sajjan Singh and his son were becoming prosperous with remittances from elder son. They started hiring local labour and mechanized their agriculture, and did not provide any help to their partners. Sajjan Singh and his son Savraj Singh also purchased 6.5 acres of more land with a water pump in the neighbouring village. He wanted to end
his partnership in the already working pump because he wanted an individual pump to
himself for the development of his land. He started creating problems in sharing the
water from the joint pump. Both partners started conflict over the new pump. The
cordial relations turned hostile. The panchayat and other villagers tried to solve the
dispute but the efforts turned useless. The conflict aggravated to such an extant that
the dispute went into the court.

Harbans Singh was old and the absent partner so he did not interfere in the dispute.
He had his own pump in his inherited land. Owning to this dispute he started
irrigating his land with water from his own pump on inherited land. He was
comfortable with his own water technology. He hired permanent labour for his help.
With time he arranged the marriage of his children. In 2000 he migrated abroad after
leased out his land to friend Manjeet Singh.

In 2000 Savraj son of Sajjan Singh married his daughter in America. He was
generating good profit from agriculture and was comfortable in agriculture. He
purchased more land and started cultivating rice, wheat and sunflower.

Presently Harbans Singh and Savraj Singh are living abroad. On the other side Swaran
Singh and his brothers are struggling for water for agriculture and for their
subsistence.

\[ \text{Dilip Kumar} \quad \text{Sajjan Singh} \]
\[ \text{Sariya} \quad \text{Parkash} \quad \text{Swaran} \quad \text{Bakshish} \quad \text{Sukhwinder} \quad \text{Savraj} \]

\textbf{Agriculture}

Sajjan Singh and Dilip Singh were happily managing their agriculture in 1970. They
had a Persian wheel (\textit{hult}). They grew wheat, maize, sugarcane, sunflower and fodder.
They had a cart and pair of bulls for agricultural work. They were helpful to one
Jointly managed agricultural work made their life easy. They sat together in free time and exchange their words.

They exchanged their implements and services. Time for using the *hult* was in proportion to the size of their land. With depletion of water table they upgraded irrigation in 1975 by installing an electric pump.

After Dilip Kumar’s death in 1987 his sons got separated and started independent cultivation. Each got land and share in water pump for irrigation. Though they got separated but remained together in managing agricultural work. Amongst themselves and with their partner they retained cordial relations till Sajjan Singh, the senior partner and his son Savraj Singh to share the installation of a new pump. Sajjan Singh point blankly denied their share in the pump and said: “He was giving water to their father (Dilip Kumar) only out of concern for old relations (*lihaj*). The old pump was his individual pump. We shall have the new pump when needed.”

Dilip Kumar’s sons had big dispute over it with Sajjan and Savraj. The dispute continued and they had regular arguments while using the old pump. For them it was a big jolt and trouble in irrigation.

Getting a new pump and connection is very difficult. The government was no more providing new connections. Despite dispute the brothers continued using the pump till it was functional. Dilip Singhand Savraj always frowned.

Finally, brothers filed a suit in the civil court contesting their share in the old pump. In 1992 the pump stopped extracting water. Due to the court case none of the partners was able to install a new pump. Sajjan Singh tried to influence the PSEB officials to transfer his existing connection from the joint pump to a new one in his field. Brothers
got to know his step and stopped the transferring of connection. Other villagers and the panchayat also interfered in install the connection.

In the local court, brothers won the case. Then Sajjan Singh filed an appeal in the Sessions court. He died in 1995. His son Savraj Singh kept contesting the case as he was getting remittances from his eldest son for the said purpose. The case is still continuing in the court. None of the parties have a functional pump. Savraj Singh’s daughter sponsored his immigration. So he leased out his land to Ajeet Singh and gave power of attorney (mukhtiar nama) to one of his kin to contest the case.

To overcome the water problem for irrigation, the eldest brother of respondent Sarea Singh started purchasing water from a distant pump through plastic pipes which was an extra burden on him. He is cultivating wheat, maize and fodder. Dairy farming is his extra source of income. He has one son and a daughter. His son helped him in agricultural work. He is matriculate and in 2005 he illegally migrated abroad in search of better future.

Now Sarea Singh is alone to look after his land. Neither he has permanent source of water for irrigation nor family labour for cultivation. He is cultivating land for self consumption. After settlement of his son abroad he started sending money (remittances) to father for household expenditure. It has become the main source of his livelihood. He is purchasing inputs and other household things from remittances.

The younger brother of Sarea is still unmarried. Due to pump problem he could not sustain his agriculture so he has leased-out his land to neighboring pump owner at reasonable rates. He is getting theka (rent) from his land for his livelihood. After his death the land would be transferred to other brothers.
The respondent Swaran Singh also faced big problem after the dispute over pump. He wanted to sustain his agriculture and wanted to live on agriculture but land without water is of no use. With the depleting water table no peasant has surplus water. He pleaded the neighbouring farmer Tarshaim Singh for water and he agreed to help him by giving one or two waterings only, as he cultivates rice so does not have spare water. Since there was no regularity in the supply of water, the bothered Swaran Singh made an offer to Tershaim Singh in 2008 to lease in his land. He is now getting Rs 6000/- only for his 10 kanals of land.

He has two sons. Land was leased out so his eldest son started working as a peon in government office. Younger son remains free. Father is worried about his future. Income of elder son and rent of the land is their source of income. Due to poor economic condition his eldest son does not get suitable match.

Youngest brother of respondent is Bakhsish Singh. He purchases water from a distant pump through plastic pipe. He cultivates fodder and maize. He mentions that he does not gain much from this occupation. He is cultivating his land so that he could get grain for self consumption. He is hopeful that the dispute would be resolved soon and they would be able to install the new pump. He has three sons. His eldest son is in police and posted in Nabha district. Second son went abroad in search of better future. Yet he is not settled abroad and is illegal migrant. Youngest is working in bank. None of them wants to be in agriculture. Father is left alone in agriculture.

All the brothers are contributing equally in court case. Respondent mentioned that they spend huge amount in court case and are hopeful that they would get the connection.
**Women’s participation**

Dilip Kumar’s wife and Sajjan Singh’s wife had good relations with one another. During sowing season women also worked in the fields. They looked after the household chores and brought food to the field and took cares of cattle and oxen. Providing them fodder and cleaning them is their responsibility.

After the marriage of Dilip Singhand Sajjan Singh’s sons their wives were not allowed to help them in agriculture. They looked after the house hold work. After harvesting they collected the food grains for self consumption. They remained in house and busied themselves in embroidery work. Gossiping with one another was the part of their daily life.

They washed clothes and brought water for domestic use from the village pond and gossiped with the other women. After Dilip Kumar’s death his wife divided the house and property among his sons. Intra-dependence made their life easy and women were also happy. The mother was living with the second son.

With division of land women started actively working in the fields to save the expenditure on labour. After dispute over pump, women boycott Sajjan Singh’s family. They started providing their services in the fields. Without water source women are not happy. They blamed Sajjan Singh and his son for their poor economic condition.

Sawarn Singh’s wife maintained cordial relations with her derani and jethani. To save the expenditure in agriculture she actively worked in family field. Due to water problem her husband leased-out entire land and this made her unhappy. Land determines the status and power in village setup. She is worried that now she could not get suitable match for her elder son. She does stiching work at home for running
the house. She blamed Sajjan Singh’s family for all their misfortune. She has no necessary amenities in house and use chulha for cooking. He managed milch cattle and household chores.

Analysis

1. Landholding: Swaran Singh inherited 10 kanals land in 1987 and after that he neither purchased any land nor sold. Due to conflict over pump he leased out his land in 2008.

2. (i) Water technology: He inherited the ancestral share with joint tube well. Dispute took place when old pump needed to replaced with new one. Partner in the pump cheated him and installed new one independently with remittances. He left without pump for irrigation.

   (ii) Water (purchasing, sharing, selling): He used to irrigate his fields with the shared pump. By turns each partners got water from the pump. After dispute he approached his neighbouring peasant for water. Though he started buying water on hourly basis but was not getting sufficient water. So he leased out his land to him on yearly basis.

3. Crops: Since he inherited the land he was cultivated wheat, maize and rice on small portion only. With the depletion of water table the pump harnessed less water so he shifted his crop selection and started cultivating fodder, wheat and maize. After dispute over pump he leased out his land.

4. Agricultural Implements: he got the plouyer and tiller from his father. Other important implements were hired from neighbouring peasants in lihaj. With time he started hiring it from big peasant on cash payment.
5. **Agricultural Labour**: Earlier the neighbouring peasants provided their services to one others in the fields and during peak season Swaran Singh involved his siblings and local labour on wages. His brothers’ services were enough in the fields so he did not hire permanent labour. Now he is landless because he leased out his land.

6. **Social Relations**

   I. **Family**: Swaran Singh is lives with his youngest son. His elder son is in police and posted in Nabha. Second is in abroad and youngest is working in Bank. All are unmarried. None of them wants to be in agriculture.

   II. **Extended/joint family**: He maintained cordial relations his siblings and kin group. He regularly visited them. He and his other brothers came together in filing the court case against the partner Sajjan Singh who cheated them.

   III. **Field neighbours**: His brothers and shareholder in joint pump was his neighbours. They treated each other as brother. With dispute over pump the brothers remained in cordial relations but they ended the relations with the partner Sajjan Singh. Later his one of the brother leased out his land to other peasant because he did not find land without water a profitable occupation. Thus tenants became his neighbours. Now he maintains formal relations with tenant. In 2008 he also leased out his land to his neighbour Tershaim.

   IV. **Village neighbours**: Swaran Singh has cordial relation and good will in the village. He is in harmony with village neighbours.

   V. **Labour**: He managed the cordial relations with the local labourer. Beside agricultural work labourer managed other social works on special occasions. But with time he started engaging migrant labourer on wages.
So maintain formal relations with them. Now he leased out his land so without any labour.

7. **Women’s role (home/agriculture):** Swaran Singh’s wife is social and very hardworking woman. She maintained the relation in villager and with relatives.

**NOTES**

1. Sajjan Singh was his adjoining neighbour. Through channels they irrigated their fields. Mutually they decided the local of well where it had to install.
2. Selling or mortgaging the land was the old trend found among peasants of this village for arranging money.
3. He wanted to buy entire land but due to cost constrain he purchased one acre only. Sajjan Singh wanted money for sending his son abroad. So he found another buyer and sold him his remaining one acre. Buyer Habans Singh paid low cost because he did not purchased the share in the pump for irrigation. He had his own ancestral land adjoining to newly purchased one acre. So he irrigated this one acre from his own pump.
4. Earlier the relations were cordial. When ever Harbans Singh demanded water from shared pump, he got water without objection. It further strengthened their relations.
Case No. 6

**Background**

This is the case of Didar Singh of Bhajjal village. He is a jat Sikh from Dhillow gotra. He lives in Gharli patti with his family. Didar Singh mentioned that he and his two brothers jointly inherited two acres of ancestral land from their father Mangat Singh in 1960s. Didar Singh is the eldest among all the brothers. Entire family worked in the family fields. Early morning they went to family fields for work and come back home for breakfast. It was the duty of other two brothers to work in the field till afternoon. They visit their fields by foot. Till 1970s all the brothers got married. All were living happily in joint family.

After the death of their father, Didar Singh got entire responsibilities of managing agriculture and house hold. All brothers remained together under one roof and Didar Singh became the decision maker. Mother died in 1978. With time family size increased and expenditure too. Marginal piece of land was not providing them much.

In 1980 all brothers took a step for improving their monetary position. They sold their two acres of ancestral land and purchased five acres of semi-fertile agricultural land at a reasonable rate in another place of the village. This piece of land was without any source of irrigation. They sold three kanals out of the five acres to clear their old debts. Thus they were left with four acres and five kanals.

Later it was divided among them. Each one got 1.5 acres. With their increased landholding they wanted to install an electric pump for irrigation so that they could grew cash crops. But they were not able to decide on which portion to install the pump. They had dispute over the issue: “Meri zamin te pump lagge te duja kehnda
meri te, one wanted the pump on his land and other on his”. As a result they were left without pump. Their mutual relations were also adversely affected.

Wife of youngest brother (Kabal Singh) was not happy with the piece of land. She wanted to have pump on their piece of land. It became a reason of conflict among women. At last Kabal Singh sold his share of house as well as of land. He left the ancestral village and settled in his in-law’s village. He terminated all his relations with other brothers. Second brother (Balbir Singh) remained with Didar Singh in the ancestral house. Both jointly managed their agriculture with rain water.

Individual installation of pump for 1.5 acres was not a viable investment. Both the brothers approached the neighbouring big farmer for water and got it on cash payment. They maintained cordial relations with neighbours so that they could get water for irrigation.

In 2005 Didar Singh became the head of Gram Seva Committee. This is a separate body from the elected panchayat. Those big peasants who were not satisfied with the decisions of the panchayat established a separate committee called “Gram Seva Committee”. Later they got it registered. Didar Singh being an intelligent peasant wanted to have a higher status, rutba hove aapna, has a status of our own. So he also became their member.

His accommodating nature and sharp mind helped him in attaining the position of head in the committee. He improved the village infrastructure and also his own way of life. He renovated his house and made a separate haveli outside the house for cattle. He obtained peoples’ faith and fame in the village.

He has three sons and all are educated. He did not involve them in agriculture. He married his eldest son Sevak Singh in 2000. His wife is from New Zealand. After
marriage his wife took him there. After his settlement there he started sending money to his parents. Remittances improved the financial condition of the family. He sends money twice a year.

As a result Didar Singh’s economic condition improved. He got all the luxuries in his house. He could not go for the installation of a pump because of small landholding. He even did not want to purchase more land because he wanted his sons to settle abroad.

He spent money in the migration of his youngest son Ranjeet Singh to abroad. He too migrated with his wife on study visa in 2009. Didar Singh is left with one son. He does not have much interest in agriculture. He is more active in village politics. In 2009 he became a panch in the local panchayat.

Kirpa Singh
  ↓
Mangat Singh          Jagat Singh
  ↓          ↓
Didar Singh     Balbir Singh     Kabal Singh

**Agriculture**

Didar Singh and his other two brothers inherited two acres of land. They also got their share in the joint *hult*. There were four more partners in the *hult*. All were from the same village and religion. They could not cope up with their partners. The traditional ties were not maintained by them. With small landholding and shared *hult* they were not satisfied.

They regularly fought with other partners for more time in irrigating land. Partners also got irritated with their behavior. Finally brothers sold their land and invested money in purchasing more land at some other place. Brothers did not come together for installation of a pump. To cope up with the situation Didar Singh approached
water market and started purchasing water for irrigation at the rate of Rs. 10/- per hour. In 1990 his younger brother Balbir Singh got a job in Phagwara city. He leased out his land to him. Leasing terms were fixed beforehand. Thus Didar Singh got 1.5 acres more on lease from his youngest brother which was also without permanent source of water.

He cultivated rice for 4-5 years but due to lack of permanent water supply he could not continue rice cultivation. He shifted to less water intensive crops like sugarcane, wheat, fodder, sunflower and maize.

Didar Singh was dependent on market for hiring trolley, thresher etc. Still he is at the same position. He hired all the implements from the friend in next village. He said “hun tan koi lihaj te vi nahin denda, Now no body led in consideration of relations.”

Now nobody lends implements free. He hires migrant labor for work. The agricultural field is far from his house so he goes by cycle.

He grows wheat, maize, sugarcane and sunflower. Due to water shortage and absence of own individual pump he depends on seller. He said that he could not grow rice so his agriculture is non-profitable and dependence on seller is his drawback.

Purchasing water through the open channels required regular supervision. Some time his neighbouring farmer breaks the water channel which created conflict. The water problem became acute in kharif season when water table declined and the supply of water decreased. So Didar Singh’s seller refused to sell him water. In such situation he pleaded to some other peasant for water. The delivery cost was extra burden on him. The water scarcity badly hit him.

His situation changed when one of the peasants named Naresh Singh installed submersible pump with remittances. He is his neighbour. So Didar Singh started
purchasing water from his pump. In 2006 Didar Singh purchased 4.5 kanals of land with share in pump. But unfortunately he did not able to use the pump because it was under conflict mentioned in case no-7. He started purchasing water on hourly basis. He wanted to progress financially so he started leasing in more land for agriculture. He leased in land of his taya (uncle Mangta Singh) mentioned in case no- 5. Now he grows maize and wheat by purchasing water on hourly basis. Due to his political position he is getting water and able to lease-in the land of his uncle Mangta Singh.

Didar Singh’s land is without any permanent source of water. He is managing his agriculture with the help of his second son and migrant labor. His agricultural field is far from his house so he goes by cycle. He does not own tractor. He hired all the implements from the market. He said “hun tah koi lihaj te vi nhi dehnda”. Now nobody lend him the implement free of cost.

**Women’s Participation**

Wife of Didar Singh is Mahinder kaur. She mentioned that earlier women worked very hard. Water for domestic purposes was brought from the village’s common pond. Her mother in law (Mangat Singh’s wife) had the responsbility of pouring water from village pond for domestic use. Washing and cleaning of house was jointly done by the female members. Daughters were not allowed to go outside.

During sowing season, women in the family also provided their services. Male members did the physical work like drafting the bulls for plowing etc and weeding and caring of land. te us toh baad aurtan da koi kaam nhi hunda si after that their was no work for the women.

She mentioned that they woke up early in the morning and cleaned the house, cook the food on traditional Chula. After finishing the house hold works both go out in the
fields for cutting the fodder for cattle and collecting the fuel for *chula*. Fodder and cleaning the area of cattle were their duty.

She said that women used to do very hard work. After separation she managed the agricultural work with her husband. She supervised the seasonal labour and managed household works too. It was observed during research that she is empowered in the sense that she takes decision of the house independently. She told that after her marriages he worked in the field with Didar Singh because they were poor thus cannot hire the permanent labour. Entire work in agriculture was managed manually.

She also pointed that she is happy with the migration of the elder son. She said “*aaj kal keth vich rakhe ki hai*, nowadays what is left in agriculture”. According to her agriculture is not profitable and migration to other countries is profitable and by this the status of the family also improved in village social milieu. She also plans to visit her son abroad. She believes that agriculture is not a profitable occupation and for progress, one has to shift his occupation.

Mahindar Kaur did not have any relations with her *derani* (husband’s youngest brother’s wife). She mentioned that “*pehla bohat pyar hunda si*, earlier relations were very affectionate”. Earlier we were in good relations. Mahinder Kaur and her *deranis* jointly worked in the fields. All the manual work was jointly done. After the work they sat together and chat. House hold was divided and even had conflict. But after the dispute kabal Singh with his family got separated and ended all the relations.

After separation she and Balbir’s wife remained together and maintained the relations. In 1990 Balbir got the job in phugwara so he took his wife along and left children with the Didar Singh.
Now Mahinder Kaur is happy that her daughter-in-law is with her to help her. Her elder son and youngest son are settled in abroad with their family. Only Gurnek (second son) is with parents with his wife. When researcher asked questions to her daughter-in-law then Mahinder Kaur did not allow her to answer. She was not allowed to sit with outsiders, researcher because of the culture in the village. Daughter-in-law is matriculate and manages the house hold work only. She does not like agricultural work and mentioned that she is not skilled in agricultural work. She brought huge dowry with her. Her in laws are very happy with the gifts. She wants to migrate abroad with her husband. She feels that abroad has more life supporting chances, has good life style and comfortable life. She does not like agricultural work.

Village setup did not allow daughter-in-law to be friendly with the any outsider and with the elder members of the family. Even elders did not like that daughter in law speaks before them so Mother-in law told her to prepare tea for researcher and in always sent her away from researcher.

She is confined to the house hold work. She even does not know the size and location of land holding of her in-law’s. Even now Mahinder Kaur does not provide help in the agricultural work. She only collected the grains for house consumption and look after the cattles. She has all the necessary luxury items.

Collecting fodder and agricultural work is the responsibility of the male members. Women in the family wear traditional cloths and god fearing. Regularly visit Gurudwara.

**Analysis**

1. **Landholding:** Didar Singh and his brothers inherited two acres but they sold it and purchased four acres and five kanals at other place in 1988. After division Didar
Singh got 12 kanal. Since 1990 he leased in his younger brother’s land that is 1.5 acres. In 2006 he purchased more 4.5 kanals of land and also leased in 1.5 acres of his uncle’s land. Now his land is around 2 acres and rest 1.5 is lease in.

2. (i) **Water technology:** He inherited share in the tube-well but he sold his land and purchased new land without pump. He wanted to install pump but brothers had conflict over installation of pump thus left without pump. He purchased more land with the disputed pump thus without water technology and started buying water from neighbouring pump owner. One neighbouring pumpless peasant installed a submercible so now Didar is easily getting water.

   (ii) **Water (purchasing, sharing, selling):** He started buying water for his 1.5 acres at the rate of Rs 10/- from the tube-well of his neighbour. The rate increased to Rs 15/- in 1992 and now he pays Rs 20/- for an hour. He too buys water for leased in land and used rain water for irrigation.

3. **Crops:** He has cultivated wheat, fodder and maize only since he got 1.5 acres. In the new purchased 4.5 kanals of land he cultivated vegetables, wheat and maize and on 1.5 kanals he grew sugarcane only. In leased in land he grows vegetables and sugarcane only.

4. **Agricultural Implements:** he inherited cart and oxen and the basic implements from his father and used to hire other implements like tractor trolley and thresher from big peasants on cash payment. But now he started hiring it from his friend in next village on cash payment.

5. **Agricultural Labour:** During peak season he involved his brother and family labour too for work. Now he has permanent labour and engaged seasonal labour
during peak season only. He changed his permanent labour after year. When he got position in the Gram Seva committee his siblings started coming for help in season.

6. Social Relations

I. Family: He lives in joint family. He has three sons and eldest and youngest are in abroad with family. Second son and his family is in India with Didar Singh.

II. Extended/joint family: He maintained cordial relations with his relatives. His youngest brother is not terms with him because he had conflict with him over the pump.

III. Field neighbours: He maintained cordial relations with the neighbours at field. In 4.5 kanals of land his neighbour Sansar Singh who was also his partner in shared pump cheat partners for the independent pump. After such incidence Didar Singh and other partners filed case against him and ended all the terms with him. Other partners are in good relations with Didar Singh.

IV. Village neighbours: He became the head of the committee and got power. He and his committee oppose the working of elected panchayat so villagers maintain limited relations with him.

V. Labour: He hires one permanent *bihari* labour and maintain only formal relations with him. Labourer eats food at owner’s house but has no bonding with owner.

7. Women’s role (home/agriculture): Didar Singh’s wife is social and active in household and agricultural work. She managed milch cattle and oxen. She actively works in fields.
NOTES

1. Earlier Naresh Singh was also without water pump and getting water in lihaj from other peasants. With remittances he installed a submercible pump. After it he started selling water to needy farmers and not interested in providing water in lihaj.
Case No. 7

Background

This is the case of Iqbal Singh, a jat Sikh from Badhan gotra. He lives with his two brothers in Gharli patti in small semi-pucca house. This case covers the three generation. Information about the traditional water technology and its transfer to next generation is provided by the respondent Iqbal Singh.

Iqbal Singh and his other two brothers jointly inherited 5.5 kanals of ancestral land from their father Niranjan Singh. Iqbal Singh is the eldest among all the brothers and is the head of the family. He holds all the responsibilities and authority of land and family.

Agriculture is their main source of livelihood. Of all the brothers only second one, Jujhar Singh is married. Iqbal Singh mentioned: “Due to their poor economic condition he and his youngest brother did not get suitable match and remained bachelor. Now they do not want to marry just to avoid further fragmentation of land.”

All three brothers are happy together. They manage their agricultural work jointly. They have simple living. While second brother’s wife managed the household works, male members work in the fields. All have cordial relations among themselves and with the villagers too.

Earlier their land was irrigated with a shared (hult) Persian wheel with other partners from the village. This partnership continued in owning a shared electric pump. Initially the partners were Iqbal Singh grandfather Waryam Singh and his younger brother Luxman Singh and their two neighbours Sansar Singh and Mangta Singh were the partners in shared Persian wheel. Both were jat Sikh, lived in same village.
Waryam Singh, had three sons- Niranjan Singh, Surjeet Singh and Baldev Singh. After father’s death, each son inherited 5.5 kanals of land. Father’s share in well were transferred to his sons and they became the shareholder in water technology.

Waryam Singh younger brother Luxman Singh was also share holder in well and died in 1968. His two sons - Bhag Singh and Bakhtawar Singh, became the partners in the ancestral pump. Then they sold their ancestral (2 acres) of land to Sansar Singh in 1983.

The third shareholder Sansar Singh had seven acres and after purchasing two acres his total land became nine acres. He had three sons and they became the partners in ancestral pump after his death.

The fourth shareholder Mangta Singh has three daughters and no son. Mamle te zamin dida si he rented out his land to Sansar Singh (third shareholder). In 1980 he died. After his death, his daughters continued the same practice with Sansar Singh’s sons. This is the practice that rights passed on to their inheritors. Thus old generation of partners replaced by new generation and continued the partnership.

Waryam Singh was a very hard working. He had a joint family. His wife, parents, brothers and three sons were in the family. Work was divided among family members. Elder member of the family was the decision maker and young ones worked in the fields. Female member looked after the household chores.

They goes to their fields early morning and come back late in the evening. Female members carry meals to the fields for them. Entire work was manually operated and they goes to fields on foot. After some time Waryam Singh and his younger brother
Luxman Singh got separated but relations remained cordial. Luxman Singh’s sons sold the ancestral land and left the village in 1983.

Waryam Singh’s land was transferred to his three sons after his death. Eldest son Niranjan Singh became the decision maker. He and his other brothers jointly cultivated the land. They had simple way of living. Brothers had cordial relations with one another. With increased family size mother divided the ancestral property among them. With recurrent division the land size decreased. Each got 5.5 kanal of land after separated. They maintained cordial relations with one another. Ancestral house and haveli was also equally divided, each got equal share. Pair of bulls, implements and other enmities was divided. After division mother started living with eldest son Niranjan Singh. He used to guide other two brothers and was helpful to them. Niranjan Singh maintained relations with his cousins Bhag Singh and Bhagtavar Singh.

The problem took place when Sansar Singh’s sons installed independent pump without the consent of other partners.
Agriculture

Traditionally, well with Persian wheel was source for irrigating and it was on Mangta Singh’s land. They shared it on cooperative basis. Partners were in good relations and treated each other like brothers. Water was taken through open channels called *khal*.

In the early 1970s the village got electricity. It brought a new technology of tube well irrigation. All the partners adopted the new technology each one contributing in proportion to his land.

They grew fodder, wheat, sugarcane, and maize. Entire agricultural work was done manually. They waited for their turn of irrigation. They had a pair of oxen each for cultivating, irrigating and also for transportation. Partners helped each other. All the disputes concerning water distribution were solved amicably amongst themselves. At the time of sowing and harvesting all the partners helped one another.

Niranjan Singh and his younger two brothers were looking after their share of land and turn in irrigation. They retained cooperation in the use of *hult*. Their relations too were cordial. They also grew maize, bajra, sugarcane and wheat. Partnership in well was transferred in electric pump. Partners contributed money in proportion to land size and installed an electric pump in their well cooperatively in 1973. Hence they started rice cultivation and marketing of the surplus produce. They also hired local labour during the peak season. Their production and income increased manifold. With profit they purchased more land at another place in the village. It was irrigated with the diesel engine. It was inherited by their next generation. Each got marginal land holding and due to poor economic condition they did not install pump on it for irrigation and involved in water market for irrigation water.
Later Iqbal Singh and his cousins (one son of Surjeet Singh and two sons of Baldev Singh) sustained the relations with their partners that were Sansar Singh and his sons, till the electric tube-well pump was functional.

To cope up with depleting water table and cultivate rice crop. As the groundwater depleted Iqbal Singh and his cousins wanted to upgrade the pump by installing a new submersible pump in 2003. Sansar Singh sons (Iqbal Singh’s neighbours and partners) did not want to have a share in the new pump. Since the earlier connection was in the name of Sansar Singh, others could not proceed to new pump independently. Due to this problem Baldev Singh’s sons sold their 4.5 kanals (out of 5.5 kanals) to Didar Singh in 2006. From this cash they purchased land in other village. They were left with one kanal and started cultivating sugarcane on it.

Didar Singh became the new partner in water technology and became field neighbour too. The problem took place when the pump dried up. Sansar Singh’s sons took the advantage of the situation and installed their own individual submersible pump on their land in March 2005. Old pump was installed in the Mangta Singh’s field which was leased-in by them. Thus it was easy for them to do any change in pump without any problem. They bribed the officials to get his old connection transferred in new pump.

They possessed big land holding and was financially strong to go for individual submersible pump. They cheated their other partners. When other partners got to know about their step they had big dispute over it. But it was of no use as they got the transfer of connection and started using new pump individually.
Other partners were left without any source of water. They were not financially strong to go for independent submersible and more over it was difficult for them to get new connection.

Without water respondent Iqbal Singh’s land was suffering. So he and his brothers started purchasing water from the neighbouring peasants on hourly bases. For generating more income they started leasing in the land of other peasants.

Didar Singh the new partner who purchased the land of Baldev Singh took a smart step. Mangta Singh, the old partner in the shared pump is the uncle (taya) of Didar Singh. The latter rejuvenated relations with Mangta Singh’s daughters and in 2006 he leased-in their land and started cultivating their land with purchased water.  

Didar Singh wanted to increase his landholding and wanted that old partners would get the connection back so that they would install a pump.

Didar Singh was at disadvantage as he could not use the pump. The land was no more profitable to him. He wanted to file a case for getting the connection back. He acted very smartly for the said purpose. He had good relations with Iqbal Singh. So he took him into confidence for filing the case against Sansar Singh’s sons for getting connection back at old place.

Didar Singh and Iqbal Singh influenced other two partners Surjeet Singh and Baldev Singh for filing the case against Sansar Singh. His idea was to get the connection back so that the remaining partners could install a joint submersible there.

The problem took a new turn in 2008 when the partners (Didar Singh, Sansar Singh’s elder son and respondent’s younger brother) stood in village panchayat elections. The case became more interesting when all were elected as Panch.
Didar Singh wanted Iqbal Singh’s younger brother to vote for him so that he would get the majority and elected as Sarpanch. On the other side Gurmail Singh (son of Sansar Singh) was also seeking vote of Iqbal Singh’s brother for elected as sarpanch. For this purposes he entices respondent’s brother that he would provide him free water for irrigation if he cast his vote in his favour.\(^9\)

In the election of sarpanch, water played an important role. No one was ready to compromise. None of them got the majority and village remained without sarpanch for three months. Later they gave the seat of sarpanch to the old sarpanch. Now Iqbal Singh is buying water for irrigation and contesting case for connection. He cultivates less water intensive crops like wheat and maize.

**Women’s Participation**

Earlier women know all the skills of cultivation and contributed equally in agriculture. Beside house hold works they looked after the children and cattle. They helped in sowing and threshing too.

They cooked the food in traditional *chulha*. They grew vegetables, food grains and fodder for cattle in their small portion of fields for self consumption. After harvesting they kept the grains for consumption.

Water was brought from the village pond which was the meeting point of women in the village. Gossiping and exchange of knowledge was done there to enhance the sense of belonging. It was their one of the recreation activity.

Traditionally they were confined to work all the time. Every thing was available in the village and food was grown in the field so they never visited urban area. On some special occasion they visit their relatives and stay for some days. Thus most of the
time was spent in work and nourishing the children. New clothes and eating non-veg was occasionally done.

The social condition improved with the introduction of Green Revolution. The culture of the agriculture got changed. They mechanized their cultivation. Women became the supervisor in agriculture. With the hired labours their participation decreased.

After the conflict, women was worst affected because of water shortage they were not able to cultivate rice. Women became active worker in fields to save the expenditure on agriculture. Respondent in this case mentioned that he did not get suitable match for his marriage and remained unmarried. For this he blames his poor condition.

**Analysis**

1. **Landholding**: Iqbal Singh inherited 5.5 kanals of land in one fragment and six kanals at other fragment in 1988. He does not purchase any more land and does not sold any land. From 2006 onwards he started leasing in more land for raising the income.

2. (i) **Water technology**: He inherited the ancestral share in the joint tube well but one of the partner cheated other partners and installed independent and individual pump. He transferred the connection of shared pump to his independent pump. He did not take the consent for independent pump nor did he inform the partners about the transferring of connection. Other partners had big dispute over the new pump but Iqbal and other partners left without pump. They approached the water market.

   (ii) **Water (purchasing, sharing, selling)**: he used to irrigate his fields with the shared pump. By turns each partners got water from the pump. After dispute he approached his neighbouring peasant for water. He got water on hourly basis. Since then he is dependent on water market. He is not getting water on time.
During village election water from the pump played a big role. Pump owner tried to entices other for getting the vote.

3. **Crops**: Since he had share tube-well then he grew wheat, sugarcane and maize. Now he is without pump so cultivates less water intensive crops like maize, wheat.

4. **Agricultural Implements**: He inherited his father’s implements like plouyer, tiller but later with mechanization he started using tractor and thresher on rent it from his neighbouring Sansar Singh in the pump on cash payment. After dispute relations with Sansar Singh got adverse affect. Since then he started hiring tractor and thresher from some other big peasant of the village on cash payment.

5. **Agricultural Labour**: In the beginning he involved his neighbouring partners along with own family members (two brothers). Subsequently relations got hostile with partner over pump and their cohesiveness got affected. He could not hire permanent labour due to marginal land holding so hires seasonal only.

6. **Social Relations**

   I. Family: Iqbal Singh is living with his other two brothers. They have joint family and happily living in ancestral house.

   II. Extended/joint family: He is not in good terms with his kin group. His economic is the reason behind it.

   III. Field neighbours: Iqbal Singh’s neighbours were his share holders in the pump. He enjoyed cordial relations with them. With interdependence he managed his agricultural work. They exchanged their services too. After dispute over pump one of his neighbours leased-out his land to Didar Singh. Iqbal Singh’s cousin also sold their 4.5 kanals of land to Didar Singh.
Singh. Sansar Singh was the one who cheated all the partners so Iqbal ended all the relations with him and his family.

IV. Village neighbours: He is in good relations with neighbours. Sansar Singh’s house is near to his house so he ended all the terms with them.

V. Labour: He and his brothers managed all the work the fields. Other partners in the fields also provided their services. Thus he did not engage any permanent labour. Now he only engaged local labour for wheat cutting and rest of the work is managed by him and his brothers.

7. Women’s role (home/agriculture): Due to poor economic condition respondent and his youngest brother did not get suitable match. Only second brother is married. His wife manages the household chores.

NOTES

1. These were the partners who initially installed well with Persian wheel for irrigation. Sansar Singh and Mangat Singh were the neighbours in fields and from same village.
2. At the time of transfer of ancestral land the share in well or pump also transferred. In a way this transfer from generation to generation leads to decreased in land size with recurrent division and number of share holders in well or pump increase.
3. Niranja Singh was the eldest son of Waryam Singh and respondent Iqbal Singh is his eldest son.
4. Luxman Singh is younger brother of Waryam Singh and partner in well.
5. They did not sell their entire land because they thought that the issue will solve soon and after that they could cultivate their land with water.
6. Iqbal Singh and his two brothers, Iqbal Singh’s cousins that one son of Surjeet and two sons of Baldev, fourth partner Mangta Singh’s daughters.
7. This land was earlier rented to Sansar Singh. Didar Singh is Politically influential personality. He was with the plan that Mangat Singh’s land has a well so it would earn for him and other partners to install a submercible pump. It could only be possible if they would get the connection back. He lease-in Mangat Singh’s land and he succeed in half of his plan.
9. Didar Singh wanted the connection back so that he could earn profit and with profit he would purchase the leased in land.
10. Researcher herself was the witness all this incident. Fortunately she was present at the respondent’s house when Sansar Singh’s son came with the offer for respondent’s brother.
Background

This is the case of Gurnam Singh of Bal Lade Darya village. He is a Jat sikh farmer belongs to Bal gotra. His father was Mukhtiar Singh in the village Bal Laba Darya. In 1958 Mukhtiar Singh got married. After division of land he got four acres of ancestral land and ancestral house. In 1960 Mukhtiar Singh’s wife gave birth to a son. With time his family increased and had two sons and eight daughters. Mean while the father died. Thus he was left alone in agriculture. He took care of the fields and of the household expenses. He maintained relations with all his kin/ brothers.

Although he was not financially well off but he fulfilled all his responsibilities. He was uneducated but he wanted to educate his children. Though the school was very far even then he sent them to school. He wanted them to adopt agriculture as their main occupation so after school he took them to the fields. The children most of the time played with siblings and partly helped their father in agriculture. As the field was far away from the house they went by foot. The father took the bulls to the field every morning and assigned the duty of getting the bulls back to the children. The family was happy under one roof. Everyone fulfilled their duties with co-operation. His wife managed the household chores and he with his sons looked after the fields. Due to lack of importance to education children dropped out after completing elementary education

The elder son left education after completing his sixth class and daughters did not have any kind of formal education. The father used to get his implements repaired from the city.
The eldest son Gurnam Singh got a job in the city in 1980 when he was in his 20’s. It became an extra source of income for the family. Father was happy with it though he was a peon in the government office. It opened new channels for him. With additional income other son Tersheim Singh restarted his school. Gurnam Singh drops him at school and took him back to home after school. After completing matriculation, father engaged him in agriculture. The pattern of work distribution followed a generally well defined sex based division. Male member in the family were entrusted with the responsibility of managing the occupational sphere and while women were allotted the household responsibilities. Mother mainly performed the supervisory work.

The elder son started earning. Father had control over the salary as it was given to him. Therefore he decided where to utilize the money. Despite job he contributed his services in the agriculture. In 1982, father arranged the marriage of elder daughter. Kin and friends were invited. All the ceremonies were carried out. Income from agriculture and elder son’s job helped in financing the expenditure. Father and sons did hard work to raise the income. With time he arranged the marriage of rest of the 7 daughters.

The father had all the authority and he was the decisions maker and supervised the work. He did all the division of work among the family members. Daughter’s regularly visited the parental house and sons maintained the relations. In 1985 father purchased more eight acres of land.

He sold the ancestral house and constructed one in their eight acres to look after the cultivation. In summer of 1986, they shifted after selling the house. The house was semi-pucca. It had a big room for the cattle and a separate room for the family. Near their dera (house) they had two neighbours living there. They generally met to discuss the agriculture related problems.
In the new house, the elder son Gurnam Singh got married in 1987. They celebrated the inauguration of new house and the marriage ceremony together. With time the family size increased. His wife gave birth to boy. She was contributing her services in the household chores. She was uneducated but knew all the agricultural skills. She also looked after the house and cattle. In leisure time, she went to village for gossiping. The crops for family consumption were grown in the separate small portion and it was looked after by women of the family. They even sold milk in the local dairy. After the death of the mother in 1989 her daughter-in-law got the responsibilities of the household chores and divided the work among them.

With time Tersheim Singh got married in 1992 and his wife started contributing in household chores. The father got free from his responsibilities. Father gave the maximum duties of agriculture to Tarsaim Singh. He was under the control of father and looked after the agriculture.

Due to increased family size separate rooms were constructed for each son’s family with in the house. Later whole house was renovated with a separate pucca room for cattle were constructed. They purchased a motorcycle for transportation.

The standard of living and life style improved. Family purchased the household amenities and clothes etc. from the city. His eldest son’s position got upgraded in the office and he became a clerk in B.D.O office in 1994. In 1997, his father divided the house and land among the sons. Father showed favoritism toward younger son by giving him better piece of land. He gave him the land with pump so that in his old age he would take care of him.

Gurnam Singh was comfortable with his job. He sent his children to good schools. He gave importance to education and wanted his children get into job. Tarsaim Singh, the
second son was educated till matriculation. After division, he inherited the land with
the pump. It helped in his progress and he did well in agriculture. He started selling
water to his brother. Like his brother he too maintains relations with his sisters. All
the kin and siblings come and stay at their place because father lives with him. He
fulfills all the duties and do all the necessary expenditure and ceremonies on his
behalf.

Agriculture
Mukhtiar Singh, inherited four acres of ancestral land. The land had rain water and
*hult* as the source of irrigation. River Ravi was far from their field so they were not
using river water for irrigation. Water level was at just 20ft and land was fertile due to
river. He cultivated his land with the help of his father. In winters of 1960 the father
died. He managed the agriculture with a *nauker* from Rai Singh community. He was
given a share of grain after harvesting. He ate food at the owner’s house. The work
load of the owner got reduced. At the time of harvesting he hired temporary labour
and paid them in cash. He sold the produce in the local market.

In 1970 Mukhtiar Singh installed a diesel engine for frequent supply of water in
ancestral land. Government provided the subsidy to the farmers for its adoption. In
1983, the village and field got the electricity provision so he started using the electric
motor on ancestral land. They got 3 Horse power motor. In 1994 he upgraded the
irrigation technology and installed a tube well of 5 horse power in ancestral land.
They hired a technician from Ajnala. It cost them Rs 10,000/-. Still they are using that
old pump.
Mukhtiar Singh purchased eight acres more under his son’s name. For the safety of installed motor and standing crop the entire family shifted to field and constructed a new house there called *dera* in 1986. He installed an engine in eight acres for irrigation. He and his sons were then comfortable. He applied for the electricity connection. He got the electricity connection and installed a 5 horse power motor with subsidy. Respondent mentioned that father sent younger son for getting the connection and he got the connection under his name rather than under father’s name.

At the time of division of property and pump all such act was disclosed among the family in 1997. This became a reason of conflict among the sons.  

Coming back to the point when they got the connection they started cultivating rice. Father started selling produce in the Ajnala block because it had a big mandi. The financial condition and the standard of living improved. Produce was sold to arthiya (commission agent) and the loan was taken from him for the next season. Slowly, father mechanized his farming. He purchased fodder cutter (*toka*) and in 1987 they purchased the tractor on loan. Harvesting was done with the hired thresher. Due to mechanization the production increased.

Fertilizers and pesticides were purchased from the local *mandi* (market). Crops like wheat, rice, maize, sugarcane and fodder were grown which raised the income. With the progress they purchased a cycle for transportation in 1988. Gurnam Singh was under the influence of the city. He changed due to his job. He started purchasing the clothes for his family from the city.

Gurnam Singh was occupied with his job and did not give much time to agriculture which was not liked by the father. Mean while in 1989 mother died in the flood. The agriculture was badly hit.
They restarted the cultivation in the next season. Due to security reasons bihari labour was not available. Thus, they hired local Rai Sikh labour of next village. They were paid in cash. One servant for cattle and agricultural work was hired on yearly basis. The cattle were for domestic use but surplus milk was sold dairy. Father required Gurnam Singh’s full involvement so that the cost of labour could cut down. In 1993 the other son Tersheim Singh got married and family size increased. In 1996 father sold the tractor because it needed regular maintenance and was out dated.

In 1997 Mukhtiar Singh divided the land between sons. He was getting old with and had no more strength to supervise them. He equally divided the land. Out of 8 acres each son got 4 acres. Land with pump was transferred to Tarsaim Singh.

Ancestral four acres was not divided and father retained its possession. He was old so it was managed by Tersheim Singh as the father was living with him. Thus Tersheim Singh got his own share of four acres and father’s four acres too.

The father mentioned that “doh ghahra da parohna bukha rehnda hai” guest or son-in-law of the two families remains hungry. He could not settle with two sons at one time so he decided to live with the younger one. He was more comfortable and close / near to younger son.

The portion with out tube well was difficult to manage. The situation turned worst for him without water for irrigation. Hence he installed an engine and did not take any loan for its installation. He became comfortable but not for long with depletion of water the engine did not provide assured water supply for irrigation.

Due to contaminated groundwater engine water was unfit for the irrigation. So he could not able to use it for long. To arrange the water for irrigation, Gurnam Singh demanded water from the brother’s pump. He took the advantage of his situation and
started charged him for water. The relations became contractual. Gurnam Singh was not happy with the arrangement. He resorted to his neighbour's pump for surplus water for irrigation. The neighbouring peasant is a jat from the next village. Gurnam Singh demanded water from his pump and in return he agreed to sell him water.

Gurnam Singh changed his crop selection. He could not able to give much time to agriculture and cultivation required proper attention so he started cultivating popular tree on half of its land because he could not spent much time to agriculture. On rest of the half he grew rice, fodder, maize and wheat for family consumption. He maintained his irrigation with purchased water at Rs. 12/- and rainfall is extra source of irrigation. He purchased two to three watering from his brother Tersheim Singhand in kharif season he even buys water from the adjoining farmer.

Gurnam Singh did not possession tractor like his younger brother so he used to hire it from the market on cash payment. He mentioned that he did not create any issue over the division because he had a hope that after death of his father he could able to use the brother’s pump. Even he also had an eye on the share from ancestral four acres and its pump. He is not doing any efforts for installation of submersible on his land.

For this strategy he has maintained his relations with the siblings so that his siblings would support him after the death of his father. He wants that during the division of four acres he would get the share in the ancestral pump and land.

Gurnam Singh is educated. After division he progressed with his hard work in job. He got luxury items in his house. He does not want to expand his agriculture because he wants to settle in city. Hence he wants to move out of the village. He is already sending his son and daughter for higher education in the city.
His wife looks after the agricultural work while Gurnam Singh is on job. They had naurker for the caring of cattle’s and for agricultural work. Gurnam Singh’s wife is active in fulfilling all the responsibilities. They even sold milk in village dairy. It is an extra source of income to the family. Gurnam Singh made it his secondary occupation. He did not want to sell the land because it is their source of power in village and source of food grains for the family.

In division father made Tersheim Singh happy by giving him the pump. Tersheim Singh was aware of the fact that his elder brother was with out pump. Installation of new pump and its maintenance and upgrading was a costly affair. Even then, he was not ready to provide free water to him. Hence he started charging him for water. He does not feel bad in it. He progressed with his agricultural. In 2003 he took loan for the tractor and got a tractor. Further he invested money in renovation of the house. He lends his tractor to Gurnam Singh in exchange of cash. Due to commercial relations Tersheim Singh did not mind taking money for hiring out his tractor. He has motorcycle for transportation. He has 3 children and they are studying in good schools. He sells his produce in the big mandi and takes the advantage of loans for the agriculture. He wants his children to opt his profession.

He hired permanent labour for agricultural work. His leisure time increased with the helper. He turned into an alcoholic. His all the near farmers had their own source of irrigation except his brother. So he sells water to him.

In 2008 Gurnam Singh installed a tubewell from his income. He did not get the connection so with (arji connection) illegal connection he is using it. Still buys water for two three times from the brother.²
Women’s Participation

Mukhtiar Singh’s wife was a simple hard working woman. She managed the entire household responsibility. She was uneducated. Caring of cattle and children was her daily routine. She cooked food for the family and servant. She used traditional chulha. She had nauker for her help but he was not allowed to enter into kitchen. Collecting the fodder and cleaning the cattle was the duty of servant.

She was social and she maintained the relations. On occasions she visited the relatives’ house and vice a versa. She stitched her family clothes at home. After shifting from ancestral house to dera (house in field), her relations with the villagers remained the same. She hardly went out to the city. With age her health deteriorated and the responsibility shifted to the next generation that his son’s wives.

Daughters-in-law started managing the work on the line of mother-in-law. They worked in the house and in free time they either gossip or took rest. They collected fuel for the chulha. Even they sowed the vegetables on small portion of the field for the family consumption. It was their duty to look after it. Gurnam Singh’s wife learned all the ritual and skills from her mother-in-law. Both were happy under one roof. Mother-in-law died in 1989.

Thus the entire responsibilities of house hold work came on Gurnam Singh’s wife. She maintained the interrelations. In free time she provided help in the fields. With time they progressed and got necessary amenities. She arranged the marriage of Tersheim Singh (younger son). Both daughters-in-law were not in cordial relations. They regularly had conflict. They regularly impress father-in-laws for getting better share in property after division. They were not comfortable with one another. With
development they renovated the house and got separate kitchen and modern gas for cooking.

Family progressed and they got transportation vehicle. For medical check up or for some other important works they went to city on their own vehicle. Standard of living improved and they consider themselves at the better place than other kin. They were happy in joint family.

After division women ended the relations with one another. Gurnam Singh’s wife was not happy with land with out pump. On this issue she has conflict with her husband. She adjusted with the situation and helped husband in his up and downs. Gurnam Singh is in job so she looks after the agricultural work and cattle’s. She is not terms with the in-law because they got smaller share of land. She feels bad that they became small farmer with out implements. She works hard and sells milk in the village dairy. It is her effort to sustain the business of milk and through it she pool extra income in the house. At the same time, she manages the house hold work too. She does not mind working in the fields. She is empowered. Some time she goes to the city alone to clear the bills or for any other household works. She knows about family planning that is why she has one daughter and a son. She wants to educate the children so that they get into job.

On the other side the Tarsaim Singh’s wife is elementary. She got married in 1992. Derani-jethani was not happy together and due to wrath they got separation. After division they got four acres and she became the decision maker in the house. With the ownership of pump and with independent cultivation her contribution in agriculture reduced simultaneous. She hardy provide her services in the field. She looks after the milch cattle and house hold work. She is happy that they have more luxuries and transportation. Children are in good schools.
She has nauker for agricultural and cattle work. Father-in-law stays with her in the house. All the kin stays at their house and she has to pleas them. She is aware of the fact that due to father they became the owner of pump and father’s portion is providing them more profit.

Analysis

1. Landholding: Gurnam Singh inherited 4 acres of land and retains that much since then.

2. (i) Water technology: He did not inherited water technology for irrigation. Later he installed an independent engine and later installed tube-well but he does not get the connection yet.

   (ii) Water (purchasing, sharing, selling): Since he got land without pump he started buying water from his own brother. Later he also started buying water from other near by peasant. Now he has a pump and if required more water for irrigation then he buy it from his younger brother.

3. Crops: He grew maize, wheat, fodder and poplar tree.

4. Agricultural implements: He did not inherit much of the implements. So at times he used to hire it from his brother. But now he hires it from the market on cash payment.

5. Agricultural Labour: He had one permanent labour from Rai Sikh biradri and also hired seasonal local labour during peak season. Still he is doing the same practice.
6. Social Relations

I. Family: He lives in nuclear family with his wife and son. He settled the marriage of his daughter in her early age. He is the decision maker and enjoyed all authority in the family. Gurnam has faced conflict with her wife for not inheriting the land with the pump. Gurnam is the first generation in his family who is doing job. He made agriculture as a secondary occupation.

II. Extended/joint family: Land without pump was transferred to Gurnam Singh and pump was given to Tersheim Singh. Father’s share was also managed by Tersheim Singh as the father was living with him. Thus Tersheim Singh got his own share of four acres and father’s four acres too. Gurnam Singh was not happy with biased division though he was angry but he maintains cordial relations with his siblings so that after the death of father they would help him in getting the share in ancestral pump. He is seeking the share in father’s land. Presently it is under his brother’s hold so with such intension he pleases his kin and relatives. Relations with his brothers are contractual. They are not in social terms and due to presence of father they pretend the cordial relations.

III. Field neighbours: At one side his own brother is his field neighbour. On other side the big peasant from the village is his neighbour and he enjoys cordial relations with him. It helped him in getting water on hourly basis.

IV. Village neighbours: He lives in dera. His brother is his immediate neighbour. Though he does not like his brother but still retained cordial relations with him so that he could get his tractor and water on payment.
V. Labour: He has cordial and formal relations with labour. He changed his labourer after a year.

7. Women’s role (agriculture/house): His wife played important role in field and in household chores. She manages the house and in the absence she looks after the field and labour.

NOTES

1. Respondent mentioned that younger brother is very smart from childhood. He cheated him by getting the connection under his own name rather on father’s name. Gurnam Singh also told that at the time of installation of pump father gave money to his younger son to go to office and fill the amount for getting the connection. His younger brother paid the amount. When the officer asked on whose name the connection should be charged he consciously gave his own name. Gurnam Singh got to know all the matter at the time of division of property.

2. Gurnam Singh has been buying water from his own brother so that he can prove to the relatives that he is partial in division and able to prove his brother wrong so that he could get the share in pump.
Case No. 9

Background

This is the case of Janak Raj. He is Sansi by caste and lived in the Bal Labe Darya village. He gave all the required details and mentioned that they are not the native of this village. They belonged to next village. After floods his father Dilip Kumarmigrated to this village and settled down. Father constructed a semi-pucca house in an illegally possessed land in this village and illegally occupied the agricultural land. He possessed four acres of land in one fragment and one acre in another. With land he made agriculture as his source of income. Dilip Kumar has four sons. He managed his two fragments with his family labour. He grew wheat and fodder with rain water. Due to poor economic condition, Dilip Kumar could not send his sons for education thus his sons remained illiterate. He involved his sons in his agricultural work. Dilip Kumarregularly entreated his neighbouring peasants by providing his sons’ labour in their fields. In return peasants gave them some grains and other thing for house and agriculture. Dilip Kumar’s wife was very active. She managed household chores and also helped in agricultural work. She also took the work within the village for financing the house. The work as midwife or caring the old ones were works undertook by her.

Dilip Kumarwas in cordial relations with his field neighbours. His sons learnt all the agricultural skills from him. He did not possess agricultural implements. So he generally borrowed them from neighbouring big peasants. He took their advice and guidance in managing agriculture. He maintained cordial relations with neighbours. With agriculture he was comfortably running his house and got some status in village and among his relatives. He was hard working peasant. He saved a portion from the
produce for self consumption and rest he commercialized. His relatives purchased food grain from him. He was happy with his occupation. Neighbouring peasants some time took his services in agriculture and in return gave him good variety seeds or other required thing for his family.

Early morning Dilip Kumar went to fields with his sons. During less rainfall he borrowed water from neighbouring pump so that his crops could not get affected. With time Dilip Kumar settled the marriage of his sons. In 1982 eldest son got married and later other sons too got married. Dilip Kumar took retirement from his agriculture and in 1989 divided the land among his 4 sons. He divided the house and gave better share in the house to eldest son Nishan lal and started living with him.

Each son became independent after divisions and became free from the yoke of the father. Their house was adjoining to one another. All the sons maintained in cordial relations with one another and with villagers. They lend implements in *lihaj* from neighbouring peasants. In return they also obliged them with their free services during season. Sons wanted to raise their standard of living. They started searching for some other source of income. With the increased family size, they illegally occupied the adjoining portion of their house and expended their houses. Villagers objected them but later the issue settled down. Sons continued their occupation happily.

**Agriculture**

Dilip Kumar illegally possessed five acres of land. He did not hire any labour and did not own much implements. He hired it from neighbours. He tried to compensate it with his free services. He learnt all the skills from his neighbouring peasants. In 1989 his each son got one acre of land. Sons retained the cordial relations with the peasants. During sowing and harvesting season, sons helped one another in the fields. They did not hire any wage labour and with family labour each son managed their land.
Required implements were hired from neighbouring peasants. After harvesting, they kept the produce for house consumption and surplus was sold in local market.

Nishan Kumar, the eldest son started independent agriculture. He inherited one acre of land which was without pump. He grew wheat and fodder, but it was not profitable for him so he started his side business of sheep rearing and cattle. Father was living with him so he got his father’s land too. His land was without any source of water so it was not generation profit so he mortgaging 1 kanal of land and installed a tube-well pump. He did not get the connection and started managing it illegally. From the pump he does not start cultivating rice in kharif season but starting selling water to neighbouring brothers. He required fodder for his cattle and sheeps. He found mortgaged land more comfortable and profitable rather than buying water. Since then he is generating good money by independent pump. He started selling water to others. Pump has helped him in maintaining his agriculture. He is enterprising that he is even selling water to his needy brothers and in return take money from them. From illegal pump he is getting profit. He said “paise liaeh ne tah kamone vi tah hat” when we have made the investment, we have to earn also.

Second son of Dilip Kumar is Krishanlal. He also inherited an acre of land without source of water. He was also struggling for water. He grows fodder and maize because it required less water. He said “I did not have individual pump so I am growing maize other wise rice is profitable and I want to grow it”. Rainfall water is not sufficient for agriculture. Since 2007 he started sharecropping with his eldest brother. The system helped him. He was getting grains for self consumption. He continued the system and running his household with agriculture.

Third brother is Janak raj. He also inherited one acre of land. It was not profitable for him so he became (chounkidar) watch man of the village. He inherited land without
pump. He has one son and a daughter. He did not send his children for education. For him providing education to children is not important. He wanted to improve his financial condition. With out any permanent source of water he was not getting profit from agriculture.

When his brother installed pump, Janak raj demanded water and in return he asked for the charges. Janak was with no option other than to buy water for better agriculture. He started buying water. He said “je pehla ikhate hundeh tah pump lava lehnde te kharcha vi vandya janbda if earlier we would together then we can install joint pump by which investment would also be shared.

He evolved in water market for agriculture. In the season of rabi he purchased water for wheat crop and in kharif season he did not get water so he left his land vacate. He purchased water from his eldest brother. He was not getting benefit with purchased water. So he made watchmen as primary occupation. Now he is cultivating land for subsistence and not for the market. Technology for irrigation impoverish the farmer like Janak raj who was without pump.

Fourth brother is Nirmal Kumar, he inherited one acre of land far from his other brothers. He managed his land with rainwater but he did not find it profitable. Due to non availability of water he started buying water from neighbouring peasant. He did not have any other source of income and not financially well off to pay the cash payment so in return, he works in the owner’s field as a labor. With time the input cost increased in agriculture and it was difficult for him to sustain his agriculture. Later he started leasing his land to neighbouring peasant and himself became labour.
Women’s participation

Women spent most of the free time together. They were in cordial relations. Janakraj mentioned that his wife did not provide any help in agriculture. Janakraj’s wife remains at home and only looked after household chores. She does not feel bad in buying water from her *jeth*. She is not interested in sending her children for education.

Analysis

1. Landholding: He inherited marginal landholding and it was illegally possessed by his father during floods. He did not increase his inherited land and changed his primary source of occupation.

2. (i) Water technology: It has started process of differentiation in the social relations. One who act smartly progressed in life and other who did not own technology and did not progress in life. He did not own any technology for irrigation and still his economic condition is poor where as his other brother improved.

   (ii) Water (purchasing, sharing, selling): He buys water from his own brother. It is observed that the change in technology has changed the social relations. Brother is selling water to his own brother. As a result the value of relation losses its importance.

3. Crops: He cultivates less water intensive crops.

4. Agricultural Implements: He did not inherit any agricultural implements. He managed them by borrowing from field neighbours. Now his neighbours charges for lending implements.

5. Agricultural Labour: He has marginal landholding and managed his work with casual labour.

6. Social Relations

   1. Family: He maintained cordial relations with his family. Firstly they became small farmers then slowly they shifted their occupation and getting
out from agriculture. Technology played a big role in there occupational shift and between the relations of the brothers.

II. Extended/joint family: He enjoys cordial relations but contractual relations with his brothers. His own brother sells water to him.

III. Field neighbours: He was in good relations with neighbouring field neighbours.

IV. Village neighbours: He enjoys cordial relations with villagers.

V. Labour: He has contractual relations with his hired labour.

7. Women’s participation: Janakraj’s wife is satisfied with the economic condition. She felt the pride that her husband is a watchman and villagers knows him. She herself manage the household work and did not provide any help in family field. She remain at home whole day and gossiped with her *derani* and *jethani*

**NOTES**

1. Due to militancy and floods, the villagers migrated to other places. So the people from near villages occupied their houses and started cultivating the fellow land.
Case No. 10

Background

This is the case of Sukhdev Singh of Bal Labe Darya village. He belongs to a rich and high status agricultural family of Ganga Nagar in Rajasthan. He is Jat Sikh from Sohal gotra. He is matriculate. His father was Uttam Singh who inherited 25 acres of ancestral land in Rajasthan. Sukhdev Singh’s mother died when he was very young. Later, his father remarried. She bore two sons, the step brothers of Sukhdev. She did not like him, hence was neglected in the family.

His grandfather, Bhadur Singh was a Patwari who brought him up. His marriage was arranged by the grandfather in March 1965. The grandfather had five acres of land in village Sohal (Amritsar district) from the government. His uncle (chacha), Lakshman Singh was looking after that land. This land was given to Sukhdev Singh. It was not liked by his step brothers and their mother.

In 1966, Sukhdev Singh’s wife gave birth to a son. After two years, another son was born. In 1987 Sukhdev Singh’s father died. Soon after his death, the step mother divided the land between her two sons, excluding Sukhdev Singh on the pretext that he got some land (five acres) in Punjab from his grand father: ‘Kyon ki us nu dada ji ton zamin mil gayi si’ because he inherited land from his grandfather. Moreover, she wanted a larger share for her sons.

Sukhdev Singh and his wife did not tolerate this. Hence he left the village with his family in 1987 for village Sohal in Punjab. It was not fertile, so he sold it and purchased another land in the near by village Bal Labe Darya which is 50 Kms from Sohal. His uncle helped him in purchasing 14 acres of fragmented land there. It was relatively cheap hence got a bigger land holding. He shifted there in January 1988
with his three sons and wife. *Jis kolon zamin layi us da ghar si dere te, us vich hi oh ‘shift’ kar gaye.* From whom they purchased land also had house in field so they shifted their after purchasing that piece of land. This was a small semi-pucca house just sufficient for bare living.

Sukhdev Singh was the head of family. His eldest son was in his twenties. The younger ones were of 18 and 16 years. The eldest one did not join the school here so his father engaged him in agriculture. Unfortunately in that very year in September (22) heavy floods destroyed the entire crop including the house. Entire family was gripped under tension. They survived and managed to restart their lives with their savings.

The second son was admitted in a school. He was good in studies and sports. After completing matriculation he got admission in the D.A.V College on the basis of his good performance in sports. In 1990 he became the captain of college football team.

In 1992 a pucca house was purchased in the village. Due to the Sikh militancy, a migrating hindu family sold this house to him at relatively cheaper rates. The marriage of his two elder sons of relatively younger age was settled in the new house. Both the daughters-in-law were from a nearby village. After marriage the sons remained in the parental house under one roof though separate rooms were constructed for them. The entire family was happy. In the summer of 1993 elder son’s wife gave birth to a son.

The youngest son was sent to Dehradun for B.S.F training. He later got a job in the B.S.F. (Border Security Force). He used to visit home after three or four months.

Later in 1993 he became the sarpanch of the village in year 1993 because of his good social relations and strong financial condition. Sukhdev Singh maintained his
relations with his uncle and kin group. He usually cooperated with small and marginal farmers. He got high status in the village.

In the winters of 1994 the second son’s wife gave birth to a male child. The marriage of the youngest son was also settled in the next year. His wife remained with his parents when he joined his duty.

Sukhdev Singh became sarpanch in 1993. He maintained cordial relations with the villagers and did work for the village development. The small peasants usually came to him for help. He was managing agriculture with his two sons. All of them used to do hard work in the fields. Sukhdev Singh was the only zamindar with large land holding totaling about 28 acres.

The wives of the two brothers -deranni and jethani- often quarreled making the milieu uncomfortable. Hence Sukhdev Singh started constructing a separate portion in the house in 2003. In the meanwhile his second son died due to some undiagnosed disease in 2004. The construction of house was stopped for a year and restarted in 2005. After completion his widow daughter-in-law was shifted there. Her father-in-law (Sukhdev Singh) regularly gave her money to run the household. She sent her son to school and maintained the house properly.

Sukhdev Singh was left only with his elder son in agriculture. After the death of second son his widow’s relations with them remained cordial. He looked after her and her son. She too took to active participation in the agricultural activities and looked after the accounts. Her involvement was rather appreciated. Presently, Sukhdev Singh has a big house in the centre of the village. He has 28 acres of land with 2 submersible and two tube well pumps. He has all the agricultural implements. He enjoys high
status in the village. Now Sukhdev Singh is a prosperous farmer and has maintained his relations with kins. His uncle is old now and Sukhdev Singh regularly visits him.

In 2007, the remaining portion of the house was completed for the elder son’s family. Soon his family shifted there. Although they have got three separate kitchens but the entire family lives under one roof. The land holdings are also joint and looked after collectively. However, Sukhdev Singh and his wife are living with the youngest son’s family. His wife manages the domestic chores and looks after the children. The youngest son comes after three or four months and often gives his father some money for running the household.

In 2008 Sukhdev Singh stood in village panchayat election and elected as panch. It is very prestigious to be in panchayat. Now he exercises his power to sell his water to needy farmers.

Agriculture

The heavy floods destroyed the very first kharif crop he had sown after migration in 1988. He was economically hit. With his earlier savings he managed cultivation of his land in the next season. He did not own agricultural implements then and took these from his uncle in Sohal village, fifty kilometers from there. He had good relations with him. The thrashers and harvester combines were hired from his arhtiya of Ajanala mandi.

He ploughed the land with his uncle’s tractor using his own diesel. He purchased the tractor taking loan from the cooperative bank in 1990 which he repaid in 1993. He did agriculture intensively and sold the produce at the nearby Ajnala Mandi, one of the biggest in Amritsar district. He also kept some produce for family’s consumption. He managed land with the help of his two sons. He himself took the produce to the
market and maintained the accounts. He also decided which crop to be sown and where. He also purchased all the farm inputs – seeds, fertilizers and pesticides etc. from the city.

He also employed a permanent labourer (servant) from the Rai Sikh community in 1992 for Rs 10,000/- a year. Since then he had always employed one such help. A small kucha kotha was constructed for him in the field itself. He worked there only and took food at Sukhdev Singh’s house. It is the practice in village that such servants take food at the owner’s house along with the salary or take 40 kg grains a month in lieu of that.

During the peak season, he used to hire a few casual labourers for agricultural work and paid them in cash. He was comfortable since he had agricultural implements and pumps of his own for irrigation. He got his agriculture mechanized.

During 1993, rain fall was not sufficient and it affected the crops. Rabi crop was damaged. One of his neighbouring farmer Sucha Singh demanded water from him. He gave him once or twice for irrigating his two acres. His wheat crop survived.

In the kharif season (1993) Sukhdev Singh became sarpanch of the village. Sucha Singh again approached him for water for the rice crop. Sukhdev Singh took advantage of his position and asked him to have his share (adh te) in the two acres of the rice crop. Only then the water would be given to him. He agreed because he had no option: ‘us di gal morh nahin si sakda.’

Another adjoining farmer Sunder Singh was also without pump. He too demanded water from him in the following year for the rabi crop. It was given to him on hourly bases. For the kharif (rice) crop too he wanted water which was given to him on share basis as to Sucha Singh. Later on he took their land that they were unable to irrigate,
on contract for a year. He found it more profitable. He used to grow rice and wheat as productivity of these crops was very high and the market was assured.

In 1995 Sukhdev Singh upgraded his water pump from 3 KW to 5 KW. He asked Sucha Singh to sell him his land since he was unable to install a pump for irrigation. Sucha Singh was not willing to agree but later on he was pressurized for the same. Finally he sold his land to him in 1995. The same strategy was adopted by Sukhdev Singh for other neighbouring needy farmers. Thus he accumulated 28 acres of land. He also took some land for cultivation on contract.

With the depletion of water table he replaced his one tube well with a submersible pump with huge investment in 2003. He started selling more water at higher rates. In 2004 he upgraded another pump from 5 KW to 10 KW. One old tube well was upgraded by lowering (*khui kar ke*) the motor. The entire land is still in his name. He divides the income equally amongst his sons. He is a farsighted man.

**Women’s Participation**

Sukhdev Singh’s wife is an illiterate woman. Her relations with her in-laws were not cordial as the latter was not happy with the marriage. Sukhdev Singh’s family was one of the prosperous family in Ganganagar (Rajasthan). Women were not allowed to work in the fields, so she managed the household works.

When Sukhdev Singh’s family migrated to village Bal Labe Darya, the entire situation changed drastically. In the initial years, just after migration she worked in the fields. She helped her husband there and managed the entire domestic work also. She faced the hard time due to the flood. The economic condition of the family was hit badly. She supported her husband in his ‘ups’ and ‘downs’.
Even in adverse economic conditions she educated her sons. With time the family prospered and then she stopped working in the fields. Sons got married and she divided the responsibilities amongst her daughters-in-law. She maintained good relations with all her daughters in law. Her all the daughters in law are from high status families. All are involved in the domestic chores. They respected the in-laws and managed the works assigned readily and happily. All the daughters-in-law are empowered in their own way. The father gave separate portion to eldest and the second son. Thus, all of them have got independent portion with in the house. They are dependent on father for the financial support. They are sending children to private schools and wanted them to be in job.

The youngest son is in army so his wife is with in-laws. She looks after them and manages their work. Her separate portion is under construction. Women are happy with the status and power within the village. They have a servant in the house for their help in domestic chores. They do shopping from the town. The family owns a car.

The second daughter-in-law Manjeet Kaur is a widow. She is an intelligent and a far sighted woman. After the death of her husband she looked after the farm accounts. She gets financial support from her father-in-law for running her household. She takes her decisions independently. She educates her children. She has good relations with other family members. She lives in a separate portion within the house. She remains at home and manages the domestic chores.

The relations among women at home are cordial. They are under the head ship of their in-laws. Women remain inside the house. They do not provide any help in agriculture and even do not know the location of their fields.
Analysis

1. Landholding: Sukhdev Singh inherited 5 acres which he sold and purchased 14 acres. He had joint family with three sons. Now Sukhdev Singh has 28 acres.

2. (i) Water technology: He purchased land without pump. Later he installed a tube-well. In 1995 Sukhdev Singh upgraded his water pump from 3 kilowatt to 5 kilowatt. With the depletion of water table he replaced his one tube well with a submersible pump with huge investment in 2003. In 2004 he installed a pump from 5 kilowatt to 10 kilowatt. One old tube well was upgraded by lowering (khui kar ke) the motor. Now he has two submersible pumps and two tube-wells.

   (ii) Water (purchasing, sharing, selling): He sells water to the needy farmers and if some peasant is poor to buy water than he purchase his land. He also does sharecropping with pumpless peasants.

3. Crops: He has his own pump so used to grow rice and wheat as productivity of these crops was very high and the market was assured.

4. Agricultural Implements: In the beginning he used his uncle’s implements like plouyer etc. The thrashers and harvester combines were hired from his arhtiya of Ajnala mandi. He ploughed the land with his uncle’s tractor using his own diesel. He purchased his own tractor taking loan from the cooperative bank in 1990. Now he possess all the implements.

5. Agricultural Labour: He used to employ his son and a permanent labourer (servant) from the Rai Sikh community in 1992 for Rs 10,000/- a year. Since then he had always employed one such help. A small kucha kotha was constructed for him in the field itself. He worked there only and took food at Sukhdev Singh’s house.
During the peak season, he used to hire a few casual labourers for agricultural work and paid them in cash. He was comfortable since he had agricultural implements and pumps of his own for irrigation. He got his agriculture mechanized. Still he does the same practice.

6. Social Relations

I. Family: He lives in joint family and holds all the decision making authority. He is happy with the children.

II. Extended/joint family: He maintained cordial relations with his in-laws and with his uncle. He regularly visited them with gifts.

III. Field neighbours: He is big peasant and maintains limited relations with field neighbours. He sells water to them and try to dominate them.

IV. Village neighbours: He stood for panchayat election and won the election in 1993. To lure more profit he gave free water to the needy farmers. When he became sarpanch he gave them the suggestion that of farmers did not have the ability to provide adequate agricultural inputs like water and fertilizers to the agricultural fields due to limited capital at their disposal. Then he is ready to lease in their land in kharif season. If they accepted then he lease in for one season other wise exploited them with irregular water supply.

He exercised his power as a Sarpanch in pressuring the needy and hapless farmers to sell their land. Earlier he used to lease in land on adth (sharecropping) basis or lease in the land for one season. Soon or later he irritated them for supply of water and forced them to sell their land to him.
He again contested election in 2008 and he lured the votes on the basis of free water to those who would support him. He promised his supporters that he would provide them free water.

V. Labour: He maintains formal relations with the labourer.

7. Women’s role (home/agriculture): In the beginning Sukhdev Singh’s wife did hard work in fields and house. Now she does not work and look after the house only. He maintain relations with villagers and visits them regularly.
Background

Sarmukh Singh is a Jat Sikh from Sandhu gotra. He belongs to Ghadial village in Ajnala Block of Amritsar District. In 1972 he got married. After marriage his father Ishar Singh separated him and gave him one acre of land. He shifted to his field and constructed a semi-pucca house there. His wife was literate. In 1974 his wife gave birth to a son making every member of the family happy. After that she bore two more sons.

Sarmukh Singh wanted to progress. He was very different in nature from his childhood. He was discontented with his marginal land-holding and style of living. One of his friends went abroad and flourished. He felt it to be the easiest channel for his progress. His idea of going abroad strengthened when he got to know that his friend’s brother was an agent. He was sure that “us de paisa maran ge nahin” his money will not be unreturned and he would not misguide him. So he took the chance of going to Dubai. He mortgaged his land for arranging the money. He left his wife and 3 sons under the care of his father and went abroad in 1979.

He started doing menial works there for his survival. After a while he started sending money to his family. The financial condition improved a bit. His children started getting education in the village school. The father started living with his family and became the care taker in his son’s absence.

Things were going smoothly. Remittances from Sarmukh were enough for the household expenditure. After earning enough money he came back in 1981. He came with the dream of establishing himself in India with his savings. He wanted to raise
his status and position in society. Agriculture was his only known occupation. In village milieu, it was the respectable occupation.

He decided to develop his agriculture. His sister was married in village Shahbad in Ajnala block, and his brother-in-law (*sadu* i.e. co-brother) lived 15 Km away. In between there was a village named Bal Labe Darya. The land was comparatively cheap there. His sister and his wife supported his idea for purchasing land there. He purchased 6.5 acres of land there in the summer of 1982. He also sold his share of the ancestral land for it.

He left his native village at the end of 1982 and constructed a small kucha house with mud and cow dung in the land he purchased. His father also joined him there. Initially it was very difficult to adjust in the new village but his father, sister and his brother-in-law helped him. Only eldest brother Gurmukh Singh remained in the ancestral land with his family.

The land he purchased had *safeda* trees. So he and his father did hard work to make it fertile for cultivation. Father lived with him for 3 years. After that in 1985 he shifted to his elder son Gurmukh Singh. During the floods of 1988 his father died. After his death his land was equally divided between the two sons. Each got 6 kanals. Sarmukh Singh sold his portion to his brother Gurmukh Singh because the land was in ancestral village. It was difficult for him to manage that land.

Sarmukh Singh’s sons were grown up and “*hatth vandaun lag gaye si*” had started helping, they started helping their father. After finishing their education they fully involved themselves in agriculture. As he did not require all his sons for the purpose so he sent his second son Balwinder to the city so that he could learn the mechanical
skills. *Balwinder nu shehar ghaliya kaam sikhan vaaste*, Balwinder Singh was sent to the city to learn the work.

He learnt the mechanical work for 2-3 years. In 1994 Sarmukh Singh took loan for the construction of a house. In 1995 he rented a shop in the city and borrowed money from relatives and friends for purchasing instruments for the shop. Balwinder Singh started this shop. This became an extra source of income for the family. Whenever a tractor or combine wanted a repair the villagers called Balwinder Singh. With extra source of income and with the help of loan he purchased another four acres of land in the village.

In 2000 the eldest son got married. The eldest and youngest son was involved in agriculture and the second son Balwinder Singh got fully involved in his shop. Under the influence of urban area his style of living and thinking changed with time. In 2003 he got married. Due to his shop he was not taking interest in agriculture. Small tiffs took place between him and his father. Father wanted to keep him under his control and tried to show his authority by interfering in his work. But Balwinder Singh took his own decisions.

In 2005 father separated him by giving him his share of land and constructed a new portion within the same precincts. Balwinder Singh got 4.5 acres of land. Whatever he earned from the shop he kept it with himself. After division father was not happy that his son has gone out of his control. In 2007 the youngest son Popinder Singh got married. Though they lived in the same house everybody had their separate establishments. Father remained the head of family. He informally divided the land between the remaining two sons and also took his own equal share which helped him run his own expenses. Thus he got 4.5 acres for himself.
Second son Balwinder Singh does not like the authority of father. He is open minded and of different views and did not like father’s interference. To avoid the dispute in the house father separated him in 2004 but after separation eldest and youngest son remained under father’s supervision. The father was not happy with the arrangement. He is a far sighted peasant. With such arrangement sons regularly came to him for water. Father in directly controlled their agriculture. He lives separately with his wife and has a separate kitchen. He manages his things alone. He has a mobile, motorcycle and other luxuries in the house.

**Agriculture**

After migration to Bal Labe Darya, Sarmukh Singh had purchased land which was without pump. The land was fertile due to Ravi floods. He installed a monoblock pump of his own without any subsidy. He did not get the electricity connection. “kundhi pa ke pani launde si the land with kundi connection ‘(illegal connection)’”, started stealing electricity for running the pump and some time he took one or two ‘waterings’ from the neighbouring farmers in ‘lihaj’. He got the connection in 1987. Then he started cultivating rice. He did not own any agricultural implements. Hence he started hiring them from the big peasants on cash payment.

With time, he progressed and mechanized his agriculture. He usually hired a truck for taking produce to the market. In 1990 he invested the profit to purchase four acres more. He involved his two sons in agriculture after completion of their schooling. Second son Balwinder started going to city for learning some mechanical work.
He grew maize, wheat, rice and fodder. Cultivation was mainly market oriented and small portion from the produce was kept for self consumption. During harvesting season he hired labour and paid them in cash. Rest of the work was mechanized. He purchased his own tractor.

During wheat season, the family did sowing without any help and harvesting was done with hired harvester combine. Rice was cultivated on a small portion of land. In kharif season they hired labour for rice cultivation because it required hard manual work and proper supervision.

Sarmukh Singh had 4 pumps and 18 acres of land including 11.5 acres purchased by him later. In 2002 he again took loan for the house but used it for deepening the pump which is required periodically. Water table up to 100 feet is contaminated and unfit for irrigation. So they have to go deeper. With the development of agriculture he installed a mechanism called “pehredar” for automatic on/off of the pump (bambi). He did not install it on motor which is near the house because it is looked after by them jointly.

He is a dominating person. To get free from his responsibilities he divided the land equally among his sons and also for himself. Each one got equal share of 4.5 acres of land. Though sons got separate land for cultivating yet they worked under their father’s guidance. He started selling water to his own sons. Thus the sons became dependent on him for irrigating their land. It became an extra source of income for him. Sons consulted the father for selection of crops and for using the pump.

He manages all his agricultural work independently. He has tractor and a chohta jis nu rehre nal jorde si. Oxen attached with cart for transferring of fodder to house. In his 60’s he is not able to do much hard work. He is also selling water to his sons that he
denies. He charges Rs. 3000/- per season from his sons. Sons have no other option except purchasing water from the father because none of the neighbouring farmers has surplus water to sell.

He goes to the market to sell his own as well as his sons’ produce. He mainly grows wheat and maize because these are not water intensive crops. So he can sell his extra water to his three sons. The eldest son Sukhwinder Singh and youngest Popinder Singh are under his control. They grow maize and wheat because father does not provide them sufficient water for rice cultivation.

Sons mentioned that: “They want separate pump for irrigation because of shortage of water. But they are aware of the fact that after the death of their father they would get their share in the pump. So they are not ready to spend money on tube well at present. Hence they are purchasing water from the father. They are compromising today for the sake of future.”

For the repairing and maintenance of pump each son pays equally. Sons are not happy with the father’s attitude that he irrigates his fields and then gives water to them. Due to erratic supply of electricity they do not get sufficient water for irrigation. Relations among the sons and the father are getting strained with this. In kharif season the father usually does not have surplus water so conflict between sons and father erupts.

Balwinder Singh was of liberal values and of moderate nature. The father wants to control him. Father did not like his attitude and separated him in 2005 “nahin bandi si us nal, did not have good relations with him.” After separation he started managing his household independently. His primary occupation is his shop in the city and agriculture is secondary. When he gets free time from his shop he looked after agricultural work. He is independent in decision making. He purchased water from his
father and contributed equally for the upgrading and for repair of the motor. He grew wheat and maize. His wife equally contributed in the agricultural work.

He is smartest among all the brothers. He has his own shop in near city. He had taken loan from the bank for the development of his mechanical work/shop. He is not much concerned about agriculture besides this he did not want to sell his land. Attachment with the land and identification in the village with the size of landholding is his concern. He is active and well aware of depleting water table. He wants to educate his children and wanted them to go for jobs.

Casual labour for manual work is jointly hired by father and sons. He (father) makes the payment “baad vich hisab kar lehnde han” and later settles the accounts. He sells each sons’ produce in mandi and takes the share from their income to repay the loan. Sons use their father’s tractor for ploughing and for other necessary work using their own fuel.

**Women’s Participation**

Isher Singh’s wife was a homely lady. She remained at home and looked after the household chores. Due to big family size she hardly got time to provide her services in the field. She remained busy in cooking and cleaning the house

Mitch cattle and bulls were looked after by women. Isher Singh collected the fodder for cattle and his wife collected the fuel for traditional chulha. Most of the time was spent in work and in free time either they sleep or visit near by houses for gossips. Houses of the kin were near by so they regularly visited one other.

Isher Singh’s wife was active lady she stitched the family member’s cloths at home. She used cow dung for cleaning the floor of the houses and its cake as a fuel for chulha.
They hardly visited far off places. When male members left for the fields then Isher Singh’s wife cleaned the house and cooked the food for the family. In free time she gossip with one another. Nourishing the children was also her duty.

Later with the marriage of the sons Isher Singh’s wife gave responsibilities to daughters-in-law. Her youngest son’s wife took the responsibilities. She looked after the household chores. She did not work in the field. Due to old age Isher Singh’s wife became the supervisor. She expired after some time.

When Sarmukh Singh went abroad in his wife managed the children and looked after the house alone. She always agreed with her husband’s decision. When Sarmukh Singh came back and planned to settle in a new village, she supported his decisions. In resettlement she helped equally. She worked hard to restart the new life in the new village. She worked in the fields too.

With time Sarmukh’s Singh family prospered. He settled his son’s marriage and his wife became mother in law. Sarmukh’s Singh wife gave all duties to daughters-in-law. She was happy that she got helping hand in the house but this happiness was short lived because Sarmukh Singh divided the house and kitchen. In division Sarmukh Singh’s wife got separate kitchen which was managed by her alone.

Sarmukh Singh’s wife does not interfere in any matter because Sarmukh Singh have a firm control in economic and social sphere of the house. Still she has no say in any of the matter. She is sad that she has to work and had separate kitchen.

Eldest and youngest sons’ wives have good relations with her. Sarmukh Singh’s wife felt that her daughters in law are responsible for the division. She tries to control them. Only elder son Sukhwinder Singh’s wife and youngest son’s wife obeyed her
and are under her control. Both remained at house and did not provide their services in field.

Balwinder Singh’s wife is on talking terms with derani and jethani. She is independent and empowered. She takes her own decisions. She asserted that they wanted to settle in city so that the children could study well and in future get into some good jobs.

She does not mind looking after the agriculture and children. Her husband is in job so she is left alone in the house. She is happy that she has separate house. The entire burden is on her shoulders. When husband got free from shop then he works in the field. They are paying for the water and equally contributes the expenditure of repair and upgrading.

“Jad panni nhi milda tah bura lagda hai. Ki paise vi lehnde hai per panni aapni marji nal dehnde hai,” when did not get water for irrigation then felt bad that he took cash (charges) for water but did not give water for irrigation.” That is why she does not like her in laws. She is of open views and wants to settle in city. She is happy that her husband is in job.

She regularly visited parlour and for medical facility she visits city hospital. She feels herself superior to derani and jethani. She wants to have a small family and wants to have land for food grains.

His wife is very active. Beside household works, she takes care of all the agricultural works. She also managed their turn in using pump so that the land would not get dry. Her husband mainly occupied in the shop and only during peak season he works in fields and gave time to agriculture. Rest of the work in field is managed by his wife.
Analysis

1. **Landholding**: Sarmukh Singh inherited one acre and six kanals of land. He went abroad and earned money. After coming back in India he sold his inherited land and invested it in purchasing 6.5 acres of land and later he purchase 4 acres more. His total land became 18 acres which was divided equally in his three sons. He now owns 4.5 acres only. Sarmukh Singh (father) is selling water to his own blood that is his own sons. He has installed the pump with hug investment.

2. (i) **Water technology**: The land he purchased was without pump so he installed a monoblock pump. He did not get connection so he started stealing electricity in kharif and in rabi season he take one or two watering in *lihaj*. With time he installed more water technology and now he has four pumps.

   (ii) **Water (purchasing, sharing, selling)**: In the initially years of his settlement in new village he got free water from his neighbouring peasant for his crops. With time he got his own pump and now he sells water to his own three sons on cash payment.

3. **Crops**: He grew wheat, maize and rice on small portion. Now he does not abundant water for rice because he has to sells water to his own sons. His sons are also cultivating wheat, maize and rice on small portion.

4. **Agricultural Implements**: He did not own much of the implements so he hires them from market and from big peasants on cash payment. With time purchased all his implements and tractor too.

5. **Agricultural Labour**: He managed his work with his family labour and a permanent labour. During season he hired wage labours. Now he does the same practice.
6. Social Relations

I. Family: He has formal relations with his sons. His sons got separated and buys water from him. He manages all his work independently. Still after separation he dominates his sons’ decisions. He is living with his wife. His relations is with his wife is cordial. He is the decision maker and his wife obeys all his decisions.

II. Extended/joint family: He did not maintain much of the relations with kin and relatives. He is not in regular contact with his brothers and visit at his place very often. He visits them only on special occasion. His wife’s parental are near to village so he maintained relations with them.

III. Field neighbours: He has cordial relations with the field neighbours. He visited them and spent free time together. If they need any help he charged for it. He has all the implements but does not rent out to any one in free.

IV. Village neighbours: He is living in dera that is in the field. There are also other dera’s but are far from his dera. Village settlement is nearly one kilometer far from his fields. He maintained the relations but does not frequently visited village.

V. Labour: He hired one permanent labour on annual basis. During season he hired local lower caste wage labour too. Permanent labour took food at the owner’s house.

7. Women’s role (agriculture/house): Sarmukh Singh’s wife helped him in agricultural works. She looked after household chores and children. Now she does not help in fields and due to old age she is confined to household works.
Daughters-in-law are empowered and with improved economic condition they raised their standard of living. They have all necessary amenities that made their life easy.

Second son’s wife independently manages all the agricultural work. She looks after household chores and children too. She knows all the skills.
Case No. 12

**Background**

This is the case of Balwinder Singh of Bal Labe Darya, a jat Sikh of Bal gotra. His father Gurdeep Singh Bal was a big peasant with 10 acres of land. He had 4 sons and 3 daughters, a big pucca house in the village. Agriculture was his primary source of livelihood.

He sent his children to the village school, but owning to lack of interest in education and lack of proper infrastructure, they all dropped out after elementary class. Eventually he engaged them in his agricultural occupation. His sons used to pass their time mainly playing and helping their father. Diesel engine and rain water were the sources of irrigation. With introduction of electricity for agriculture a tube-well was installed by him for irrigation in 1983. He was the head of the family and had all the authority.

He settled the marriage of his eldest daughter in 1970. For this purpose he took loan from a money lender and also from his relatives. He became indebted. His other daughters also got married after sometime. In 1993 he gave one acre of land to her eldest daughter. In due course of time his all sons got married and continued living in ancestral house under one roof. They were working under his supervision.

Balwinder Singh was the second son and in 1985 he got married. He was helping the father in the fields. His wife was not on good terms with her in-laws. She regularly had tiffs with them. In 1990 Balwinder Singh and his family were separated. He got one acre of land. Father and his other brothers were living in the ancestral house whereas Balwinder Singh got nothing. He constructed a kucha house at the outskirts of the village. Due to break up of relations the father did not allow him to irrigate his land.
land from his pump. Thus he was left without water. His parents and brothers ended all the relations with him and did not provide any help to him in his settlement.

Gurdeep Singh had status and enjoyed cordial relations within the village. With depleted water table agriculture was not providing much income. So eldest son sold one acre and went to Hoshiarpur. He worked there and earned enough money for the family. In 2002 he came back to the village and invested money in purchasing two more acres. Still father and his other three sons are together and working under his authority. In 2007 they sold all their assets in the village and settled in Hoshiarpur. They felt more chances of development there. Now they have a big house there and owned all the luxuries and necessary amenities.

Balwinder Singh has two sons and a daughter. Economic condition of the family is deteriorating day by day. Relatives are also not on good terms with him. Villagers maintain limited relation with him. He himself works as a construction labourer. He took loan from arhtiya for household expenses. His wife works day and night as a casual labourer in handicraft industry. The eldest son and daughter have left education. Eldest son became very aggressive because his aspiration for education was not fulfilled due to poor economic condition. He is at present cattle rearer.

The youngest son is studying in government school. Debts of the family are mounting high. With increased burden of debt Balwinder Singh is planning to sell off his land to the landlord to whom he has leased his land out. She still works hard to run the household. His house is still kucha and without necessary amenities even. They keep two milch cattle, a few sheep to supplement their income.
Agriculture

In 1970 Gurdeep Singh, head of the family had 10 acres of land. He was cultivating his land with the help of diesel engine. Sugarcane, maize, fodder and wheat were grown. He owned all the agricultural implements. He had cordial relations with the neighbouring farmers. He installed a tube well for irrigation. He also changed his crop selection and started cultivating rice and wheat only. His sons were helping him in agriculture. He did not hire labour and all the agricultural work was manually done by the family members.

In 1992 after separation Balwinder Singh got one acre of land without pump. It became difficult for him to cultivate land without any source of water. He could not install a pump on his marginal land so he started cultivating less water intensive crops. It was not providing enough for the family. He found difficulty to meet the two ends and economically became poorer day by day. He did not own agricultural implements. He used to borrow them from his neighbouring peasants in *lihaj*. He did hard work to run the household.

Due to lack of water he grew only fodder and wheat on small portion of land with rain water. In kharif season he grew fodder only. In 1995 he resorted to his neighbouring pump owner for water who was not ready to provide him water because he had an eye on his land. In one season he gave him water and in the next he refused to provide water. in such situation Balwinder Singh was forced to leasing out his land to owner with the condition that he would lease out his land in kharif season (for rice) and in return would get some fixed amount as well as one or two waterings for wheat cultivation.
In 2000 the situation turns worst when the pump owner virtually blackmailed him to lease out his land for the entire year otherwise he would stop giving him water even for the wheat cultivation. He had no option so he agreed and leased out his land for year. Balwinder Singh got a big jolt with leasing out his land. He became totally free. To run the household expenditures he changed his occupation and became casual labourer. After change in occupation he maintained limited relations with the villagers. His status in the village declined. He started working in town. *Reta bharan da kamm karan lag giya*, started doing the job of filling sand in city because working in the village was very insulting for him.

On the other side Balwinder Singh’s other brothers were jointly cultivating the entire land with the father and had one pump for irrigation. Father became the supervisor. They were cultivating crops like rice, wheat and sugarcane. With depletion of water table, pump was not providing enough water.

In 2000 the eldest son sold an acre and went to Hoshiarpur. He invested money in the business of his relative. He earned enough and sent money to his father. In 2005 he came back to the village and spent money in purchasing two more acres. They progressed with time.

**Women’s participation**

After marriage of Balwinder Singh his wife did not able to adjust with her in-law’s. She used to do all the household chores. She was active in all the work. Her in-law did not like her and it became the reason for the separation of Balwinder Singh from the parental house. She was unhappy with separation because they did not inherit the equal share and got one acre of land without pump. His wife started working in the
village for financing the house. She did all kind of menial jobs to run the house. She supported her husband in bad times and maintains the relations with the villagers.

**Analysis**

1. **Landholding:** Balwinder Singh inherited one acre of land and in year he leased out his land and became daily labourer.

2. **(i) Water technology:** He did not inherited any pump nor he could install it on just one acre of land.

   (ii) **Water (purchasing, sharing, selling):** He started purchasing water from the big peasant. But did not get sufficient water thus leased out his land.

3. **Crops:** He grew wheat and maize but land was less and did not get sufficient water so leased out.

4. **Agricultural Implements:** He did not posses any of the implements so took it from big peasant on *lihaj*.

5. **Agricultural Labour:** Earlier he used to manage it with family labour. He leased out his land.

6. **Social Relations**

   I. **Family:** He lives with his wife and children. Due to poor economic condition family is not happy. His other brothers progressed.

   II. **Extended/joint family:** He did not have relations with any of his relatives. Father separated him and did not give him equal share and any financial help. Due to poor economic condition none of the kin group wanted relation with him.
III. Field neighbours: Neighbours in the fields maintain limited and have formal relations with him. They harassed him to such extent for water that he leased out his land.

IV. Village neighbours: Villagers do not like to make relations with them. He declined in social and economic ladder and counted in the lower class.

V. Labour: He does not engage labour and himself became wage labour and works in city.

7. Women’s role (home/agriculture): Balwinder’s wife maintains relations with neighbours and villagers. She works hard to run the household expenditure. She is not satisfied with the economic condition of the house and with the division of property. She no more associate herself with jat community.
Background

This is the case of Heta Singh of Lehal Kalan village. His father Natha Singh was head of the family. He lived in Sukhiana patti belonging to a jat Sikh family of Sarao gotra. He was a big peasant with 20 acres of fertile agricultural land in 1980s. It was his primary occupation and main source of livelihood. Besides agriculture he had dairy business on small scale. He had a big house with one big room for the cattle. Engine was his source of irrigation in agriculture. He was among the dominant peasants of the village.

He has 4 sons. He educated them but due to lack of importance of education in the village they dropped out after fifth class and started helping him in his work. In 1982 Natha Singh died. His wife got all the responsibilities. Under her supervision sons got married. With increased family size she divided the land and house among them. She gave equal share to each son. Each one got five acres. Later the house was also divided and each son got a separate and independent portion. Brothers remained in cordial relations and were helpful to one another after separation.

Elder son Dhan Singh was unmarried and did not want to marry. Mother was living with him. He inherited five acres of land. His land was mutually looked after by other brothers. After finishing their own work they provided their services on each others fields. Presently he is leasing out his land to some of his neighbouring peasant. After his death his land would divide among his brothers.

Second son was Ran Singh. He also inherited five acres of land. In 1990 he purchased two acres more. Canal and rain water was the source of irrigation. Wheat and cotton was grown. He has three sons and two daughters. He educated his children. Presently
he and his sons are doing well in agriculture. In 2005 they installed a submersible
pump with loan and then they started cultivating rice and wheat. They have five horse
power motor for irrigation so he did not have spare water to sell.

Third son Nehar Singh also inherited five acres of land. He has two sons. He educated
them. His eldest son joined the Indian Army after completing education and the
youngest son is helping father in his agriculture. Both sons are married. Eldest son
Vikram Singh was living with his family in an army quarter. Father has informally
divided the land among his sons. Vikram Singh got the land without pump and
youngest Barinder got the land with pump. Now eldest son’s land is looked after by
the younger one. He has fixed the leasing terms and Barinder is paying rent (theka) to
elder brother. Barinder is irrigating his brother’s land from his own pump. He is very
active in agriculture. He installed a submersible pump with the loan and now he is
also leasing-in his adjoining lands. The economic condition improved with changed
crop selection. With cash crops he is earning more.

Fourth son Heta Singh is the respondent in this case study. He is primary pass. He
inherited five acres of land and few implements. Canal and rain water was his source
of irrigation. He learned all the agricultural skills from his father and was fully trained
in all works. After father’s death he maintained the relations. He was very cooperative
and hard working peasant.

Heta Singh has two sons. He educated them. His elder son Major Singh joined army
after education. Younger son Ramphal Singh involved in father’s occupation of
agriculture and started helping him. Both father and son worked together and in free
time sat with the Amar Singh his adjoining field peasant. They played cards and
discussed the local politics was one another. Generally field neighbours jointly go to
mandi (market) to purchase inputs. Heta Singh did not have transportation vehicle so
he went on the tractor of other big peasant to the mandi. At the time of mela or kabaddi match all the peasants goes together.

As the canal supply became irregular it became very difficult for Heta Singh to provide water to his crops in kharif (rice) season. In 2000 he installed an engine for irrigation. It was used for pumping water from the canal and for extracting groundwater. Though they owned engine but the pumped water was not sufficient for crops in kharif season. Year after year groundwater and water in canal was on decline.

Later the eldest son sent him some money for installation of a pump. For rest of the required amount for submersible he took loan from the cooperative society and from the money lender. In 2005 he installed the 20 Horse Power motor in new bore on his land. It made their agriculture easy and productive. New pump started providing sufficient water. He grew rice in major portion and fodder. Youngest son Ramphal compelled his father (Heta Singh) to stop providing free water to his needy neighboring farmers. He gave the suggestion that they can recover their expenditure on the submersible by selling water. By this practice they could get money for the repair and maintenance. Heta was very helpful to the villagers and to his relatives. It was not liked by his son. The villagers wanted him to elect as panch but he did not have interest in politics so he refused to contest the election.

Heta Singh was progressing with his agriculture. In 2008 he purchased three acres of adjoining land from a big peasant who possessed 15 acres. This neighbouring big peasant required money for the marriage of his daughter. So he sold 3 acres to him.

From the profit from agriculture, Heta Singh purchased a cell phone and a motor cycle for his younger son (Ramphal). He has pucca house with all the necessary amenities. He is very enterprising. He does not want his father to provide implements
free to others. He has updated the water technology and the mode of cultivation. He is in favor of taking loan for adoption of new and costly implements to generate more profit. Presently his son Ramphal is cultivating entire land. He is the decision maker and has all the authority.

**Agriculture**

Heta Singh inherited five acres of agricultural land. He had cattle in the house for domestic use. Earlier brothers were using canal and rain water for irrigation. He used to take one or two watering from the neighbouring peasant in exchange of his services. He did weeding and spray in owner’s fields etc. With irregular supply of canal water he started searching for regular supply of water. Heta Singh preferred to have an individual pump so that cultivation did not get effected. He has installed engine in 2000 but the quantity of pumped out water was not enough for cultivation and it was badly affecting the crops.

In 2005 he installed an independent submersible pump with 20 horse power motor. His son provided him financial support. It improved his production and generated good profit. He started hiring casual labour for agricultural work during peak season and rest of the work was managed with family labour.

He started cultivating wheat, rice and vegetables. He was educated enough to understand the system of loan taking. Changed water technology in irrigation benefited him. Due to father’s traditional ties with the neighboring peasants Heta Singh gave them water for irrigation in *lihaj*. He provided one or two ‘waters’. The transaction continued. Heta Singh and neighbours spent free time together so when Heta Singh required physical labour he took their manual services in his fields in a way they exchanged their services in lieu of water. This practice saved Heta Singh’s
physical labour and expenditure too. During season he hired migrant labour on cash payment. Now he became supervisor with all the facilities. In 2008 he purchased 3 acres of adjoining land.

He used his own submersible pump for irrigating his new purchased land. Work load and the manual work were reduced with the installation of pump. He spent most of the leisure time in gossiping with the neighbouring peasants. He purchased inputs like pesticides and fertilizers from the village cooperative society. He has his account in cooperative bank. He generally took loan twice in a year. He sold produce in market and then returned the loan and also took fresh loan for next season. In such a way he remains under debt through out year. He usually took loan from the arhtiya (money lender). He charged 12% interest which is double from the banks. Arhtiya is available all the time and is ready to give easy loan.

His production and income increased, with the assured water supply. But the relations with the other farmers became commercial. He said “hun tan oh sadde ton darde ne”. Now they are scared of us. He said “pehlan bohat bhaichara si hun tan den-len da hi rishta hai”. Earlier the relations were very affectionate, now they have only functional give-and-take relationship.

Now they sell water to their adjoining farmers Jasbir Singh and Puran Singh. They are brothers from the same patti and caste. Both have 3.5 acres of land each. Earlier their father Kaka Singh had good relations with Heta Singh’s father. They used to exchange water and services. Kaka Singh and his sons Jasbir and Puran Singh were using engine for irrigation. Heta Singh some time borrowed one or two time water from Kaka Singh. When Kaka Singh got old and confined to bed his sons became active in managing the entire work of agriculture. Their engine was not more providing enough for the irrigation. Thus became nonfunctional. In such situation
both brothers were totally dependent on Heta Singh’s pump. Brothers were not financially well off for installation of high cost pump. They were not in cordial relations with one another nor have individual water source. So Heta Singh took the advantage and started charging for water as per the market rate. Their entire cultivation was dependent on his pump. The brothers did not have other option because Heta Singh was the only farmer near to them and who had submersible pump with surplus water. Canal Water was not sufficient. They agreed to pay the charges for water.

Their land was adjoining to Heta Singh’s land. They started making payment in cash to Heta Singh. They grew cotton and wheat. The brothers usually had fight with the Heta Singh as well as between themselves for water. They usually fought for the turns. Heta Singh pointed that “The brothers were in conflict with each other and were ready to pay higher price provided the other brother would not get water. So in such conditions I charged higher rate of water from them and took the advantage of their quarrel.”

Heta Singh didn’t charge money from the other water buyer Amar Singh because of traditional ties. Due to his own as well as of his father’s relations with Amar Singh he did not charge for water but to generate benefit from improved technology he did transaction in kind. He took his sons’ services. During wheat season his sons helped in spraying pesticides and fertilizers. They also helped him in looking after the field. Traditional relations facilitated Amar Singh in such transaction.

Whereas in case of Jasbir Singh and Puran Singh they have contractual relations with Heta Singh so the transaction is made in cash. Heta Singh informed that providing water in *lihaj* is no more beneficial. Installation of advanced technology is costly and
water level is depleting year after year. Whether the government would charge tariff or not he would continue charging.

Now Heta Singh is old, so the entire work and decisions are taken by his youngest son. His son hires permanent labour for his help. Heta only supervises the work and goes to market with his son for selling the produce. Heta Singh informed that presently agriculture is much dependent on new technology and labour so owner himself is becoming obsolete. He mentioned that Ramphal is very enterprising. He is not in the favor of providing free water. His son hired tractor for plowing and thresher for harvesting. All the payments are made in cash.

Heta Singh is happy that his eldest son helped him in purchasing submersible. As he is in the army so Ramphal is looks after the entire land independently. Elder son does not take any help from the house but Heta Singh informed that he would legally give him his share in future.

**Women’s participation**

Earlier women provided their services in house as well as in fields. Natha Singh the head of the family and father of Heta Singh worked in fields and his wife provided her services in the house and after finishing household chores she worked in family field. She did all the work like “*kakh kadh dehndian si, narma chugdian si*” removed the weeds and plucked cotton. With changed crop selection their much of the work was reduced. With mechanization women’s participation in agriculture reduced and they only provided food in the field to the labour or supervise the crop. After the marriage of the sons, their wife started helping in work.

After division and separation of Natha Singh’s sons each son started looking after his land independently. Heta Singh’s wife equally contributed in managing his
agricultural work. She provided her services in the field but with mechanization her work load reduced. Later her work was confined to house only.

She maintained social relations with all the relatives. She regularly visited Heta Singh’s brothers’ house and also invited them in all the family functions. Her derani and jethani accompany her to Gurudware. In occasions like on children birthday or on sacred days like sangrand, panchami they jointly prepare offerings. She mentioned that now the relations have changed. They hardly visit them and vice versa. She feels that with the improved living condition they remain busy in watching T.V, sleeping and in house hold works. They meet each other on festivals and in local occasions like any function in the village etc.

Heta Singh’s wife is happy that her husband and son are doing well in agriculture. So she does not mind in selling water to the needy farmers. She feels that by selling water they can generate their funds to meet the expenditure of submersible. Heta Singh’s wife is uneducated but she knows all the agricultural work. She mentioned that they have permanent labour in field so she does not work in the field. During harvesting and sowing seasons she provides food to the labour. Later she looks after the crop after harvesting. She is happy that now her husband’s most of the load is shared by the son and the labour.

With improved financial condition she became very enterprising. She told that she does not frequently visit her relatives “kitte oh pump vaste paise na mang lin. Nale oh sadda pump vekh ke galan karde ne” they may not ask to pay for the pump, besides, they indulge in gossip when they see our pump. They might ask for money. They generally envy about our pump and talk ill about us.
“Narma ghar hi katt dian ne” they spun cotton at home “ghar dea cheejan banaun vaste” to make clothes. They still had traditional chulah so she uses the stem of cotton plant (chhatian) as fuel. Modern gas is available in the house but she feels more comfortable with chulah. For instant cooking she used gas.

She mentioned that with the availability of the servant in field, much of their work at home is also reduced. Now cattle and work outside the house is mainly taken over by her husband. Earlier she treated the nauker/ permanent servant as a member of the family but now she keeps a social distance as she does not allow him to do kitchen work or enter sacred place of worship in the house. She cooked the food herself.

From the improved financial condition she feels change in the living conditions. Now she is very comfortable. She is happy that they have a motor cycle for transportation. T.V, new steel tank for grain storage, washing machine etc have reduced their work load and enhanced their status. She now goes to the town for taking ‘agreji’, allopathic medicine if required.

Analysis

1. Landholding: He inherited 5 acres and later purchased 3 acres more. Thus his total land became 8 acres.

2. (i) Water technology: Earlier he had canal and rain water as source of irrigation. With irregular supply he installed engine for irrigation in 2000. With declined water table he installed individual submersible.

(ii) Water (purchasing, sharing, selling): Earlier he took water in lihaj from his neighbor Amar Singh. But when he installed his own submersible he started selling water to others. Amar Singh who gave him water in lihaj now is
without pump so take water from Heta Singh in exchange of his services. He took the advantage of his neighbours and started selling water to them.

3. **Agricultural Implements**: Earlier he inherited few implements and rest he used to borrow from to others. With time he purchased his own necessary implements. He hires thresher and combine on cash payment from the market.

4. **Crops**: He grew wheat, rice and vegetables.

5. **Agricultural Labour**: He managed his work with family labour. During peak season he hires casual labour on cash payment.

6. **Social Relations**

   I. **Family**: Heta Singh is happy with his family. His eldest son is earning well and helped him in installation of pump. Youngest son took all the responsibilities of agriculture. Where as the buyer Jasbir and puran Singh got adversely affected because of the family dispute. They did not come together in upgrading the technology and finally they started buying water from Heta Singh. The buyers are not in a position to grow high water intensive crops so they grow cotton and wheat. He with the increased expenditure on agriculture and due to his new high HP motor he became seller. Traditional ties with field neighbours were creating problem in selling water. He wanted to provide water to them. So he took their services in return. Due to his own water technology Heta Singh is in a position to grow rice.

   II. **Extended family**: Relations with the extended family was cordial.

   III. **Field neighbours**: Earlier Heta Singh spent free time with his neighbours. He goes with his neighbours to purchase inputs from the market. He
borrowed implements from them and shared his agricultural problems with them. Earlier he regarded neighbours as brothers. After installation of pump he started selling water and increased water rates. With mechanization he did not bother of social relations. Now he regards them as buyers of water. Thus contractual relations have come into picture. Although groundwater is a common resource but those who own a technology to make its use, they take the advantage by making it a private commodity which can only be sold with the owner’s choice. He provides free water to one who is in cordial relations and had traditional ties. But now he provided their services in return.

IV. Village neighbours: He maintained intimate relations with the neighbours at home. They regularly visit them and vice versa. He has good reputation in the village.

V. Labour: He has commercial relations with hired casual labour. He hires permanent labour on annual basis.

7. Women’s role (home/agriculture): Women were very hard working. They looked after household chores and helped in agricultural work too. After mechanization the work load of women reduced and their work area confined to house only.
Case No. 14

Background

This is the case of Bharpur Singh and his nephew Jasbir Singh of Lehal Kalan village. Amir Chand, the head and father of five brothers and grandfather of Jasbir. He was Ramdasia Sikh of Marar gotra. He lived in Ramdasia patti. He was in small business of jutti-making. He was famous for his profession. He did not get much from his occupation. He worked very hard to run the household but the condition of the family did not change. He had seven sons. All of them remained illiterate because of poor economic condition. Elder son started helping father in his profession. The father and the sons jointly took the responsibility of running the house. Sons grew up.

As time passed other sons also grew up. Their daily demands increased with their age. The father's Jutti making was a small business. The income was jointly shared. The sons remained free most of the time because they did not have much work to do. It became the issue of daily dispute in the family. The sons were not happy with their economic condition. They started searching for new jobs. The father wanted them to be independent and demanded their contribution in financing the house. They got the opportunity of cultivating land of one of their friends on lease.

A friend lived in the next village and (us nu zamin dur pendi si) his 2.5 acres of land was far away from his house. It was difficult for him to cultivate the land so he leased out the land. Leasing terms were fixed before hand. They gave half portion of the grains to the owner and sold some of the grains in the village market. Rest of it they kept for self consumption. This way they got a new source of income. It became their secondary occupation. Land had supply of canal water.
Brothers were happy with farming. They made it as their primary occupation and in extra time they worked with father for jutti-making occupation. After harvesting, they got food grains for self consumption and rest they gave to land owner. They were happy with it.

Elder son Chanan Singh had different views. He wanted that father would take jutti-making as primary occupation. On this issue he did not have cordial relations with him. He was not happy working with him in the fields. He had no interest in agriculture. In due course he got married. After marriage his in-law’s added fuel to the fire. To avoid dispute and to start the business of his own choice he got separated from the family at the instance of his in-laws. The father gave him his share. He got a portion of the ancestral house and cash instead of a share in the shop. After separation he joined his in-laws’ profession of dairy farming.

In 1976 other son Gurmail and Deshraj got married. The father arranged their marriage. Till 1984 six out of seven sons were married. Father died in 1985. After his death all the sons were free from the yoke of their father. They decided to purchase the lease-in 2.5 acres of land. They decided to sell their father’s shop because they were not able to give attention to the shop. Only the youngest son was left unmarried.

The eldest son did not contribute because he got separation and broken all his relations with the family. They sold the shop for Rs 55,000/- and purchased 2.5 acres of land for Rs 80,000/- in 1980. Canal water was for irrigation. They purchased it at relatively cheap rates in 1980.

In 1983 they installed an engine because of reduced flow of water in canal. It helped them to pumping water from canal. They also used it to pump groundwater in the absence of canal water. After in 1990 the depletion of groundwater and reduced canal
water supply the cultivation became difficult. Canal water was not enough for irrigation and it was only available in one season that is rabi. With time it was not easy for brothers to use the engine because it pumped out less water. At last they decided to adopt new advanced technology. In 1991 they sold the engine and purchased a tubewell pump by contributing money. Each brother contributed equally. To avoid any conflict they informally divided the land among them. Each got 3.6 kanals of land. *Purane engine wale bore vich hi tubewell lagva lea.* They spent Rs 15000/- and got 2 horse power motor. It was an electrical pump. Brothers remained under one roof and only land was divided. With division of land they started working of their own. Electric pump did not require much of the supervision and physical labour.

Brothers jointly managed the land and exchanged their services. Thus they did not hire any labour. They became independent and free for selecting the crop for cultivation and for other major decisions in agriculture. In 1992, the brothers decided to divide the house due to increased family size. Thus the formal division in land and house took place. The second son Gurmail Singh, fifth son Borea Singh and seventh son Buggar Singh sold their portion of house to other brothers and constructed their own houses on agricultural land called *dera.*

After separation, relations among them remained cordial. Although the land was divided and each got its share they jointly looked after land and operated pump. Time to time deepening of pump and contribution of costs were mutually shared. With the declining water table the neighbouring big zamindar got the connection for the submersible pump. Canal water supply had gone irregular. In 1992 government also started charging fee on the use of canal water. The brothers generally had tension in using and sharing pump because if there was one’s turn and electricity cut appeared
then he missed his turn. In such a condition the crop suffered and the relations also got strained. For profit neighboring farmers also started installing submersible pump at great depth. The neighboring farmer on south side of his field had 12 acres of land. He installed a new submersible with huge investment.  

The increased household expenditure created tension in the family. Children of all the brothers got mature and land was not profitable for them. Sons remained free most of the time.

Neighbouring high horse power pump affected their own water table and their tube well could not pump out sufficient water. It required regular investment on its deepening and up dating of the technology, which was an extra constraint on them. Much of the agricultural work was mechanized so brothers were depending on neighbors for help and implements rather than on each other.

Agriculture was becoming a costly occupation for them. Their production was affected with depleting water table and with less canal and rain water. The expenditure on inputs was reaching the skies. The high rate of interest made them further indebted. Financing the family expenditure became difficult. Thus brother’s relations got affected. None of the brothers was financially comfortable to help. In such situation the relations were adversely effected.

The condition became acute when the pump stopped pumping out water in 1999. So finally brothers started independently searching for another source of water. The high cost of submersible was not in the capacity of the brothers. Each brother one was looking for source of irrigation. They had cordial relations with the neighboring farmers. Earlier when their pump would break down brother’s used to give them
water for irrigation and vice versa. The neighboring farmers were very cooperative. So they had a hope of getting water for irrigation. They sold their pump.

Rates of the inputs were raising and the production from the small piece of land was not much. In kharif season of 2000 brothers approached the neighbouring pump owner for water but their plea was turned down. He asked for water charges. In such a situation they were badly fixed. *(Pani mull da layiye ke beej, khadan?)*. Shall we buy water or seeds and fertilizers?

The next generation of brothers merely got struck with land without pump. They started side occupation and in a way reduced to meet one another. The social position in the village also reduced when they shifted their occupation.

![Diagram of family tree]

### Agriculture

When the sons of Amir Chand purchased the land they started managing it with the family labour. They grew bajra, wheat and *narma* (cotton) with canal water. Water supply was reliable and regular. It was provided for fixed two hours in proportion to the area of the land and without any charges. It raised the family income significantly. All the family members were happy with the agriculture. For irrigating the fields, all the members of the family were assigned with the duties. Gurmail the eldest son looked after the turn while his brothers did the manual work. Amir Chand’s wife also worked on the land and cooked food for all the family members. In irrigating the land *nal de khet wale vi pani da dhayan rakhde si*, adjoining field neighbours also took care of water for irrigation. While sharing the canal water social relations with the
neighbouring farmers developed. Each farmer would take care of his own and next farmer’s turn. Yet they had some conflict at times while sharing water from the canal. (*Nakhe banan piche lar pehnde si, ya jad khet nhi berda si tan vari piche lar pehnde si*). When the government released canal water, the peasants helped one another in order to take maximum advantage. Using canal water required cooperation and regular supervision.

Sowing, ploughing, weeding, harvesting etc was jointly done. Gurmail (second son) and Des Raj (third son) took the father’s hold of selling produce to the market. Mother got all the responsibility of giving the expenditure and distributing of the income. Wives of all the sons also contributed in the season like “*narma chugan da kaam kardea si*” plucking of cotton etc. When the sons completed their work then wives jointly collected the grains and stored in the drum for the self consumption. Other important work like collecting the steps of cotton plant for using it as a fuel, collecting cattle dung to use it on field as organic fertilizer was the duties of women of the house.

Neighboring farmers were also very cooperative with them. They borrowed implements and other required things on *lihaj*. If neighbour required any help in their agricultural works like spraying in fields etc they provide their services. In real terms, cooperation and cohesiveness helped them in maintaining their production and reputation.

Initially, cooperative farming was dominated which made agriculture easy and time exchange in agriculture work was made in terms of services. One would hire implements in exchange of physical labour.
To generate more profit, they commercialized their agriculture by adopting new irrigation technology. They purchased an engine for pumping water from canal and some times they used it for pumping water from canal. They invested Rs 5,000 in 1983 on installing an engine and started growing rice on one acre of land and on one and a half acres they grew cotton. The land was jointly operated by the family labour so they did not hire any outside labour. The implements were hired from big peasants in exchange of their services.

They started purchasing seeds from the cooperative society and sold the produce in near by town market. Their financial situation improved year after year. They started using chemical pesticides and fertilizers. When the shortage of inputs in village market then they purchased it from the town.

With the engine the water supply was sufficient and reliable. They operate it with diesel so they get into the contact with town for purchase of inputs and diesel for an engine. With the engine brothers divided the agricultural work like elder Des Raj and Gurmail Singh looked after the produce and supervises the work. They hired the implements from the market and younger brothers did the manual work. They did not hire any labour. In rabi season they hired seasonal labour for threshing the wheat. Other neighbouring farmers also provided help in the field.

The main problems shoot up when other neighbouring farmers also installed a pump of high horse power. Year after year the problem increased. The pump extract less water thus the production got affected. They started demanding water from the neighbors when there is no rainfall. It affected the water table. Neighbors generally provided water so that the output did not get adverse effect. They shared water and with time each brother changed the crops and started cotton and rice on small portion.
In 1991 they installed a tubewell for regular supply for irrigation. Each one contributed equally and mechanice from town was called for its installation.

In 1992 they formally divided the land and house among themselves. Each got 3.6 kanals of land and became marginal peasants. They started independently managing the land. They started hiring labour only during season. They increased their dependence on market for hiring labour and on implements. Each brother looked after the land individually. All the agricultural work like purchasing of seeds, inputs from market and sold its produce individually. Family contributed in agriculture. With non sufficient supply of water the produce was also affected. Fertility of land and rainwater for irrigation was on decline.

In 1998 their pump became nonfunctional. Each brother was left with no source of water. They stopped growing rice. Each brother tried to manage water for irrigation. They became independent and stopped providing any help and services to one another. Each hired its own labour and implements.

The eldest son Chanan Singh was living with his in-laws. He joined their business of dairy farming. With time his family size increased. Presently he is looking after his dairy business. There is not much work because it is on small scale. He has two sons and a daughter.

His sons worked as daily wage labourer. The father’s profession was not enough for financing the house. When they saw other relatives doing agriculture and getting food grains, then they jointly leased in the panchayat land for cultivation. This land is reserved for the Scheduled Caste farmers. They worked as labour and simultaneously cultivated the land for self consumption. In the social milieu it is a prestigious occupation. Land is the determinant of social class as well as power in the village.
Panchayat land has a pump so irrigation is not problem for them in agriculture. They grew wheat and cotton.

Gurmail Singh, the second son of Amir Chand was cultivating his inherited 3.6 kanals in 1992. He irrigated his land with joint pump. He lives in a kuccha house. In 1998 he was left with no source of water for irrigation then he pleaded to his neighbour for water. He promised to provide his sons services in owner’s fields in lieu of water. The seller agreed.

He did hard work for financing the house. He provided his services in the field of seller so that he could get frequent supply of water. Gurmail Singh has three sons. His sons helped him to look after the ancestral land but due to small landholding they were not generating much income. He used to grow mustard, chhole, jaun and cotton for commercial purposes and wheat for self consumption. Sons did not have much work so they started working as wage labour for income to run the house. Eldest got job as ticket collector.

Gurmail Singh’s field neighbour is Puran Singh. He started taking water from him and started providing his sons’ services in lieu of water to the Puran Singh (seller). As Gurmail Singh got old and was confined to bed, he divided the land among his sons. Each son got nearly an kanal and 2 marley of land. Recurrent division of land made them marginal farmer. Gurmail Singh died in 2000 and his land got transferred to his sons.

The next generation of Gurmail Singh took over his occupation. His eldest son is Jasbir Singh, second son Karamjeet and youngest Baljeet. In 2000 they got the land and started cultivating the land independently. All sons were married.
Jasbir Singh the respondent inherited one kanal and 2 merley of land. He got father’s implements and rest he used to hired from big peasants in lihaj. He is uneducated and has been helping father since childhood. Due to lack of importance to education he remained illiterate. Otherwise he has a very sharp mind. He works hard and tries different jobs for improving the financial condition of the family. He got a job as a ticket collector in the local village mandi. He earns nearly Rs 3500/- for a month. It is for 3 months in Kharif and 3 months in Rabi. He started earning for himself. He is always very active in the social affairs of the village. If there is any dispute or problem among the villagers he usually comes in front to solve their problem. Due to his accommodating nature he got elected as a member of the panchayat and currently is an active member of village panchayat.

Due to his job he made good money. In due course he got married. Recurring division of the land left marginal share for the next generation. He took the responsibility of the land. He said “kiyari jaha hi milya si, got very small piece of land”. He asserted that he has himself changed his plight. He wanted to improve his financial condition. He knows that he had marginal piece of land. After the father’s death he became independent. He continued borrow water from Puran Singh in exchange of his services. In 2000 he lease in his adjoining land. The land belonged to his uncle Janak Raj. His land increased marginally. With the side business he started doing cash transaction for water with Puran Singh.

Since then he continued taking land on lease. In 2001 he leased in his brother’s land. In 2006 Janak Raj wanted money to marry his daughter. His land was without any permanent source of water which was not providing them much. In such a condition it was difficult for him to cultivate the land. His sons had no interest in cultivating small portion. Janak Raj’s land was totally at the mercy of water seller so he thought of
disposing the land as a best way for managing the money for his daughter’s marriage and coming out of the crisis.

Jasbir Singh’s job helped him to contribute money for the purchase of his uncle’s agricultural land in 2006 he purchased the one acre of land. Jasbir Singh has one son and a daughter. Both are studying. He did not want his son to be in agriculture. The land was without permanent source of water. Due to his influence as a panchayat member Jasbir Singh was getting regular water on cash payment from the neighboring seller Puran Singh. He is now in a comfortable position. He did not meet his brothers because they are in poor condition and changed their occupation.

Presently his total land measures one acre and one kanal and 2 merley in which he grows cotton and wheat for commercial as well as house consumption. He did not have his own water pump, nor any supply of canal water regularly for the land which he purchased from his uncle. So he buys water on cash payment. From the side business and agriculture income he was able to manage money for the purchase of the inputs and water. He did all the agricultural work himself like narme di gudae karni, panni launa, plowing, irrigation. During peak season he hires local and migrant labour for harvesting. In rest of the work his wife helped him. He has one son. He wants to educate him. He is working so that his son would get education. He got a secondhand motorcycle for transportation.

In 2005 he jointly installed a small submersible of 2 horse power motor with his chacha. It cost them Rs 20,000/-. It is working on house meter. Now he is doing well in agriculture.

Younger brothers of Jasbir Singh are Karamjeet Singh and Baljeet Singh. They also have marginal landholdings and are financially poor to install a pump or to buy water.
Since Karamjeet and Baljeet do not have any secondary source of income. After inheritance of land they did cultivation for a year and in 2001 they got fed up with land without pump. Jasbir Singh showed his interest in leasing in their land so they leased out their land to Jasbir Singh and became a wage labourer. They do not work in jasbir Singh’s land. They mentioned that due to increased landholding of Jasbir Singh he maintain distance from them.

In a way Jasbir Singh took advantage of their poor condition and took their land on lease. When Jasbir Singh installed his shared pump on his field his brothers tried to get back their leased out land. They thought that Jasbir Singh would provide them free water. But Jasbir’s was not interested in giving free water to his brothers.

With increased land holding now Jasbir Singh hires labour at the time of harvesting and rest of the work is managed by the family labour. None of the brother and relative provided help to one another. To take produce to the market he used to get the transportation of the big zamindars and (tel aap pava lendu si) paid for the oil but now he hires trolley from the market. The zamindars too started charging him for hiring out trolley, so he preferred to have one from the arhtiya (moneylender). He charges less. Jasbir Singh gave grain to his brothers and not the cash. Thus they got grains for self consumption. This left them insecure and dissatisfied with their brother who was getting prosperous at their cost.

Jasbir Singh’s brothers felt that agriculture without water was very difficult. They could not grow rice and cotton in rabi season. Due to the depleting water table the rates of water in the market steadily rose. So they could not afford to buy water and thus leased out their land to Jasbir Singh. Earlier he had his uncle’s land and now got his brothers’ land too on lease. He wants to purchase the leased in land so that he could install an individual water pump for irrigation.
Karamjeet, the second brother leased out his land and became a daily labourer. After work he works in a doctor’s clinic as a servant for income. His wife has also started helping the family financially and is doing stitching work at home.

Baljeet’s wife also provides services to big zamindar’s house for this purpose. She looks after the new born baby and provides her services on marriages etc. Baljeet Singh youngest brother works as a labourer and is also working as palledari da kaam karda hai. He has 2 sons and a daughter. All are studying in government school.

Desh Raj, the third son of Amir Chand, also inherited 3.6 kanals of land. After engine he was dependent on canal water. It was not enough for irrigation. He was seeking water from neighbour’s pump. To manage water he started providing his services in lieu of water to near by pump owner. He has 2 sons. Both remained uneducated because of poor economic condition. With time he is getting old. He started providing his sons labour to the neighbouring pump owner so that he could get water. When the pump owner owned a submersible at 200 feet he started charging the market rate for providing the water. He charged fifty rupees per hour. He did not want their services. He wanted cash payment.

It was difficult to commercialize the marginal piece of land so they cultivate it with rainwater for one year. His sons became labourers for financing the house and to arrange money for water for irrigation. Canal did not provide sufficient water so Desh Raj and his sons started cultivating land for domestic use only. For keeping the hearth burning both the sons of Des Raj started working as carpenters since 2000. They have not leased out their land nor do they work on seller’s land. They grew less water intensive crops like wheat and cotton. Generally they managed with rain and canal water and if required they took extra water for irrigating from the neighbour on cash payment. In exchange they provided their services once or twice to seller.
agriculture their economic condition did not improve. So they were forced to become labourers.

Now they installed individual submersible pump with 2 horse power motor on house meter. Now Des Raj’s sons are work as labour and manage the land for house consumption and take it as side business.

Janak Raj fourth son of Amir Chand also inherited nearly 3.6 kanals of land. After engine he was without water. He tried to get water from the neighboring farmer but he charged for water. He leased out his land to Jasbir Singh.

Generally selling the land without source of water is not profitable. Janak raj’s nephew Jasbir Singh was willing to purchase because it was near to his field. He could irrigate water from his shared pump. By taking all things into consideration he showed willingness to buy one acre of the land and in 2005 Janak sold his one acre to his (bhatija) nephew Jasbir Singh (son of Gurmail Singh) and rest to big peasant of the village.

Janak raj has 2 sons and one daughter. After selling the land he spent the money on daughter’s wedding, furnished the house and again started his father’s occupation of jutti making on small scale. It means that now he made father’s occupation as his primary occupation. His sons are studying and he wanted his sons to be in service sector. If his brothers needed his services he did not help them in their occupation. He was dissatisfied that due to water shortage he was forced to sell his land. His elder son is working as labour and other two are studying.

Borea Singh, the fifth son of Amir Chand also inherited 3.6 kanals of land. He is still in agriculture and maintaining his inherited land. He is also doing labour work on neighbour’s land to manage water for irrigation. He has one son who is studying.
Other brothers did not help him because of the constraint of costly technology. Thus he was forced to involve in water market. He hires the implements from the big zamindar and in return provides his services. He had small family and simple living. He is managing agriculture for subsistence and to finance the house he also does other labour work on village zamindar’s land. He wants to educate his sons and join service sector. Now he started charging him for water. He pays on hourly basis. None from the sibling provide help to one another.

Second respondent Bharpur Singh, 6th son of Amir Chand is educated of all the brothers. He also inherited 3.5 kanals of land. He was member of the panchayat. When the engine broke down then took free water from the neighbours and has canal water. He grew wheat and cotton.

He is matriculate. His plight has changed because of his education. He got the job as a teacher in the private school of the village. He is teaching but side by side he is managing his inherited agricultural land, it is his secondary occupation.

In 2000 his neighbouring farmer Paramjeet Singh wanted to install a pump. He has 10 acres of land. He got the money but he needs more money for depositing the security. He asked Bharpur for Rs. 25,000/- and he gave him the money.

After a year when the neighbour was not able to return the amount and in return he mortgaged his 5 kanals land. By this way Bharpur Singh got more land and a pump for water. To gain more profit he started leasing in half acre of adjoining land too because he has water for irrigation. His land is on higher level and the pump is on lower portion of the land so he use plastic pipe to take water from the pump to his land. He grew rice and wheat in this fragment.
He hired implements from the village on cash payment. He took a smart step to sustain himself in agriculture. He joined with Jasbir Singh and installed a small joint submersible pump. He grew wheat and cotton. Submersible pump could not pump much water for thirsty crops like rice. He hires contractual labour for cultivation. From the primary occupation he made good money.

Bugar Singh the youngest of all. He also inherited 3.6 kanals of land. When the pump stopped pumping out water he sold half of its land to one of the neighbouring farmers. From the money he installed a hand pump which in local parlance is called kutta pump and canal water for irrigation. He managed to irrigate his 2 kanals with it. They also take water for domestic purposes. None of the brother provided services to one another. Implements were hired from big peasants in exchange of service and other on cash payment.

**Women’s participation**

During Amir Chand, whole family contributed in agriculture. Amir Chand equally contribute in weeding, sowing etc. she take care of oxen. It is her duty to provide fodder to pair of oxen. After completing the house hold work she work in the field and provide food in the field. She was the active worker in agriculture.

When the elder son got married, her wife also started providing her services in the house. She was not allowed to work in the field. After marriage of other sons their wives started contributed in household work. Youngest look after the house hold work like caring the children, cattles etc. other women collect the fodder for cattles and look after the land. With time their participation reduced. With mechanization they confounded to house hold work.
After separation, women again became active in providing their services in their land. During season they hire labour and else they look after the land them self. Labour take cash.

After division, land and family size reduced. The burden of house hold work was reduced. The agricultural work was reduced with the commercialization. The work like ploughing was done the male members.

**Analysis**

1. **Landholding**: Jasbir Singh inherited one kanals and 2 merley of land. Later he purchased his uncle’s land too. Thus his total land is 1 acre one kanal and 2 merley.

2. (i) **Water technology**: He did not inherited any water technology. Now he installed a shared pump with his uncle. His motor is of 2 horse power.

   (ii) **Water (purchasing, sharing, selling)**: Initially he buys water for his inherited land by providing his services in his fields. Later he got side income and started buying water on cash payment. His brothers who also inherited same size of land without pump could not survive without water technology. Thus finally leased out their land to Jasbir and opted other occupation.

3 **Crops**: He grew cotton and wheat.

4. **Agricultural Labour**: He hires casual local and migrant labour on cash payment.

5. **Agricultural implements**: Earlier he inherited the basic implements and rest he borrowed from neighbours. Now he hires on cash payment.

6. **Social Relations**

   I. Family: He has a small family and happily managing it with two occupations.
II. Extended/Joint family: He has contractual relations with his brothers. He did not provide free water to his brothers and took the advantage of his brothers thus leased in their land. For the sake of advantage he jointed together with his uncle and installation of pump. He is very enterprising, besides giving cash to his brothers for lease in land, he gave have grain to them.

III. Field neighbours: He is in cordial relations with the field neighbours.

IV. Village neighbours: He has cordial relations with the villagers and the neighbours at home.

V. Agricultural labour: He maintained cordial but contractual relations with labour. He has maintained social distance with hired labour.

7. Women’s role (home/agriculture): With improved financial condition Jasbir Singh took the services of his wife only during season. His wife is happy with improved financial condition. She has all the necessary luxuries at home.

**Bharpur Singh**

1. Landholding: He inherited 3 kanal and 6 marley of land. Later he mortgaged his neighbours 5 kanal and leased one acre of his neighbours land.

2. Water technology: He was without water after the broke down of engine. In 2007 he installed a shared pump.

(ii) Water: earlier when the tubewell became non-functional he started getting free water from his neighbouring pump owner because of cordial relations. Now he installed joint pump and neither sell water nor buy water

4. Crops: He grew cotton and wheat only.
5. **Labour:** He hires casual wage labour during peak season and rest of the work is managed by him and by family labour.

6. ** Implements:** He hires implements from neighbours in lihaj. Now he got his own implements and tractor and theresher is hired on cash payment from big peasants.

7. **Social Relations**

   I. **Family:** He is educated peasants. He made his agriculture as a side occupation. He is educating his children and do not involve his wife in any of the work.

   II. **Extended/joint family:** After separation he maintain limited relations with his siblings and with other relatives too. He progressed with time and which is not liked by his other brothers.

   III. **Field neighbours:** He got job as a teacher in a school and he maintained cordial relations with his field neighbours. He got free water after the broke down of pump became nonfunctional. With his side occupation he got finances for shared pump.

   IV. **Village neighbours:** He is in cordial relations with villagers.

   V. **Labour:** On cash payment he hires local labour. He maintain limited relations with labour.

8. **Women’s role:** With the improved condition of the house Bharpur Singh’s wife is prosperous and comfortable. She enjoyed full freedom and luxuries in the house. She hardly helped Bharpur Singh in agricultural work. She looks after children and domestic chores. She is empowered and wanted to educate her children.
Notes

1. Puran Singh belongs to a Jat family. He is a big landlord with 12 acres and having one centrifugal and one submersible pump. His father was Chhaju Singh. He and Amir Chand had good relations. They used to exchange water when the engine broke down. When Puran Singh got the responsibility he also continued giving water to Amir Chand’s sons because of traditional ties. But when he installed a tubewell in 1993 at 150 feet with huge expenditure then he avoided providing water to them.

When Gurmail Singh was left without pump he asked Puran for water. He started charging for water. Presently, bank declared him defaulter because he could not pay the loan. He further took loan for the deepening of the pump and for installation of new 7 HP pump. The increased cost of inputs and reduced production did not support him to pay back the loans.

2. In the past neighbour had tubewell and he was in good relations with brothers. They generally exchanged water with one another if the pump got some fault. They shared the difficulties in running the pump and other knowledge in agriculture.
Case No. 15

Background

This is the case of Darshan Singh from Lehal Kalan village. His father Nagrup Singh was head of the family. He lived in Sukhiana patti, belonging to a jat Sikh family of Sarao gotra. He was a big peasant with 20 acres of ancestral land in 3 fragments. He was a hard working peasant. He was very co-operative and had cordial relations with the villagers. In 1970 he had a big house with one big separate room for the cattle and oxen. A few necessary amenities were also available there.

In 1980 Nagrup Singh died and his sons Tehla Singh and Darshan Singh took the responsibilities. During that time the influence of Green revolution Package was at peak. They also took to HYV seeds cultivation. The land was in three fragments out of which they generally leased out the land which was in the next village. Under the Green revolution package they took back their leased land and started self-cultivation. They progressed with time. They got a hand pump (kutta pump) in the house for domestic use.

They installed an engine (pathe wala bore karvaya). Village market was not developed. So the mechanic was hired from the town market for its installation. He charged Rs 6000/-. For the repair of pump they were dependent on town market. They even sold their produce in the town market.

With time their mother settled the marriage of their sisters in well to do families. Brothers spent lavishly on marriage. In 1986 eldest son Tehla got married and after two years Darshan Singh. The family size increased. They constructed a big pucca house on the outskirts of the village and in 1989 shifted there. It became easy for them to access the market and the field.
Eldest son Tehla Singh was very cooperative and a sincere person. He was uneducated. He learned all the skills from his father. After his death he took the responsibility and happily managed the work with the help of his younger brother Darshan Singh. In winters of 1989 their mother died. Tehla Singh became the head of the family. Agricultural work was jointly looked after by two sons. Family was comfortable under one roof.

The happiness was short lived. Unfortunately in 1990 Tehla Singh got some health problem in an accident. Due to non-availability of proper medical facilities in the village, his problem got aggravated and he became mentally upset. He has two daughters but no son. Due to his health problem he was not able to do any work. In such a critical situation entire responsibility of his family fell on Darshan Singh. He became the decision maker of the family. Tehla Singh had no son so he transferred his land to younger brother. Presently Darshan Singh is looking after him and his wife.

He fulfilled all his responsibilities and has arranged the marriage of his daughters in good families. Darshan Singh has one son and 4 daughters. He settled her daughters’ marriages in rich families. He took loan for their marriage and gave a number of gifts to their in-laws. His daughters are literate. Due to non-availability of higher education in the village they dropped out after matriculation. Daughters were not allowed to go out of village for further studies. Darshan Singh’s son is studying in Sirsa. He wants to educate him. After the completion of his studies he wants that son should start helping him in his occupation.

Darshan Singh contested the village election for sarpanch in 1995. He won the election due to his accommodating nature and good reputation. He did well in politics and established links with prominent personalities. He got too much involved in politics and made agriculture his side business. He started hiring one more nauker for
his agriculture. He had individual pumps, so cultivation was made easy. Presently, he has leased-out his land along with pumps and he has involved himself in regional politics.

He enjoyed his political power and remains fully drunk day and night. He used to take loan from arhtiya, the money lender for expenditure on agriculture but spends that in politics. He provides free liquor to his friends and well wishers to show high status. He has a car, a motorcycle, two cell phones etc. He is illiterate but with politics he became a famous and a prominent person of the village. His house is ever crowded with villagers. They come to him with their problems just in the hope that they might get rid of the odds that they are facing. He is a very narrow-minded person. He does not allow the women folk of the family to go out. He even does not like to educate them much. So his daughters are just matriculate and they got married at an early age. His kin are in good relations with him. They also take the advantage of his political contacts.

**Agriculture**

Nagrup Singh had 20 acres of land. He grew crops like gram, wheat, cotton, mustard and fodder in his 12 acres with engine and canal water as a source of irrigation. Other fragmented land of 8 acres had canal water and rainwater as a source of irrigation but he generally rented out portion. He maintained good relations with the neighbouring peasants. He sat with them in free time. He hired permanent servant (*nauker*) and paid him in kind. Some of the fixed portion of the produce was given to him. Local labour of Ramdassia caste was hired. Agricultural works like ploughing, sowing, caring was
done by Nagrup Singh and the servant. He sold produce in the local market. Out of the total produce his wife kept the grains in the drum for family consumption. He had a *gadda* cart driven by a pair of oxen. After his death, his sons inherited all the implements and all the socio-economic responsibilities. They continued working in the field. In harvesting crops the entire family members contributed labour. Local labour was also hired. They adopted green revolution and started purchasing HYV seeds from the district government store. They grew rice, cotton, wheat and fodder.

Due to shortage of inputs in village market they started purchasing it from the town. The seller of the inputs guided them the skills required for their use.

Land was in three fragments. Two fragments of eight acres each were at two places and one fragment of four acres was at another place. Earlier, father used to rent out eight acres but sons took the land back and started self-cultivation. Due to increase in work load they had one more permanent labourer. In 1990, he purchased his own tractor with loan to procure more profit. With the tractor much of their time, tension and work load was reduced. He used it for transportation purposes and for taking produce to the market. They hired thresher from the town.

With elder brother’s health problem, Darshan Singh was left alone to look after the entire land. In 1991 he replaced his engine and installed a submersible pump with a loan. He installed it on 8 acres and also irrigated his four acres from there. Water was taken with the help of open channels (*khal*). He used an engine on other eight acres.

His neighbours had small landholdings. With the irregular supply of canal water, their crops were suffering. They also started installing engines. But it was a costly affair for them as the cost of diesel was beyond their pocket. So they started taking one or two waterings from Darshan Singh’s pump. Sometimes neighbours used their own engine for irrigation. Darshan Singh gave them surplus water only. In exchange the
neighbours provided their services in his fields. He started managing his fragmented land with the help of neighbours. This system worked for him. The water table was depleting year after year. The engines were not pumping out enough water. Under such conditions the neighbouring farmers demanded more water from his submersible. With depletion of water table he upgraded the motor of submersible pump and deepened the bore.

In 1993 water table declined from the capacity of engine so Darshan Singh took loan for the installation of another new submersible with 8 HP motor for regular supply of water in other 8 acres. He replaced diesel engine with a submersible pump. Due to his contacts he got the electricity connection easily. He started cultivating rice, wheat and fodder there. He started charging Rs 15/- for an hour for water. He started selling water to other needy neighbouring farmers. The pump was also benefiting the adjoining farmers. He took the advantage of the pump.

In selling water, it needed regular supervisor. In 1995 he started engaging one more local permanent servant (nauker) for the purpose. Nauker were hired for a year and paid in cash. He divided the work load among the labour and himself became the supervisor. His work load was reduced with the servants. One of his neighboring peasant did not afford to buy water so he started sharecropping with him. In 2002 he sold his 2 acres of land to him. Thus his total land became 22 acres.

In 1995 Dershan Singh stood in village election. He started giving free water to the neighbouring farmers. He won the election and was elected as the sarpanch of the village. To sustain himself in politics he gave priority to cordial relations and prestige. He started renting-out his land. Dershan Singh leased out his eight acres of land and remaining 12 acres were looked after by him. Before renting his land he repaired his pump. He rented out his land with pump at the very high rate. After renting the land
all the maintenance of motor was the responsibility of the tenants but its deepening and fitting of new motor was the owner’s responsibility. With the involvement in politics he was not getting much time for agriculture. Hence he only supervised the agriculture and labour.

Other works in fields were managed by two permanent labours. Dershan Singh himself sold the produce in market and to also take the loan for the next season. Other eight acres he did not has spare water because the four acre portion is also getting water from the same pump. From 2005 onwards he started leasing out the entire land. He is getting old and did not have time for agriculture. He upgraded his pump before leasing out land and installed 10 Hp motor. Due to his (dab-daba) position in village he is getting high rent. He mentioned that when his son would be back after completing the education then he would take his land back and will start selling water again. He is very particular that his tenant did not sell water from pump.

Presently he is busy with politics and waiting for his son to come back. So that son would look after the land. Although he is not selling water so he is making good will among the farmers. In 2008 he was again elected as sarpanch. He was succeeding in his step of leasing out land for making good will.

**Women’s Participation**

Nagrup Singh’s wife was uneducated. She looked after the entire house hold work. In season she provided her services in the field. It was her duty to provide food in the field. She cleaned the house and looked after the house and cattle.

She had traditional chulah. She collects fuel and cooked food for the family and labour. Permanent servant also provided his services in the house like cutting the fodder and bathing of cattle was his responsibility.
With the mechanization of agriculture her work decreased. She rarely helped in the field. Much of the work was done by labour and machinery. After the marriage of the elder son, his wife also started helping mother-in-law in house hold works. Her participation was confined with in the house. After the death of mother-in-law her daughters-in-law took over the entire work. Jethani and darani managed the house and looked after the children. They are happy that with washing machine and with other appliances their work became easy. They have both modern gas and traditional chulah. Mainly traditional chulah is used and for instant cooking gas is used. Both are uneducated and have no authority in the house. They even do not know their size and location of land holding. Due to status of the family and position of Dershan Singh in politics, women remains inside the house and only on special occasions visits the village. His wife is happy with his politics but the frequent visit of the villagers is not liked by her.

She is happy that her daughters got married in high class family. She knows that Tehla Singh’s portion is legally transferred to Dershan Singh. So she wanted that his son after completing his studies adopted the father’s occupation. Now she does not like to work in the field. Bohat time ho gaya khetan vich gaye hoe. Ghar de kaam dhande ton vehal nahin mildi. Its long time we did not been to fields. We did not get spare time from domestic chores. She visits town for medical check up and shopping. The standard of living has improved.
Analysis

1. **Landholding**: Dershan Singh inherited land 10 acres and got 10 acres more of his brother. Thus his total land became 20 acres in three fragments. He purchased 2 acres more and due to his side job he started leasing out his entire 22 acres of land.

2. (i) **Water technology**: Dershan Singh had engine on one fragment and canal and rain water for other. With irregular supply of canal water Dershan Singh installed a submercible in 1991. In 1993 he replaced engine with submercible. In 2005 he upgraded the motors and leased out the land with pump.

   (ii) **Water (purchasing, sharing, selling)**: In the beginning he gave free water to needy farmers and in return they themselves provided services in lieu of water. Later he started charging Rs 15/- for an hour for water.

3. **Crops**: He grew rice, cotton, wheat and fodder.

4. **Agricultural implements**: He inherited all the implements and in 1990 he purchased tractor. Now he owns all the implements.

5. **Agricultural Labour**: Father hired permanent labour and payment was made in kind. Dershan Singh engaged two permanent labour and local labour in peak season on cash payment. But now he leased out his entire land.

6. **Social Relations**

   I. Family: He is of dominating nature. None from his family member has say in any of the socio-economic matters. He is of narrow minded nature.

   II. Extended/joint family: He enjoys cordial relations with all the relatives. He is helpful and all relatives came to him for help.
III. Field neighbours: He maintained relations with his field neighbours. The time he started charging for water his neighbours started disliking him. But now he leased out his land so he maintains good relations with them and due to this he became sarpanch.

IV. Village neighbours: He lives outskirts of the village. He maintains cordial with villagers but having dominating relations with neighbours at home.

V. Labour: He is very dominating in nature and his labour.

7. Women’s role (home/agriculture): His wife manages the household chores and has no say in any of the economic matters. She maintains social relations and support her husband in election campaigns.
Background

Bhola Singh is jat Sikh from Sarao gotra and lives in Sukhiana patti of Lehal Kalan village. He has a pucca house and agriculture was his main source of livelihood. He inherited 16 acres of fragmented land. The canal and rain water was his main source of irrigation in 1980s. He was primary pass. He was the only son of Teja Singh. In 1990 his father died and he inherited implements, house and 16 acres of agricultural land. He had learnt all the agricultural skills from his father. He got all the responsibilities and debt of his father on his shoulders.

In 1992 he purchased a new tractor on loan from the bank and sold the old one. He did not hire out his tractor to any other peasant but lend it to his relatives and to his sister’s family. In a way he maintains the cordial relations with in the kin. He regularly visited them. He was in cordial relations with his neighbours. He was helpful to them.

He is a social and helpful peasant. He spent his free time with his neighbouring peasants and played cards with them in free time. He is fully aware of the latest seeds and other inputs. He has 3 daughters but no son. He educated them and arranged their marriage. His house is well furnished with all modern appliances and necessary amenities. He renovated the house before his daughters’ marriage in 2000. He is of the view that well furnished house shows the status of the family due to which his daughters could get a suitable match. Land ownership further enhanced their economic status. This also helped in creating an upward mobility in the society. Thus, with the improved family status he got a good match from a near-by village for his
daughters. He incurred huge expenditure on his daughter’s wedding. He also gave dowry to his daughter.

Having no male member of the family to help, he independently and individually cultivates the land. In both the fragments he maintained cordial relations. Mahinder Singh was his neighbour in 4 acres. In the absence of Bhola Singh he looked after his land. Both treated each other as brothers. Neighbours helped him during peak season. He did not like his wife to work on the fields so she remains at home. Only during peak season she supervised the labour and took food to the field. He had a servant for his help. With mechanization and servant he himself did only limited work in the fields. He did ploughing with tractor (Kadu karma) and rest of the work like sowing and weeding was done by labour. For harvesting he hired a combine and trolley. He himself took the produce to the market.

After some time it became difficult for him to manage the entire land. In 2005 he leased out his half of land to his neighbouring peasant who was also from the Sarao gotra and has good relations with him. Leasing terms were fixed before hand. He installed another new submersible at 250ft with 8 HP motor on his leasing land so he could lease out his land at higher rates. He took loan for its installation. Presently he is not much interested in agriculture but now got into drugs and also became a chronic drinker. He has a car, mobile phone and other luxury items. After his death, his land would be divided among his daughters.

**Agriculture**

Bhola Singh had the entire responsibility of managing agriculture and house. He inherited implements for agriculture. He got 16 acres in two fragments. 12 acres was in one fragment with tubewell and was more fertile than four acres which was in
another and had an engine. It was installed to pump water from canal and it was also used to pump out ground water. Mother supervised the work and held all the finance of the house. With the declining water table he replaced tubewell and installed a submersible pump with five horse power motor at 150 feet in his 12 acres of land in 1993. Since it was a large portion and due to irregular supply of canal water, the crop was suffering.

It was not viable to install an independent pump on small portion of four acres. Due to declined water table, engine was not pumping enough water for irrigation. He grew cotton, chole and wheat in it. The adjoining zamindars were also without pump. So with irregular canal water they were dependent on rain water only. But it was also not enough for the cultivation. Cultivation was becoming very difficult without permanent source of water. His neighbouring peasant was Mahinder Singh with whom he had cordial relations. They used to go market for selling the produce and had good understanding. They exchanged their seeds and implements. Both hire the labour jointly during harvesting and sowing season. With increased necessity of regular water supply Bhola Sigh went to Mahinder Singh. To cope up with the situation he suggested him for jointly owning a pump but the latter was not financially capable to accept the remedy. Individual installing of pump in 4 acres was not feasible on non-fertile land.

In 1998 another nearby peasant Juginder Singh installed a submersible. All neighbouring small farmers demanded water from him. He started selling water to them at Rs 10/- per hour. Bhola Singh’s land was far from his pump. He could not get water. He started getting water through open channels which passed through Mahinder Singh’s land. Both were on good terms so Mahinder Singh did not object him for crossing of channels through his field. In this way both started getting water.
In water transaction they were helpful to one another. With turns they used to get water. They grew cotton, fodder, pulses and wheat which were less water intensive. They generally take two to three waterings. With the declined water table the seller increased the rate. The seller started charging Rs. 20/- an hour. In 2000 he charged Rs. 25/- for an hour. Bhola Singh continued cultivating fodder, wheat and cotton. In the case of break down of pump all buyers got affected. During erratic electric supply the conflict among the zamindar’s was inevitable. Seller Juginder was very irritated with the dispute so he started charging high rates from them so that they could not buy water.

Bhola Singh was happy with the water arrangement. Since he had enough money, and also because his family members cooperate with him, he did not have to do any work himself. In 2001 Mahinder Singh got the share from his in-law’s. He utilized it in installation of a submersible pump. He also renovated his house. With the pump he was getting water for the house consumption which was near the land. He got the connection on his house meter. *Ghar de meter te connection mil gaya, got connection on house meter*”. He started daily farming too. He installed a five horse power motor at 200fts. The pump was providing enough water. He started cultivating rice and wheat on major portion. His plight has changed. He told Bhola Singh to purchase water from his pump.

Bhola Singh did not like the suggestion of purchasing water from his pump. Bhola Singh refused. He wanted Mahinder Singh to provide free water to him because of their old social relations. But with new submersible he was not ready to provide free water to any body. The situation became so worst that he gave final words: “that either buy water from his pump other wise he would not allow to pass water from his land. Thus broke their relations.”
Te gal phail gayi and the news spread everywhere. Villagers also got into the dispute but did not get any solution. In 2002 he started leasing out his land to Gurdev Singh’s son Karnail Singh. His father used to work as siri with Bhola Singh’s father. Karneil Singh is agricultural labour and when he got to know about the dispute he went to Bhola Singh. Due to father’s relation with Bhola Singh’s family he got their land on lease.

In such a conflict Karneil Singh, a small peasant took the advantage and leased in land. Before leasing in the land Karneil Singh had got it settled with Mahinder Singh that he would sell water to him for irrigation. He also bargained the rate of water. Mahinder Singh also seeks advantage of the conflict that he can sell water and earn money. He agreed in providing him water at reasonable rates if Karneil Singh would provide services in his field. He also provided his son’s services to Mahinder Singh when required. He charged Rs 25/- and takes his services too. The market rate for per watering is Rs 50/-.

Karneil Singh is cultivating the land and grew wheat, rice and fodder. He is comfortably getting the water. His plight has changed with the leased-in land. Now he is also getting other zamindar’s land on lease. He got status with the land. He is financially comfortable. He hires implements like tractor from Bhola Singh and with the family labour manages the land.

**Women’s Participation**

Bhola Singh’s wife was uneducated. She hardly provided any services in the field. She looks after the house hold work and cooked the food for the family. Now she is happy that with mechanization her husband’s work load is reduced. She mentioned that the relations have changed. She is not happy with Mahinder Singh’s step.
She maintained the relations and has goodwill in the village. She is sad that they do not have a son. She mentioned that Bhola Singh was not actively managing the land due to the age factor so they would divide their land among their daughter’s. She is happy that her daughter’s are married in high class families.

**Analysis**

1. **Landholding:** Bhola Singh inherited 16 acres in two fragments of land. 12 in one part and 4 in another. now he has 12 acres operational land holding out of 16 acres.

2. (i) **Water technology:** He inherited canal water turn and engine on 4 acres and a tubewell in 12 acres. With time he replaced tubewell with submercible and due to declined water table engine was not pumping enough water for irrigation.

   (ii) **Water (purchasing, sharing, selling):** Due to declined water table he started buying water for 4 acres from his friend. The seller started charging Rs. 20/- in 1995 he charged Rs. 25/- for an hour. Due to conflict over water he started leased out his 4 acres.

   With ownership of water pump Mahinder became seller and karneil Singh became tenant from landless labourer.

3. **Crops:** He grew cotton, fodder, pulses and wheat in 4 acres which were less water intensive with buying water. In 12 acres he grew wheat, rice and vegetables.

4. **Agricultural Implements:** In 1992 he purchased a new tractor. For harvesting he hires a combine from market.

5. **Agricultural Labour:** For fertile portion he had permanent labour and during season he engages migrant labour on cash payment.
6. Social Relations

I. Family: He is living with his wife and has no son.

II. Extended/ joint family: He maintained his relation with kin group.

III. Field neighbours: He was in good terms with his field neighbours. One of his adjoining neighbour Mahinder Singh installed a submersible and told Bhola Singh to purchase water from his pump. Bhola Singh did not like the suggestion of purchasing water from his pump. Bhola Singh refused. He wanted Mahinder Singh to provide free water to him because of their old social relations. But with new submersible he was not ready to provide free water to any body. The situation became so worst that he gave final words: “that either buy water from his pump otherwise he would not allow to pass water from his land. Thus broke their relations.”

Technology created conflict and due to possession of technology Mahinder Singh became a seller and Karnail Singh became a tenant from a labourer. He leased out his 4 acres of land due to conflict with his neighbouring farmer over sharing of water drawn through submersible pump.

IV. Village neighbours: He maintained the relations with villagers. Villagers tried to resolve the dispute but he did not cooperate. Thus it was of no use.

V. Labour: He maintain formal relations with his labour.

7. Women’s role (home/agriculture): He and his wife are happy with simple life. His wife remains at home and looks after the domestic chores.
Background

Karnail Singh was a Jat Sikh from Chahal gotra and belonged to Gurdi bikhni village in Mansa district. He was living with his other three brothers, two sisters and parents. His father was Kartar Singh. He had 14 acres of ancestral agriculture land. Hult (Persian wheel) was the source of irrigation. He was uneducated, big and prosperous farmer.

Father was looking after his land with the help of his sons and a permanent servant. Shared Persian wheel was the source of irrigation. Traditional services on barter terms dominated his life. He died in 1973 and his wife got all the authority. She divided the house and land equally among children. The mother also took her share when the land holding was divided. Formally the land and the house got divided. The daughters also got their share because the mother was in favour that daughters should also get their share. Land and house were divided among seven members that were four sons, two daughters and a mother. Each got two acres of land. By such division sons became marginal land holders.

Each son were allotted separate time for irrigating the land. With division the partners in Persian wheel increased. After the father’s death, the structure of household responsibilities and agricultural system changed. The elder brother started dominating and interfering in all the matters.

The youngest son Karnail Singh also became a marginal farmer. He started comparing his lot with that of other big peasants. He started searching for new ways of economic progress. He was discontented with his small share and with the turn system in Persian wheel. He wanted to progress in life. He was uneducated. Land is the sign of
power in the village. So he wanted to regain the status of big peasant. It was becoming
difficult and expensive to hire implements and labour for a small landholding. He
stopped hiring labour due to decrease in net return from his small landholding.

He adopted an easy way to improve his condition. He shifted to his in-law’s village
Lehal Kalan in Sangrur District in 1974 with his family. His wife belonged to this
village. She has two sisters and a widowed mother. Earlier the mother’s land was
looked after by the elder sister’s husband Niranjan Singh and he was also the cousin
of Karnail Singh (massi da munda and saddu). He had all the responsibilities of the
land and the house. Karnail Singh was in good relations with him. He was searching
for an easy way of making money. He got attracted by his in-law’s land and adopted
the path of Niranjan Singh. He even did not take his share from the parental house
because other brothers were not in the favour of his shifting but he shifted.

He started living with his mother-in-law and Niranjan Singh’s family. He involved
himself in cultivating his in-law’s land which was earlier looked after by Niranjan
Singh alone in 1974. Mother-in-law has 8 acres of land. His mother equally divided
the land among Niranjan Singh and Karnail Singh. Each got 4 acres. Canal was the
source of irrigation. The rent (mamla) was Rs 2/- for an acre to the government. They
got canal water for sixteen hours in a week for irrigating their land. Half an acre gets 2
hrs of canal water.

He got land in Lehal Kalan village. He started benefiting from this new arrangement.
Karnail Singh with the help of his saddu started managing the land. Both were on
good terms and jointly hired seasonal labour. Women in the family also provided their
services. Karnail Singh hired a permanent farm hand in the fields and a separate
servant for cattle and the domestic chores. He paid them in cash. He took loan for the
pump so that he could irrigate the crops. Later he took loan to match the status of a big peasant. He purchased necessary amenities for house and agriculture.

He has 3 sons and a daughter. He educated them in convent school. Sons dropped out after matriculation and started helping him. He made huge investments on renovating the house so that his daughters would get matches from high status family. He started spending lavishly to showoff his high status. He took loan for the daughter’s marriage. He gave dowry to his daughters. He purchased motorcycle and mobile phones for his sons.

He became indebted. Due to flood in 1993 his agricultural production got affected. He could not return the loan. With declining land fertility, erratic canal supply and increased cost of cultivation his production got affected. He could not repay the loan and high rate of interest increased the loan further.

Bank has the rule that if one could not return the loan on time then after certain duration bank sent them the notice to pay the loan. If the loan taker did not pay the loan in that time period then bank marks him defaulter. Finally government auctions (munadi) the land of the defaulters. It was very insulting in the village society. Land is the only determinant of power and prestige in village. It is a source of livelihood for the family. Karnail Singh was marked defaulter and got the date of auction of his land by the bank. He was in deep tension. Under such tension he was contemplating suicide. He became a chronic drunker. None of the kin was ready to help him. His relations also got constrained with his relatives.

Sons wanted the division. Elder son is married and keen to become independent. He does not want to take over the father’s debt. He wanted the portion on which the
pump has installed. Now the sons are fighting for the pump. His critical condition is forcing him to commit suicide.

**Agriculture**

Karnail Singh shifted to his in-laws’ village for possessing in-law’s land. Mother-in-law transferred the land in her daughter’s name. He started cultivating his wife’s land. He grew crops like wheat, mustard, sugarcane, and fodder in 1974 with the canal water. He leased out his land inherited from the father.

With profit from agriculture he established himself and slowly purchased all the amenities of the house. He purchased all the necessary implements for agriculture. He made his copy (passbook) in cooperative society to get easy loans for agriculture. He could also get fertilizer, pesticide, seeds and basic grocery.

He started sending his children to convent school. During 1980s he started cultivating rice under the influence of Green Revolution. All the farmers adopted the package and got free seeds from the cooperative society and inputs on subsidies. During that year he gained and he happily continued the package.

For the inputs and for the implements he took loans from the village cooperative society. All the farmers got fertilizers and pesticides, seeds and some of important grocery like sugar and tea from the society. So Karnail Singh prepared his copy and started taking loan for six months. Loan was repaid after selling the produce in the market.

For assured irrigation he got the joint tubewell pump/ (*pateh wala*) engine in his land. With Niranjan Singh (*saddu*). He also contributed his equal share. They paid Rs. 6000/- for the engine, Rs. 3000/- for engine and Rs. 3000/- for extra cost. With pump they got assured water supply. They jointly maintain it and deepen it when required.
The problem started when during 1990s lack of rain water and simultaneously depleting water table started effecting the production. The cultivation became difficult with insufficient water because it pump out less water.

In the water scarcity, farmers started installing submersibles for frequent water from deep aquifers. Karnail Singh wanted his own submersible pump. For it he required huge amount of cash money. He planned an easy step. He got a tractor from the Cooperative bank because bank grants cash according to the land size. His limit in the bank account was up to 60,000. He required the amount nearly 70,000 so bank grant was not enough for the pump. He got the grant for the tractor. He got tractor and sold it in the market for arranging cash for the pump. For the connection of the pump he gave bribe to high officials. In 2006, he switched to new and advanced water technology by taking loan of 2 lakhs from the land mortgage bank by submitting the papers of his land. He took loan from the formal institution because he could get large amount from the bank only. The money lender (artiya) did not give him such amount due to his pending dues. Money lender generally lends money in proportion to the size of the land. He got submersible pump and regular supply of water. Now he is getting sufficient water for cultivation. Later after two years he deepened the bore.

He did not involved Niranjan Singh in new submercible pump and on this he got annoyed. It was difficult to transfer the water through open channels. And generally neighbours break the open channels for water so it was regular source of conflict. In 1998 he took loan from the society and installed pipes for the transfer of water. The problem emerged when it required regular investment with regular depleting water table for recurrent deepening. In the rice season water depletion is high. He hires migrant labour for sowing of rice and for harvesting. His sons too provided their services.
In 2007 his new bore broke down (*bore tuth gaya*). That season he could not cultivate the land. He was financially affected. Fixing of broken pump again required huge expenditure on its repair. Karnail Singh took financial help from the adjoining peasant on the terms that if he could not able to repay it that peasant would mortgage his land. On such terms Karnail Singh got finance for the repair. With the submersible pump he is under huge debt. He got the credit but could not repay it. He grew rice and wheat and hire. Sons provided their services and hire migrant labour.

Now none from his kin group or from his villager is ready to help him. They are well aware of his indebtedness. Bank and moneylender demanded their loan back. His production did not support him to repay the loan. The daily expenditure is high. His sons are with him. But due to indebtedness his eldest son demanded separation and part from the land.

He got the notice from the bank. He has to pay the loan of bank, *artya* and cooperative society. He is under tension. Siblings are not providing financial help. They avoid the relations with him. Bank has placed the notice of auction of his land in January 2009. This is very humiliating to him. Thus he started consuming liquor.

The net return from the agriculture and cost of production made him remain in the trap of credit. Uncertain weather, depleting water table is the big constrain in his agriculture. He took the credit for the pump but it required regular investment. Expenditure on maintenance and repairing has become the reason of his indebtedness.

His most income is spent on repayment of old debts. Now sons are fighting for separation so that they do not get the father’s debt. Sons no more wanted to live with father. They demanded their portion from the house.
Women’s participation

With the shift of Karnail Singh to his in-laws house his wife was very happy. Women of Karnail Singh’s house contributed in agriculture. Women looked after domestic work and looked after the milch cattle. Taking fodder from the fields and cut them was their responsibility. Later they started engaging servant for agriculture then work load reduced.

Income from the agriculture was contributed equally. Family labour and hired labor managed the work. She provides food and important things to the field. The traditional chula was used. Women collect the fuel and cook the food. Work like washing of cloths, utensils was done around the village pond. They bring drinking water from the pond. Women liked to do work and do hard work. Later her daughters joined her. Pond was the meeting and gossiping point of all the village women.

In 1974, Karneil Singh installed kutha motor (hand pump) for domestic use. It was the moment of happiness and pride for the family that they had own source of water.

With the adoption of Green revolution their social condition changed. Produce was sold in district market. They were influenced by the new style of living and style of clothing. They started purchasing new cloths from the district. Men started wearing pajama and women started wearing new style suits. Family was happy with the progress. Karnail Singh purchased grinding machine for the kitchen in 1984. With the improved economic situation they improved the living conditions. Karnail Singh sent his sons to school.

Now Karnail Singh’s mother-in-law is old so her daughters managing the domestic work. They do not like to help in fields. In free time they watch T.V and sleeps. They do not know even the size of landholding.
Karnail Singh’s wife demands a servant for household works. She has all the necessary amenities in the kitchen and house. She regularly goes to parlour. She wanted to send his children in convent school. She stressed that we are under debt but it is not an exceptional thing because each farmer is indebted. She mentioned that in future we would take more loans because we want a comfortable life like other zamindars. In her perception loan is not good but she also specified that they do not have any other way out for their survival.

Now she has fuel gas and a washing machine but she use traditional chulah. Karneil Singh’s wife does not like his husband’s habit of drinking. She wanted to settle his sons in some other occupation and not in agriculture.

**Analysis**

1. **Landholding:** Karnail Singh inherited 2 acres of land. He gave his ancestral land to his brothers and gained the land of his in-laws. He got 4 acres of land of his wife and still retain the same.

2. (i) **Water technology:** Initially he had canal water and shared engine for irrigation. Than he install an independent submersible which broke down. In 2008 he installed it in new bore.

(ii) **Water (purchasing, sharing, selling):** He has canal supply and with irregular supply he installed a shared engine but with depletion of water table it failed. He planned for independent submersible pump. He took loan and installed it.

3. **Crop:** He grew rice, wheat and fodder.

4. **Agricultural Implements:** He did not inherit any implements from his father. He inherited basic implements from his in-laws and other he hired on cash payment from big peasants of the village.
5. **Agricultural labour:** He managed his land with his cousin brother and both jointly hired migrant labour. Later he started hiring permanent labour and a servant for house.

6. **Social Relations**

   I. Family: He has 3 sons. For installation of pump he came under debt. His sons no more interested to live with father because they do not want to contribute in father’s debt and not want to carry the father’s debt.

   II. Extended/ Joint family: After his shift from native village to his in-law’s village his relations with brothers were adversely affected. Now he only maintain relations with his in-law’s.

   III. Field neighbours: He had good relations with field neighbours but with time all started maintaining limited relations and generally avoided them.

   IV. Village neighbours: Villagers does not like him because bank marked him defaulter.

   V. Labour: He hires migrant labour. Sons are not under his control but during season they also provided their services in the fields.

7. **Women’s role (home/agriculture):** Karnail Singh’s wife got land from her mother. Her husband cultivated the land. She is not happy with the financial condition of the family. Due to indebtedness none from his relatives and from village maintained relations with her. Even her own sons wanted to inherit land and did not want to contribute in paying the debt.
Background

This is the case of Matab khan and Babra Khan of Lehal Kalan village. Both are cousins. Matab Khan’s father is Hakam Khan and Babra Khan’s father is Vazeer Khan. They narrated their stories as follow.

Hakam Khan belonged to Muslim caste and lived in the Sukhiana Patti which has houses of both the Muslim and Jat Sikh communities. Hakam khan the youngest son of the family lived with his three brothers and a mother. After the country’s partition in 1947, they did not move to Pakistan instead went to Malerkotla from Samura village in Sangrur district.

They were famous masons of their time. There was no mason in the near by village Lehal Kalan then. So the panchayat of that village requested them to settle in their village. They were also given a house free of cost. So Hakam Khan and his brothers agreed to settle there. They started their inherited profession of masonry. In their rehabilitation, villagers helped them a lot. Elder brother Rohan Khan had different plans. He did not like shifting hence he remained there in Samura village. He continued with his masonry work. Later his sons also pursued masonry.

After some time, a big peasant who had no progeny gave them three acres of agricultural land in two fragments in Lehal Kalan village. One fragment was fertile and other was non-fertile and at a higher level. Hakam Khan and his brothers started cultivating the land. They grew grams, wheat and cotton, for the family and managed it with the help of rainwater. He and his two brothers were together. All of them helped each other in agricultural work and in masonry. Agriculture became their secondary occupation. It provided them food grains for consumption. When the
government laid the canal, the panchayat completed all the necessary formalities for having access to the canal water. With agricultural land they gained some status in the village. Then they made agriculture their primary occupation.

All the brothers were illiterate but they were intelligent enough to understand that the Green Revolution was benefiting the farmers. They adopted the package and started focusing on agriculture. They remained together under the control and guidance of their mother. She decided which portion would be cultivated by whom. It was difficult to cultivate the portion where canal water was not accessible. There they grew grams and cotton.

In an accident, his second brother Nazeer Khan died in 1965. The mother divided the land between the remaining two brothers Vazeer Khan and Hakam Khan informally. Each got 12 kanals in two fragments. In the meanwhile, they got married. After division, the brothers started individual cultivation. They were helpful to each another. They did not own any agricultural implements and used to borrow necessary implements from big peasants in lihaj. With time they progressed and they made it their only occupation and discarded masonry. They were happy with their progress. As the time passed they became independent and decided to divide the house. They constructed a wall there in but the relations remained cordial.

Vazeer Khan, the eldest brother was cultivating the land. He was happy with agriculture. His wife also provided help in agricultural work. He had 3 sons, all illiterate. Youngest son, then sixteen ran away from the house with his friends. Later he became a truck driver. Vazeer Khan involved the other two sons with him in agriculture. The financial condition improved with the hard work. He arranged the marriage of his two sons. He took loan from the village artiya and incurred expenditure on renovating the house and on his both son’s marriage. He died in 1990.
Later his sons got the responsibilities of fragmented 12 kanals of land. Canal and rain water was their sources of irrigation. With time they started faced problems in agriculture. Babara and Naber tried to manage the land with canal water but it was of no benefit. Agriculture was no more profitable for them so they started searching for other source of income. Both were not satisfied with economic condition. The adjoining pump owner forced them to sell their land to him. They sold it in 1998 and divided the money amongst themselves. The eldest son Vahim became a daily wage labourer and the second son Babra Khan bought a kiosk for bicycles repairs.

Hakam Khan, the youngest brother also got 12 kanals of land in two fragments. Both the brothers were neighbours. He made agriculture as a primary occupation and in free time he continued with his masonry. Slowly, he shifted to agriculture and left his traditional occupation. Agriculture was socially prestigious and he was also getting food grains for consumption. He was earning enough for the family. He had 5 sons, all illiterate due to poor economic condition. He involved them in agriculture and also the traditional occupation of masonry so that they could choose any of the two when they grow up. His wife also worked {massaging the newly born child, cotton plucking, cot-weaving (manja bunna)} contributing to the household expenditure.

After Hakam Khan’s death in 1985 the land was transferred to his wife. She got all the authority and left with 5 sons. They started cultivating the land. The eldest took the masonry profession to run the household and in peak season he helped brothers. He did not profitable to cultivate a small piece of land. All was not going well. The financial condition was poor. The sons however maintained cordial relations with one another. They had small pieces of land only. It was difficult for them to run the household. The mother wanted to settle their marriages, so she had to sell the non fertile part of the land. She took loan too to purchased two buffalos for running the small
dairy. In 2003 her fourth son Taj Khan ran away with some girl and left his wife behind. The mother is looking after her as well. Hakam Khan’s eldest son Raj and second son Saraj got separated in 2006 from the mother. They felt “Na kharcha
dayiae te na zamin layiae, either we give expenditure nor we take land.” So the
mother was left with Karma’s family and Taj’s wife. The youngest son is unmarried.

The mother is still very active and working in the village to manage her household.
She is living in the old house in the neighbourhood of Vazeer Khan’s sons. Her
daughters-in-law are looking after the household chores and the buffalos.

In 2001 Roshan Khan, the eldest brother of Hakam Khan died. His sons came to
chachi demanding their share of land. They had big dispute. Finally with the
intervention of the village panchayat the dispute was settled by giving them
equivalent to their share of land.

Roshan Khan  Najeer Khan  Vajeer Khan  Hakam Khan
U.Married(died)  Vahim,Babara,Naber

Raj Khan  Saraj Khan  Karma  Taj  Matab Khan

**Agriculture**

Initially three acres of land was jointly looked after by the brothers Vajeer Khan,
Najeer Khan and Hakam Khan. Unfortunately, Najeer Khan died. The canal and
rainwater were their sources of irrigation. They purchased bulls for ploughing and
with time they got some other necessary implements and others were borrowed from
big peasants on cash payment.

They continued their masonry work as it provided extra financial help to brothers.
With the on-setting of Green Revolution they commercialized their agriculture in
1970 and started cultivating rice and wheat on the fertile land. Now they could purchase other implements like *suhagi, panjali* etc.

They found agriculture more profitable. Thus, they made it their primary occupation. They maintained good relations with all the neighboring peasants. After the division of land, Hakam khan and Vazeer khan got nearly 12 kanals of land each. They started individual cultivation then.

Vazeer Khan found it difficult to manage the non fertile land so he grew less water intensive crops like cotton, bajra and grams. His elder son helped him in agriculture. The second son did not like hard work. He was an idler and that was the reason of conflict at home. The youngest son too was out of father’s control. Vazeer Khan did hard work in the field. With the help of adjoining peasant Bachan Singh he managed his fertile land where he grew wheat and cotton. They exchanged their implements. Bachan Singh had big land holding so he used to obtain Vazeer Khan’s spare canal water. Vazeer Khan generally took credit from the local *artiya* for expenditure on inputs in the season which paid after harvesting.

He died in the winters of 1990. The eldest son Vahim and one younger to him Babra continued agriculture in 12 kanals and entire old debt shifted to sons. They inherited the implements and rest they hire from neighbours in *lihaj*. Both brothers maintained relations with Bachan Singh. After 1991 the rain fall water was not sufficient for irrigation declined and canal water supply was irregular. That year they did not able to repay the loan. Bachan Singh installed a *pate wali motor* tubewell for irrigation. Vajeer Khan’s sons were not financially well off for the installation of a pump on a small piece of land. More over with increased expenditure on fertilizers and pesticides it was difficult to manage agriculture.
The condition of agriculture without proper irrigation was getting worst. The sons surrendered their turn of canal water to Bachan Singh and in return took water from his patewali motor for two hours. He started charging them for extra water at the rate of Rs 20/- per hour in 1992. They cultivated fodder, wheat and cotton. Since Vajeer Khan’s sons were poor (Pani kharidan vaste ohna kol paise nahin si) they started providing their services to him in lieu of water. They did ploughing (gudai) in cotton field, spraying pesticides and irrigating the fields.

Gradually they got fed up with the increasing cost of agriculture. The debt was increasing on their head. Finally in 1998, the mother sold the entire land to repay the old debt. The elder son Vahim became a daily wage labour and the second son Babra Khan bought a kiosk for bicycles repairs shop. The youngest son who ran away from home became a truck driver.

Hakam Khan, the younger brother of Vazeer Khan was very hard working. After separation from him he got 12 kanals of the land out of which one acre was non-fertile. He managed his agriculture with the help of family labour. He sold his produce in the local market only and not in a bigger mandi for higher transportation cost. He purchased all the inputs from the local market. He took the guidance of big farmers and pleased them with his free masonry services. This made his farming easy.

He generally took his sons along to the market for selling the grains so that they could learn the work. Hakam Khan did not bother about the non fertile portion and grew less water intensive crops. His one acre was on higher level and canal water was not approachable so he also gave his turn of canal water to Bachan Singh.

Hakam Khan died in 1985 and his five sons got the entire responsibility on them. The eldest son took to masonry. The mother got the ownership of the land. She became the
head and decision maker in the family. The other sons continued the father’s occupation of agriculture and maintained relations with the villagers. The sons remained united. The canal water and rain water were the sources of irrigation. In the fertile portion they grew cotton and wheat and in the non-fertile part they grew cotton and grams.

Their problem started when the supply of canal water became irregular. It started affecting the agriculture. Their neighbour Sukhdev Singh quarreled with them on the issue of canal water on one pretext or another. The non fertile land was on the higher level and they were getting nothing from it due to lack of rain water. The land became a burden. *(Othe kujh vi paida nahin hunda si, it was barren land.)*

Hence the mother sold the non fertile portion in summers of 1990. She wanted to spend the money on purchasing a tube well pump. But owning individual pump was a difficult task. It needed huge investment and huge bribes to the officials for the electricity connection. Her sons were not educated to fill the form even. Finally, the mother invested the money on the marriages of her four sons. She purchased two buffalos for selling the milk. It became an extra source of income. Sons continued cultivating the remaining fertile portion of 4 kanals. Most of the time, they remained free because of small land holding. They did not have much work. But during the peak season the whole family including women worked together.

With the irregular supply of canal water they pleaded to the adjoining pump owner for water. But he refused to provide water as he did not have spare water due to low hp pump. In 1993-94 they left their land free for want of water. They worked as casual labour in village for livelihood. They were not happy with it as they had to get food grains from the market which they found very expensive. They revised their decision to leave agriculture.
With every passing year canal water was becoming irregular. Rain water was also not sufficient for the cultivation. Purchasing water was the only option for irrigation. They pleaded to Bachan Singh for selling water to them. He charged at Rs 20/- per hour (1995). They grew cotton, fodder and wheat in land. The seller did not provide abundant water.

The elder son Raj Khan was a responsible person who was asked to request Bachan Singh again in the kharif season to sell them water on time. He was unwilling to do that and had plans to buy their land. He gave them this option (of selling the land to him). The brothers refused. They regularly provided their services and cash for the sake of water. In 1998 the Raj Khan had a big fight with the seller.

After that incident he stopped taking interest in agriculture. In 2000 the rest of the four brothers independently started working in fields. With increased water problem second brother Saraj Khan was not serious towards agriculture. He found it non profitable. He did not want to work (as labour) on the seller’s land. He was not able to manage the agricultural expenditure, so finally he became a driver to contribute to the household expenditure.

Third brother Karma Khan, fourth Taj and youngest Mahtab Khan however remained in agriculture. They found it difficult because one of the brothers had to work in the seller’s field. Some times seller demanded that one of the brothers would cut the fodder for cattle and take care of his land and cattle. The brothers were not happy with the seller. But the hapless brothers had no other option, their land was on higher level, but to obtain water from Bachan Singh,

Karma Khan also got irritated with the seller when he increased the water rate and made it Rs. 40/- per hour in 2001. He was fed up with the increased expenditure on
agriculture and the shortage of water. He was not interested in providing service to the seller. “Jina kam us de khet te karde han, ona rajgiri da kam na kar laea, it would be better to work as brick layer (masson) than as a labourer in his fields.”

He joined the car garage in 2002 in the city. He left his wife in village. He came there once in a month. In 2003 Taj Khan the fourth son left his wife and ran away with some other girl of the village. Thus youngest son was left alone in agriculture.

Taj’s wife and Karma Khan’s wife are sisters. Both are dependent on their mother-in-law. Mahtab Khan, the youngest son was left unmarried. He is under the control of mother. He got all the responsibility of family and of land.

He started independently managing the 4 kanal of land. To overcome the water problem he started working as a rajgir in the village for livelihood. He is happy that he is independent and not bound to anyone for his services. He started buying water at Rs 50/- for wheat season. He started cultivating the land on sharecropping (adth te kethi karan lag gaya) in cotton season. He hires local labour and in return provided his services to labour when he required (transaction in kind). In a way he saves his expenditure on hired labour. But he saw no future in agriculture. He was not happy by providing his services to the seller. Now he is not working as labourer on the seller’s field. Instead he provides services only to entireties him. He does not hire cash labour and managing to hire tractor for plouying on cash payment. Local labour is in cordial relations with him that helped him during season.

In 2006 Raj Khan and Saraj demanded their share of land from their mother. They saw Mahtab Khan in comfortable position and they had to buy grains from the market at high rates. They quarreled with the mother for their share in land. The dispute lingered on to such an extent that the land remained free for 6 months. The mother
was demanding her expenditure and she was in the favor of joint cultivation. Both did not want to look after the land as it was still without water source. Subsequently both of them broke off their relations with the mother. They got separated. Then, the youngest son Mahtab Khan restarted cultivating the land.

**Women’s participation**

The mother of Vajeer and Hakam Khan provided her services in the fields and also worked in the village for earning livelihood. After death of the mother her daughters-in-law took over the responsibilities of household chores. Women also worked in the village to run the house like working as mid-wife. They were in good relations with one another and with villagers. In the family fields, they helped in sowing, weeding etc. After the division of land and house, women maintained the cordial relations. They did all the house work together.

Vazeer Khan was the eldest son. His wife got all the responsibilities after his death. She fulfilled all the duties very well. She settled the marriage of her sons. Due to poor economic condition she worked in the village for running the house. She has a pucca house and is still there. She maintained the relations with the villagers and with kin group. In 1995 she sold the land and her sons changed their occupation.

In Hakam Khan’s family, his wife became dependent on her sons after death of Hakam Khan. Legally she got the land. Non-fertile portion of their land was non profitable therefore she sold the piece of land. She fulfilled all the responsibilities and settled the marriage of her sons. She purchased cattle for domestic use as well for selling the milk. She herself worked in the village for earning livelihood. She is an active woman. She is doing all type of menial works to finance the expenditure. After the dispute her elder two daughters-in-law got separation. She left with younger two
daughters-in-law. They did not work in the fields and regularly quarreled with her for their share in land. They look after the house and cattle. They got food grains from Mahtab khan but did not cook food for him and their mother in law. The latter sells milk and plucks cotton etc. (Narma chugan da, rajayi bharan da, guhare laun da etc.) plucking cotton, and making quilt, raising a kucha dome shaped structure for storing cow dung cakes. She provides financial help to her youngest son Mahtab Khan. Her son is living with her. She is a farsighted woman.

Analysis

1. Landholding: Mahtab got entire 6 kanals of his father because his brothers got fed up from the seller and was not interested in cultivating land without water.

2. (i) Water technology: Mahtab did not own any technology and still he is on same position.

(ii) Water (purchasied, sharing, selling): He buys water on cash payment and also provided his services for water. Side business helped in managing his agriculture. He entreats seller by his free services. With sharecropping he became partner of water seller.

3. Crops: He grew wheat and cotton.

4. Agriculture Implements: He hire implements on cash payment and some time hire in exchange of his services.

5. Agricultural labour: He hires local wage labour and in return provided his services to him when required. None from his family provide services in the fields.
6. Social Relations

   i. Family: Mahtan Khan faced conflict with his brothers on irrigation water.

   ii. Extended/ joint family: He maintained cordial relations with the kin 
group.

   iii. Field neighbours: He entreats his neighbours with his services of rajgiri.

   iv. Village neighbours: He is in lower class and have small kucca house in 
Sukhiana Patti. His chacha Babra is his neighbour. He maintained formal 
relations with neighbours. During special occasions they meet one another.

   v. Labour: He maintained cordial relations with local labour. He only hired 
local labour.

7. Women’s role (home/agriculture): Mahtab Khan’s mother is very hard 
working. She maintained cordial relations with the villages and with one 
another. She works in the village and family field for financing the house.
Background

This is the case of Jaipal of Lehal Kalan village. He lives in Parvana patti, belongs to a Goyal family and is bania by caste. This Patti includes the houses of hindu, jats and muslims. His father Ganpat lal were five brothers. Their father Milkha Ram had a flour mill. He did not require the labour of all his sons. So he sent them to work as wage labour in the fields. After their father’s death in 1976 they inherited a flour mill and a plot near town. Mother was a simple and a hard working woman. She did not domanate her sons. Entire responsibility of decision making shifted to the eldest son Luxman. The flour mill was not providing enough for the family. He was married. After his father’s death he started taking decisions for the family. He feels that he is intelligent and superior to his brothers. He and his wife were not comfortable with the poor economic condition. Hence they wanted to get out of it.

He was looking for new source of income. For the sake of better life and to invest in some other occupation, he decided to divide the ancestral property which constituted a house, flour mill and a plot so that each son would get his share. Mother divided the plot and house but it was difficult for them to divide the flour mill. He gave his portion of the house to his youngest brother and in exchange took his share of the plot.

Second son Chaman lal was illiterate. After his father’s death, he got married. His wife (darani) belonged to the village of Luxman lal’s wife (jethani). After marriage he left the village and shifted to his inherited plot in town. He exchanged his portion in flour mill with brother Ram karam. Chaman lal got some finance from his in-laws and started a small shop. Now he has 3 sons and a daughter, his 2 sons are in job and
one is looking after the shop. His daughter is married. Third son Sabkaram was unmarried and in 1977 he died in an accident. His inherited share was divided among his brothers.

Fourth and fifth son Ram Karam and Ganpat lal were left behind in the village with their mother. They had flour mill as source of income. In 1978 mother arranged their marriage. For this purpose she took credit from the relatives and money lender. After marriage both brothers remained together in the inherited house. Later in 1983, they sold half of their portion of house to repay their debt.

With increased family size, household expenditure also increased. They wanted some other source of income. During that period peasants were benefited with Green revolution so they also decided to get into agriculture. They took another loan from the money lender for the purchase of land.

In 1985 they purchased an acre of fertile piece of land. Canal was the source of irrigation. With family labour they started cultivating it. They grew wheat, cotton, bajra and mustard. They got water on time and for an hour only. Water was sufficient for irrigation. With the possession of agricultural land they got status in the village. They cultivated for market as well as for self consumption. Thus they were able to ameliorate their economic condition.

Their brothers also visited them regularly and also purchase grain etc from him. Their agricultural occupation made them popular among the siblings. With time they bought a bicycle to visit the field. In 1990, the government constructed a road for the village that passes through their land. Therefore their land got divided. A big dispute took place and the matter went to the panchayat. Finally panchayat decided to give them *shamlat* land for cultivation. This land was usually leased out after auction but
panchayat leased it to them at reasonable rates in 1991. It was without any source of irrigation so they used to take water from the adjoining big peasant’s tube well. They were in good relations with the neighbours. They take water and in return provided their services in his fields. They started cultivating less water intensive crops like cotton, fodder and wheat. Later they stopped paying the rent. Now they are considered illegal occupants of the *shamlat* land. The respondents however denied it.

In their own land which got divided due to road they installed an engine for irrigation. It started providing them regular supply of water. Through channels they irrigated their fragmented land. They started cultivating rice and wheat in it. With time their condition improved economically. When they visit their relatives they take rice with them as a gift.

Both brothers were together at work and at house. Ram Karam and Ganpat have two sons each. They educated their children. Joint family was happy with land and flour mill. They divided the profit and jointly cultivated the land. In 1992 Ganpat died in winters. Ganpat two sons are Jeevan Lal and Jaipal. They started managing the work under the guidance of their uncle. They got father’s implements and with family labour they managed the land. Neighbours were also helpful to them. In free time they sat with them.

In 1995 Ram Karam separated from Ganpat’s sons because his own sons got menial jobs in the city. Later Ram Karam and his sons were not interested in agriculture. Thus Ram Karam was forced to lease out his land to Ganpat’s sons. They gave the amount of Ram Karam’s share in flour mill and purchased his share too. Therefore assets were divided. They started managing their father’s land and flour mill. They remained in ancestral house. Jeevan and Jaipal divided the work of land and floor mill
informally. Younger brother took the responsibility of agriculture and eldest took flour mill. Both maintained the relations with Ram Karam’s family.

Both lived together in the ancestral house. Jaipal provided food grains in the house and Jeevan gave Rs. 3500/- per month to Jaipal from the flour mill. Terms were mutually settled between them. Jaipal also leased in his uncle’s (Ram Karam’s) land. He had fixed the leasing terms with his cousins (Ram Karam’s sons). This land was without any source of water so Jaipal decided to purchase it at reasonable rates. In 1998 he took financial help from Jeevan Lal and purchased uncle’s (Ram Karam’s) one acre of land.

Presently both brothers are together and providing services in each other’s occupation. Jaipal is a hardworking and an intelligent farmer. He maintains good relations with the neighbouring peasants and whenever he needs their help in agriculture they provide him. Both brothers maintain relations with relations.

Agriculture

Ram Karam and Ganpat purchased an acre of agriculture land. They started cultivating rice, wheat and cotton. Canal was the source of irrigation. With time they purchased implements. Tractor was hired from other farmers in lihaj because they had small landholding. They made agriculture their primary occupation. Both brothers got separated in 1995. Ganpat’s sons got the responsibilities of entire land. Elder son Jeevan took flour mill and youngest son got agricultural land.
Jaipal learned all the skills from his father. Father maintained good relations with the neighbouring farmers that helped Jaipal when he started managing the agriculture independently. He too maintained cordial relations with his neighbouring farmers. He took their guidance for using inputs etc. They provided him their implements and seeds and in exchange he worked on their fields. He hires tractor from big farmers in *lihaj* and used with his own diesel.

His land was fragmented. He was a poor peasant. He had engine in his own land. Till 2002 his engine was pumping water but with depletion of ground water his engine on fragmented land stopped mining water. Less rain water and high rates of water from submersible pump forced to lease out his fragmented land in kharif (rice) season. He solved the water problem this way. But in next season he would take back the land and cultivate the crops which are less water consuming like cotton and wheat. Jaipal acts very smartly to cultivate his fragmented land.

On *shamlat* land he had cordial relations with his neighbours. He used to take water for irrigating his land and in return pleased them with his services. He neither had pump nor the canal water on this fragment. He was totally dependent on the neighbour’s for water. Big peasant Pala Singh and Bharpur Singh was his adjoining neighbours. With depleting water table they installed submersible pumps and stopped providing free water in exchange of services. They started charging money for water. In 1995 he paid Rs 25/- per hour. With increased rates of water and with less rain water he started cultivating fodder only because it requires less water. Through open channels he got water for the irrigation. He used to visit the sellers’ house for regular supply of water. In 2008 they started charging Rs 50/- per hour.

Neighbours provided him water only when they could spare. Pala Singh had only one submersible and he sold water to Jaipal only. Due to his cordial relations he got water
in exchange of his services as well as cash. He is very smart. He maintained relations with another seller Bharpur Singh who owned two pumps. When Bharpur Singh replaced his tube well with submersible pump then he became water seller. He is making good money by selling water. Jaipal regularly entreats him for water. His land is near to his pump so he compelled him to sell water and also for timely water supply. He also provides services in his land thus obliging him to sell water.

Jaipal has a small landholding. He does not hire permanent labour. Much of the agricultural work is looked after by the family itself. Brother Jeevan also provides services in the field. Sowing, spraying of fertilizers and pesticides is jointly looked after by both brothers. Other works which require hard labour like harvesting is done by hired labour.

Jeevan goes along with Jaipal for selling the produce in the market. He pays them in cash. He hires tractor some times on cash payment.

Even he has water problem for his own land but he is generating profit from it. Instead of growing crops like rice, he grows fodder. It requires less water as compared to rice. Fodder can be managed by rain water. To become independent in cultivation and free from the trap of water market, he acts very judiciously. He has started cultivating fodder on commercial basis. He sells fodder at Rs.1000/- for one kanal for 6 months.

A kanal of fodder is leased out at some fixed rate to some particular buyer. In this business the owner of the land is looking after the crop for the buyers. He has to take care of it for 6 months. The buyer of the fodder takes the fodder when he requires. Fodder generally has two cuttings and it has six months of maturity period. During
such period the owner of the land and buyer are tied in a contractual relationship for six months.

In such a way Jaipal, the buyer of fodder and sellers are involved in a contractual relationship. If the water rates shoot up, he has to buy water because he has to grow fodder for the buyers.

**Women’s Participation**

Jaipal is unmarried.

**Analysis**

1. **Landholding:** Jaipal inherited one acres of land. Later in 1998 he purchased his uncle’s one acres. Thus his total land is two acres.

2. **(i) Water technology:** He got one engine in inherited land and supply of canal water. With depleting water table he could not use his engine and canal water also became irregular. Thus he left without technology and water.

   **(ii) Water (purchasing, sharing, selling):** Initially he started taking water in exchange of his services. When pump owner installed new pump they started charging him for water. In 1995 he paid Rs 25/- per hour. In 2005 they started charging Rs 50 per hour and his services too in his fields. Pump owner Pala Singh had only one submersible and he sold water to Jaipal only. Due to his cordial relations he got water in exchange of his services as well as cash. Jaipal is very smart. He maintained relations with another seller Bharpur Singh. He has two pumps. When he replaced his tube well with submersible pump then he became water seller. He is making good money by selling water. Jaipal regularly entreats him for water. His land is near to his pump so he compelled Bharpur Singh for water supply. He also provides his services too in his land thus obliging him to sell water.
3. **Crops:** With increased rates of water and with less rain water he started cultivating wheat for self consumption and fodder for commercialization only because it requires less water.

4. **Agricultural Implements:** He inherited basis implements like plouyer and other implements were hired from big peasants and in lieu he provided them his services. Now he hire on cash payment.

5. **Agricultural Labour:** He does not hire permanent labour but manage with local wage labour. He takes the help of his brother too.

6. **Social Relations**
   
   I. **Family:** He is living with brother’s family. Cost implication force brothers to remain together and due to togetherness brothers are doing well and able to manage the expenditure.

   Jaipal provided food grains in the house and Jeevan gave Rs. 3500/- per month to Jaipal from the flour mill. Terms were mutually settled between them. He enjoys cordial relations with his brother.

   II. **Extended/ joint family:** He maintains cordial relations with his kin group. He regularly visited them.

   III. **Fields neighbours:** He is in good terms with his field neighbours. He provided his services to please them. Neighbours guided them in agriculture. He pleased them with his free services as labourer.

   IV. **Village neighbours:** In the village settlement he attained a status with possession of land. He maintains cordial relations with village neighbours.

   V. **Labour:** He himself works as labour to entreat landowner. He has marginal landholding so does not hire any labour.