After representing Socio-cultural milieu of the villages of Charotar under study and primary information about the land owners and labourers working on farms, let us concentrate on in detail about agriculture as a primary occupation in India and in these Charotar villages of Matar Taluka in Kaira district. Labourers working on farms play a key role in agriculture especially after green revolution. At present mutual relations between the landowners and labourers working on their land are not warm and tied (bound) through jajmani system. Because of occupational mobility and new opportunities of earning money, local labourers working on farms have stopped giving positive response to the farm owner employers. The latter also have realized the situation. They have developed a negative prejudice against them. They give various explanations for disliking them. All these points have been discuss in this chapter.

(1) **Agriculture : Main Rural Occupation :**

India is an agricultural country having 5,75,721 villages. The process of industrialization and urbanization are going on for nine decades or more. Still the occupational analysis of the people of India following primary occupations i.e. agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing and forestry has remained almost 70%, except 1991,
irrespective of changes in the total population.

Table 3.1
Primary Occupation in India (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PEOPLE IN PRIMARY OCCUPATION</td>
<td>71.7</td>
<td>74.8</td>
<td>75.9</td>
<td>74.7</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td>71.2</td>
<td>72.1</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>62.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: 1)

A number of research scholars have undertaken studies on rural areas, but much attention is not focused on agriculture and socio-economic relations taking shape from it. In different parts of our country still many of the farmers follow traditional farming. Any person can join this occupation as a farmer or a formal labour without having any scientific knowledge or skill of farming or any experience about it. There is no monopoly of any group, community, caste or tribe in the field of agricultural labour. It is said that about 25% of the people connected with agricultural occupation are landless farm-labourers. It is very significant to note that in the socio-economic structure of every multi-caste village there are land-owners, small farmers and animal-breeders who have made the agriculture their main means of livelihood. There is also the division of labour in most of the
Indian villages through traditional caste-occupations. Those who followed traditional caste-occupations had close socio-economic relations with the land owning castes, in the form of the Jajmani System. Of course, caste-binding obligations have not remained strong. The traditional 'jajmani system' has become weak. A number of factors are responsible for this, e.g. education, employment opportunities, occupational mobility, migration, co-operative milk land-laws producing societies, new crop pattern, constitutional rights etc.

(2) Traditional Bonds Through Jajmani System:

Agriculture is possible with the help of farm-labourers. They are needed at different stages right from ploughing and sowing to watering, weeding, sprinkling insecticides and fertilizers, cutting, thrashing, carting, storing, etc. The land-owners depended on local labourers working on farms or labourers in nearby villages. Mostly the poor landless families belonging to different caste-communities or families having only a few acres of land used to work as farm-labourers. The land-owners employed labourers from the families of those with whom they had 'jajmani' relationships. The servicing castes under jajmani system also claimed their right to be invited and employed as farm-labourers at the field of their respective land-owners of their villages. They too used to get priority as farm-labourers. They were proud of such mutual relations. Prof. M.N. Srinivas has observed:

"In pre-colonial India there was a scarcity of agricultural labourers, and dependent low castes could take refuge in as yet unreclaimed regions."
The 'jajmani system' had created social intimacy and vertical unity among the different hierarchical castes of the villages. Intercaste relations were continued by the network of rights and obligations among them. Lewis and Burnow had taken an opinion of a serving caste person working as a labourer under 'jajmani' relations in a northern Indian village. The reply of the labourer was:

"This (land-labour work) is the only means of livelihood open to us, and the richer the landlord we serve, the more prestige and honour we have." (4)

The members of the different castes following jajmani system at one hand and working as farm-labourers with their land-owning jajmans on the other hand not only provided them with livelihood but also with patronage and protection. They, too, showed their loyalty and gave support to their jajmans. They stood by them in every situation. The 'jajmani System' strengthened social cohesion and co-operation in the village. At the same time land owners and farm-labourers used to get satisfaction and security from these relations. Yet such relations were of unequal status, and of controlling nature as the land-owners shared more power and prestige in the village. The farm-labourers were under them or sometimes they were left at the mercy of the land owners.
There is a close relationship between the caste dominance and land-ownership as well as having majority in local populati
It is also true that the major part of cultivable land is owned by big land-owners. While most of the villagers either have a few acres of land or no land at all. The land owners keep control over the members of other castes in the village.

In selected Charotar villages of Matar Taluka for the present study, the Moje Jarif record show that the dominance of land owner high castes or a community (e.g. Muslims) has continued since 1825.

(3) **Agricultural Crops and Need of Farm-Labourers:**

After independence the main problem before India was self-sufficiencyin Food grains.

Agriculture and allied activities are very useful for the nation. Crops for food and raw materials for some major industries such as cotton, jute textiles, sugar, tobacco, edible oil, etc. are received from farming. It also provides a large proportion of the national exports.

Total production of food grains during 1993-94 was 18.20 crore Matric tonnes. Thanks to the policy of the Government there is noteworthy improvement in the food situation in India.
Fixation of minimum support prices for major food grains has been an essential feature of Government policy over the several years. It is a sort of an incentive and a sort of a guarantee to the producers that in the event of the gult in the market prices will not be allowed to fall below the minimum economic levels. The Government has also been announcing procurement of the food grains. Problems like storage, transport and marketing of food grains, in the wake of bumper crops in certain parts of the country, have been tackled. The availability of institutional credit for agricultural requirement is consistently being stepped up. The two special schemes of Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA) and the Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Development Agency (MFAL) are expected to play a very important role in this sphere.

The targets and achievements of principal agricultural development programmes are possible, due to (1) Development of minor irrigation (2) Soil and water conservation (3) Land reclamation (4) Multiple cropping (5) Fertilizers and organic manures (6) Improved seeds (7) The High Yielding Varieties Programme. It was started in irrigated and assured rainfall areas from the Kharif season of 1966.

Under H.Y.V.P. number of high yielding varieties of rice and wheat both exotic and local, and hybrids of maize, jawar
and bajra, responsive to high dose of fertilizers, were introduced. Since then a number of new high yielding varieties of these cereals and millets have been evolved and included in the programme.

Purchase of the major food grains are meant essentially to maintain quantities needed by the Government for the public distribution system.

In order to obtain effective command over the food situation and food grains and to stabilize food-economy of the country, the Government has built up a buffer stock.

FOOD CORPORATION OF INDIA:

As a part of agricultural policy, Food Corporation of India was set up in 1965. Its main functions are:

(1) to undertake purchase, storage, distribution and sale of food grains and other food-stuffs, (2) to promote the production of food grains (3) to set up or assist in the setting up of rice mills, flour mills and such undertakings for processing food grains and other food-stuffs.

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES:

The Government has adopted the new strategy for agricultural development since 1966-67. The development programmes
have been reoriented to respond promptly and effectively to
the new dynamism of Indian Farmer. The production and supply
of improved seeds, particularly of the high yielding varieties.

The increased return in terms of additional production
and the assurance of price support have been included farmers,
big and small, to take up this programme on a large scale.

There has been a virtual wheat revolution as a result of
implementation of the high yielding varieties programmes.

I. A. D. P.:

The Intensive Agricultural District Programme has
completed more than three decades of its operation. It was
launched as the first major experiment in intensive agriculture
development in the beginning of the Third Plan when the country
was facing serious food shortage as a result of a succession
of bad harvests. It tries to demonstrate the most effective
ways of achieving rapid and significant increase in agricultural production through adoption of a "Package" of improved practices and to suggest innovations, approaches and procedures which could be adopted in similar other areas all over the country.

The IADP districts with their specialized organisation
and facilities for rapid growth are playing a significant role
in popularizing the
high yielding varieties of food grains. The adoption of high
yielding varieties by the farmers has been more rapid and
wide spread.

Kaira district in Gujarat is lucky to get irrigation
facilities from the dams constructed on the Meshvo, the Khari
and the Mahi rivers.

The waters of the Mahi canal are provided to the farms
mainly in the area between the Shedhi and the Mahi rivers—
 i.e. half of Thajsra Taluka, Nadiad, Petlad, Borsad and one
third of Matar Taluka since 1962.

The farmers of all five villages under study—Radhvanaj,
Undhela, Sandhana, Vansar and Sokhada—get benefit of the
Mahi canal. About 70% to 80% of cultivable land in these
villages is brought under irrigation. The industrious and
hard working farmers make full use of fertile land and irrigati
facility. They take three crops—Kharif, Ravi and summer-
during the year. Some of them have turned to fruit cultivation—
growing sugarcane, bananas and lemons. Recently they have also
started growing ground-nuts and potatoes. The most common crops
of summer are paddy, millet and ground-nuts, while in winter
they grow wheat, tobacco, gram, pulses, etc. Main crops of
monsoon are paddy, millet ground-nut and oil-seeds. Thus the
agricultural activities continue all the year round.

The farming work needs planning and followup of time shedule. To be late by a day or two causes a great loss. Modern means of agriculture and irrigation like tractors, thrashers, tubewells and pumps are very useful. Yet human labour is inevitable. The farm-labourers are constantly in demand. So any person ready to work as a farm-labourer never remains job-less. The land owners employ them in all seasons.

According to the farmers production of crops and expenses on seeds, chemical fertilizers, irrigation, labour etc. per bigha are as follows :

TABLE 3.2
Production of Crops and Expenses per Bigha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Crops</th>
<th>Production per Bigha</th>
<th>Expenses per Bigha Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Paddy (Guj.17)</td>
<td>70 Maunds</td>
<td>800/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Millet (summer)</td>
<td>40 &quot;</td>
<td>600/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot; (Monsoon)</td>
<td>25 &quot;</td>
<td>600/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ground nut</td>
<td>25 &quot;</td>
<td>500/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>40 &quot;</td>
<td>600/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sugarcane</td>
<td>1200 &quot;</td>
<td>4000/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tobacco (Calcutti)</td>
<td>40 &quot;</td>
<td>1200/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1.75 Bighas = 1 Acre)
The progressive farmers state that yields per acre have definitely increased by 50% or more during last a decade and a half. On the other hand various expenses have also gone up. Still the agriculture is profitable. There is no income-tax on its income. Yet diseases in crops, failure of monsoon, unfavourable weather, non-availability of waters from canals and having not own irrigation facility (i.e. tube well, pump etc.) are hazards in agriculture which may cause failure in the seasonal crop production.

(4) **The Positive Role of ISRO - Pij TV Centres :**

The Indian Space Research Organisation had started Pij Telecast Centre in 1975. This popular telecast played an important role in bringing about consciousness in fields of social, educational and agriculture, especially among the villages in Kaira district. ISRO centre of Pij had been awarded two international awards- Markoni and UNESCO for conducting Rural Educational Programmes.

The programmes covered a variety of subjects for the benefit of the farmers. They were:

(i) The guidance about how to care the cattle, information about diseases among the animals and their treatment, on pure
drinking water and balanced food, cleanliness of stables etc.

(2) The guidance regarding poultry farm to get good eggs and meat.

(3) The farmers were taught how to use improved agricultural techniques and tools, irrigation of farms, balanced use of fertilizers and highbreed seeds in the farm.

(4) It also informed the farmers about agricultural activities in different seasons like sowing, cutting, reaping etc.

(5) The guidance was given about how to control crop diseases and how to use insecticides and in what proportion.

(6) The farmers also got useful information about agriculture of fruit plants, medical plants, vegetable plants and oil-seeds like sunflower, soyabean, cotton, ground-nuts etc.

(7) The guidance was provided about new techniques of irrigation. The farmers were explained that old method of supplying water to the plant-beds is harmful to the fertility of land. They were asked to make use of water flow-through drains or embankments. The Israeli ways of irrigation through drip and fountain are very economic and useful. It stops wastage of water and harm to the land.
(8) The farmers were asked to make changes in crops to maintain fertility. They were also advised to bring inside surface of land upward by deep tilling.

Thus it can be concluded that Pij-TV Programmes for farmers proved to be very useful. (Unfortunately special Pij telecast has been stopped. It is a news that it is to be restarted, if it does, well and good.)

(5) **Local Labourers working on Farms**

Those men and women working as farm labourers are landless, mostly illiterate, have no other source of getting livelihood and unwilling to go out of the village in search of work.

In all five multicastrve villages under study the farm labourers belong to lower middle and lower caste-strata. As stated earlier they are Barias, Patanwadias, Gadhavis, Molesalam Garasias, Senwas, Chamars, Shepherds, Harijans, Christians and Muslims. The land-owners go personally to invite them at their places of residence in the evening when they are available. The farm-labourers get either fixed amount or daily wage plus millet flour or two readily roasted loaves, curry (or dal), tea twice and bidis to smoke.

The members of servicing castes (vasvayas) prefer and
also feel obligatory to go to work as farm labourers to their respective traditional customers. While other poor labourers belonging to non-servicing castes make their choice and agree to go to work with whom they can adjust. Mostly they do not change their employers (land-owner-masters). They are employed as daily-wage farm-labourers (dahadias) or on yearly contract as bound labourers (Mahinadars).

(6) Relations between Land-owners and Local Labourers working on Farms and Mode of Payment:

The relations of the farm labourers with the land owners are not only economic, but personal, primary/social in nature. The caste councils of the servicing castes have divided the land-owners and landless village households among themselves and have established 'jajmani' relations. So they claim their moral right over their customer-land-owners to invite them to work as farm-labourers on priority base. Moreover they consider it their responsibility to engage and supply extra-labourers whenever their master (land-owners) needed. They have continued to work as farm-labourers because they are landless and they don't get enough from performing traditional occupations of their respective castes and from keeping a cow or a buffalo.

On the other hand the members of the landless households
and of non-servicing castes who mainly depend on working as farm labourers prefer to work on the farms of the rich landowners who can employ them all the year round. Working with them permanently they feel social and economic security. Whenever the situation arise to seek help on the occasions of marriage, sickness, death or incidence of major expenses, they rush to the land-owners to get grain or to borrow money on securities like house or ornaments. In turn, under this obligation, the members of the household of the borrowers lose their independence of their choice to work as farm-labourers anywhere until they repay money with interest by labouring on their farms and clear their debts. It is also expected that the borrower's wife should do household work and their children look after the cattle of money-lender land-owner. Prof. M.N. Srinivas has observed:

"A poor man puts others under his obligation only by giving personal labour and skill. But a rich man has many devices: he can oblige others by lending them money, by letting them land, by speaking to an official or a big man on their behalf or performing acts of generosity. Thus a rich is able to put many persons under his obligation. Every rich man tries 'to invest in people, so that he can on occasion turn his followers to political and economical advantage." (6)
Thus the relations between the land owners and non-tribal farm-labourers in Charotar villages of Matar Taluka in Kaira district are the same as found by Jan Breman in his study of Dublas in South Gujarat, in 'Petronage and Exploitation' and of P.G. Shah in his book on his exclusive writings on the Dublas of Gujarat in 'Gujarat-na-Dublao'.

Those local farm labourers who do not have relations that of 'Hali-system' type get remuneration immediately either in cash or kind. Moreover they get tea, bidis, and midday meal—two big loaves and curry (or dal) per head. If the mid-day meal is not served, the farm-labourer gets recess for three hours from 12.00 noon to 3.00 noon and goes back to his home to have a meal. Before that, he resumes his work at 9.00 a.m. and in the afternoon returns home in the evening at the sunset.

The casual labourers tempt to go to work on the farm of that land owner who pays in cash as soon as the working day is over.

Those house-holds, whose source of income is farm-labour, do not send their children to school. Instead they like to send them to work as farm labourers or to remain at home to look after their young siblings or they send them to graze or to collect firewood. Thus the main reason of rural illiteracy is
It is observed among the poor families in the towns and cities like Matar, Kaira, Vaso, Nadiad, Anand, Ahmedabad, the parents belonging to the Rabari (Shephard) and the Thakor (Baria) castes send their adult married daughters to their Father-in-Law's place very late. The same is the practice of the landless farm labourer parents in Charotar villages of Matar Taluka. By working as labourers, the daughters earn money for their parents. So the parents in villages do not distinguish between sons and daughters. They welcome the birth of either sex. To them daughters are 'earning sons' till they go to live with their husbands' places permanently. It is very interesting that they welcome their divorcee daughters or sisters to live with them and like to enjoy money earned by them as additional labour-force in the family.

The practice of untouchability is not observed on the farms where male and female labourers belonging to Chamar, Sanw and Harijan castes come. The faces of land-owners hardly remain six inches away when they help them in their work e.g. helping them to put baskets full of mud, manure, grain, mangoes or potatoes on their heads. They also take liberty with these women-labourers. They develop intimate sweet social relations.
which, in some cases, result in sex-proximity too.

Those who join as labourers for twelve months on a contract base get a thousand rupees in cash, two pairs of clothes/shoes, tea and meals twice a day, break-fast and bidis.

About 25 years ago, when the landlord belonging to the dominant caste, called the members of the servicing castes (Vasvayas) to go to work on their farm, they were forced to do so. Otherwise they were beaten publicly. Now those days are gone. They can not force anybody to go to work as a farm-labourer.

Thus there were specific mutual relations between land owners and the families of the farm labourers in the economic structure and social stratification of the Charouar villages of Matar Taluka.

(7) Land Reforms:

The twin objectives of Indian planning in agriculture are higher agricultural out put and social justice to the cultivators of the Soil. The Directive principle embodied in article 39 of the Constitution lays down that the ownership and control of the natural resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good and prevent
concentration of wealth and means of production in a few hands to the detriment of the community. The agrarian structure which independent India inherited from the past was semi-feudal in character with intermediary tenures super-imposed on the farmers over substantial areas and with heavy concentration of ownership and cultivation of land. Just to improve the conditions of small farmers and agricultural labourers, who contribute the bulk of the rural population, agrarian transformation has figured prominently in the plan objectives and the land policy and programmes of the Central and State Governments.

**Plan Objectives:**

(a) Abolition of intermediary tenures.
(b) Tenancy reforms enabling the tenants to become owners.
(c) Ceiling on land holdings.

**The Impact of Land-Reforms:**

The impacts of the abolition of intermediary tenures, tenancy reforms and ceiling on land holdings are impressive.
It is clear from the above table that in all five villages under study the land of Brahmins, Banias, Patidars, Rajputs, Potters, Carpenters, Muslims and temples which was tilled by the tenants have lost the ownership and the tenants have become the real owners under Tenancy Act. Those tenants who have been benefited belong to the Patidar, Patanwadia, Baria, and Rajput castes.

Moreover Farmers' Consumer Co-operative societies supply high yielding improved seeds, agricultural tools, chemical
fertilizers, insecticides, extension of irrigation facilities and cheaper credit to the land owners have helped a lot. The result is notable increase in crop production per acre. e.g. The production of wheat, paddy, Bajra, Tobacco, ground-but, sugar-cane, potato, tomato and papayas have increased by 50 per cent or more per acre.

(8) Dairy Projects:

Dairy Projects in the Five Year Plans have twofold objectives of providing remunerative market for producers and assured supply of liquid and dried milk and milk products like butter, ghee, cheese, chocolate, shreekhand, etc. to consumers at a reasonable rate.

N.D.D.B. in general and AMUL Dairy in particular have raised Milk Producing Co-operative Societies in Radhvanaj, Undhela, Sandhana, Vanasar and Sokhada providing loans to the farmers and landless labourers to buy cows and buffaloes, fodder for the cattle, insurance facility for the cattle, availability of quick services of Veterinary Surgeon, etc. Milk producing Co-Operative Societies in these villages have helped to the farmers and landless labourers in improving their economic condition through steady and reliable income from selling of milk.
Those local landless labourers working on farms who have turned to cattle-breeding have begun to take less interest and showing indifferent attitude in labouring on land.

Reservation policy in favour of the members of the SC, ST and OBC has also been proved useful in getting education and jobs.

Network of motorable roads in all seasons, S.T. bus services and private vehicles like auto rickshaws, the process of urbanization, rururban migration and possibility of occupational mobility have a tremendous impact on the life of landless farm labourers in the villages, selected for present study. All these factors are responsible for the change in the attitudes of the traditional landless farm labourers towards labour-work on the farms. On the other hand the demand for the farm-labourers has never decreased. On the contrary, it has constantly gone up. The demand for farm workers was satisfied by the local farm labourers in the past. But now they have become indifferent towards this, traditional source of income i.e. farm-labour work. As in other villages of Charotar area, the demand for the farm labourers in the villages of Matar Taluka, too, continues. This demand has been fulfilled by the constant flow of migrant tribal farm labourers in recent years. The detail information is presented in the next chapter on the migrant tribal farm labourers.
The interviews with the respondent landowners and farm-labourers provided a lot of information on the reasons of indifferent attitudes of the local traditional farm-labourers towards farm-labourer. After analysis the following points came to the surface:

(i) Most of the local farm-labourers are unwilling to do hard physical work. They only like to do easy farm-work like planting and weeding. They don't like hard physical labour.

(ii) Most of them have started keeping cows and buffaloes getting loan from Co-operative Milk Producing Society in their respective villages.

(iii) Some of them have started tilling land of small land holders on the condition of keeping one-fifth of crop production with them.

(iv) All those who worked as tenant-cum-farm-labourers have become full time farmers by getting land under Tenancy Act. Those who lost their land are Brahmins, some Muslims and some Patidars, while the main gainers are Barias. These new landowners feel inferiority in working as farm-labourers.

(v) Some of the traditional farm labourers have started going to work in nearby cities. There they get minimum Rs. 30/-
a day, almost double the amount from what they get as farm-labourers in the village. Their working hours are also less i.e. from 9.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m., while working hours for farm-labourers are from 8.00 a.m. to 6.00 p.m. (sometimes to 7.00 p.m.).

(vi) Marginal land-owners also have stopped farming and get their work done by other farm-labourers. They have sought jobs in nearby towns and cities.

(vii) The educated youngsters from Scheduled Castes like Senwas and Chamars have got the jobs like peons, teachers, postmen, clerks, conductors, drivers, etc. So they do not want their parents now to continue the work of farm-labouring.

(viii) The educated young generation of scheduled castes hate illicit sex-relations of land-owners with their adult girls and women who go to work as farm-labourers. Those who have started earning enough from the jobs have stopped their female relatives to work as farm-labourers.

(ix) The small farmers having about five acres of land who also worked as farm-labourers have got the benefit of canal irrigation, so now they concentrate on their own farms.

(x) Some of the youths of the farm-labour force have turned to betting and gambling. They want to earn money without any
physical labour. It does not mean that all of them become successful, but they are not ready to give up temptation for easy money.

(xi) Some of the young women from the farm-labouring unit have developed extra-marital relations. They go to a nearby city showing the cause of marketing or seeing a film and visit guest-houses with their favourite males who spend on them hiring the rooms for some hours for sex-enjoyment.

(xii) The traditional farm-labourers do not like to work on contract base, while the land-owners insist on it to get their work finished speedily and to be free from serving them meals tea, bidis and becoming watch-dogs.

(xiii) Those who still go to work as farm-labourers show disloyalty and carelessness about time. They indulge in arguments with the farm-owners and avoid to work for full eight hours. Actually they are not mentally prepared to work if somebody supervises their work and keep them constantly busy.

(xIV) Those persons who could manage to get an allotment of a house on their adult sons' name under Indiranagar Housing Plan, have sold their old houses in the village with some open land in the front. They invested money in buying cows or buffaloes and now get income from milk-selling.
While talking to the land owners about local landless labourers working on their farms, they expressed their feelings of dissatisfaction and latent hatred. Almost all of them complained about the farm-labourers' indifferent attitude towards farm-labour. They tried to explain why they were not willing to employ them when they have other alternative to get their farm-work done. The content of their opinions and its analysis is presented here:

(i) The local farm labourers have lost their self-interest in farm labour because new sources of getting livelihood are now open to them. So they are neither ready nor eager for farm-labour work.

(ii) Binding force between the land-owners and farm-labourers was the 'jajmani-system'. But it has weakened and has lost its old bindings of Socio-economic ties.

(iii) When the local labourers working on farm have engaged themselves in other jobs or occupations, it is now useless to depend on them.

(iv) The local woman-labour force is also decreasing. They
can do only some kind of farm-labour and of not every type. Moreover they are tempted to get easy money and enjoyment. They have been led to indulge in activities like prostitution. Of course, it is not regular but one can say that they have bold and courageous to get money by this way. The brokers always move around them to manage the persons for them and safe places in the rooms of inns and hotels in nearby towns and cities.

(vi) The local farm labourers insist on daily labour-charge fixed by the Government, moreover they want mid-day meal, tea and bidis. The land-owners naturally consider it costly. While the migrant tribal farm labourers are easily available to work willingly on a contract-base per bigha, without a mid-day meal, tea or bidis. So they are cheaper.

(vii) The mobility of traditional farm labourers to other occupations with more economic gains has created scarcity of local farm-labour force.

(viii) Qualities like trustworthiness and keeping a word have disappeared from the local farm labourers. They do not turn up to work on the next day morning even if they promise in the evening of the previous day. By doing so they disturb the time table schedule and the land owner sometimes has to bear a great
economic loss for no fault of his own. This is unbearable on the part of the land owner. Successful agriculture depends on timely action for all activities connected with farming, right from ploughing and sowing to harvesting.

If we look at this point from intercaste relations, the socio-economic bonds were strong among them when the Jajmani System was effective. But it has weakened now because of number of factors. The traditional relations among the land owners of middle castes and local farm labourers coming to work on their farms are not the same as they were about three four decades ago. The farm workers who come to work as labourers need constant supervision. Moreover, they often ask for bidis and waste time in smoking. Not only that but also they make demand for a particular brand of bidis and quarrel over petty matters. They look at them as simply needy land-owners-farmers without showing any respect towards them. To them to get any form of labour work either on farm or elsewhere in their respective villages or outside in nearby towns and cities is not difficult.

(11) Rural-Urban Migration of Labourers Working on Farms

As stated earlier the local farm labourers have stopped working on farms for a number of reasons. Some of them, including the members of so-called untouchable castes, have started going
It has been observed that rural-rural migration creates less problems than rural-urban migration. If we talk about tradition labour force of five villages under study, migrating to the urban areas, the problems are not ecological and demographic but also sociological concerning the so-called economically backward castes. They suffer from social injustice of caste difference in their own villages. For them a city or a town is a better employer where the caste of a worker or a labourer becomes insignificant. Some of the labourers belonging to Chamar, Weaver and Bhangi, Poddar, etc. castes who used to work on farms as landless labourers in Radhvanaj, Undhela, Sandhana, Vansar and Sokhada have mobilized to Nadiad Kheda, Vatva, Ahmedabad and work as labourers in textile mills, factories, transport or construction work. Their ability to work is taken into consideration by their employer and they are paid for that. Their number is shown in the following table.
Table 3.4

Number of Migrated farm—Labourers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Villages</th>
<th>Radhavanaj</th>
<th>Undhela</th>
<th>Sandhana</th>
<th>Vansar</th>
<th>Sokhada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Castes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Patanwadia</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Potters</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Vankars (Weaver)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Chamars</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bhangis (Sweepers)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>63</strong></td>
<td><strong>63</strong></td>
<td><strong>78</strong></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The problem is technological for the like cobblers, potters, weavers, barbers etc. in these villages. They fear the competition with those who use modern means or provide readymade items e.g. shoes, clothes etc. in the non-farm sector. They prefer to migrate to cities thinking about the career of their new generation. They wish their new generation to acquire new skills which are in demand in the present emerging urban economy where there are centres of varied employment. They make use of their channels of relatives and friends who have migrated and settled to cities and towns earlier.
The so-called backward castes believe that the discrimination against them is comparatively less in the city. For them, the city is a great leveller. It distinguishes much between the rich and the poor, but it does not do so between castes. e.g. Harijans get jobs like that of the specialized cooks in restaurants or hotels. They may start a roadside breakfast centre of 'Dal-vadas', 'Shajis' or tea-kettles or serving glasses of ice-water in front of cinema-halls, town-halls or near the bus-stations.

They prefer to starve rather than to earn their bread and their forefather for along with labouring on farms. It is difficult to protect an open caste distinction in their own village, while in cities they can protect without any hesitation against an open discrimination. They can tolerate covert caste distinction in cities.

Thus, these are some new considerations of traditional village farm-labourers who have stopped working on farms and started migrating to cities. They have adopted geographical and occupational mobility.