

TEA ESTATE WORKERS IN KOTAGIRI HILLS, SOUTH INDIA: A STUDY FOR PLACES OF ORIGIN

Frank Heidemann

Department of Anthoropology, University of Madras, Madras.

and

Tsukasa Mizushima

ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Tokyo

The study analyses labour migration to tea estates in Tamil Nadu, taking five estates in Kotagiri hills, South India. The main source of information in the study is the Provident Fund Record or the Employees' Register File. Each estate had a particular area of recruitment. There are two main areas which largely supplied the labour force: neighbouring taluks in Coimbatore and Palghat districts, and southern Salem — northern Tiruchirapalli area. It appears that the pull-factors played a dominant role in initiating the migration stream. It is further evident that the Kangany recruitment system was the determinant factor on spatial pattern of estate workers' origin.

Despite the bright prospect of Indian rural scene forecast in the course of 'Green Revolution', the progress in the agricultural production is still left behind the population explosion, and unemployment problem remains to be critical. The three main sources of rural development namely reclamation of cultivable waste land, utilization of groundwater, and promotion of intensive agriculture based on 'modern' technology, have been already exploited and the future of the villagers mainly depends on job opportunities offered by the economic activities outside rural areas (1). The population pressure on land is intensifying its degree and, in this context, a study on labour migration would be given a certain priority.

Since the latter half of the nineteenth century plantations have been absorbing such people as crawling out of the rural area (2). The word 'plantation' does not only mean the 'planting' of crops but also to labourers, as plantations are always opened in hardly inhabited areas. Most of the workers are, therefore, migrants and a study on the plantation workers' origin will provide us with fundamental information in the discussion of the South Indian society. However, only a few of the studies has been made to answer the following queries (3):

- 1.) Where did the workers come from? Is there any particular area that has sent most of the workers to plantations, or are there many such areas?
- 2.) In the case some workers emigrated to plantations, do they work in the same estate or in different estates?

- 3.) Are the workers in a particular estate from a particular locality?
- 4.) Does the location or the size of the estate cause any difference to the spatial distribution of workers' native places?
- 5.) Is there any social or ecological similarity among the workers' native places?

The present study is an attempt to fill such a gap of information by analysing the data on more than two thousand labourers employed in five estates in Kotagiri (4).

The five tea estates selected in our study are located in the east and north of Kotagiri in Nilgiris District, Tamil nadu, India. Kotagiri is situated in the eastern part of Nilgiris District. The main crops cultivated in Nilgiris are tea, coffee, and high-grown vegetables such as cabbage and potato. By far the most important crop is tea, which occupies nearly 25 per cent of the total cultivated area in 1970-71 (5). Tea is grown either in the small estates of less than 25 acres or in the big estates above 25 acres. The former are mainly run by the local Badaga community as their family enterprise, and the latter are mostly owned and managed as corporate enterprise (6).

The history of tea plantations in Nilgiris started as early as 1830's. The first tea plant was said to be introduced in 1832 by a British. By 1980 the acreage under tea had increased to 187,000 ac (72100 ha) in South India (Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Karnataka States). The present acreage of tea in Nilgiris District is 61,800 ac, which is still expanding today (7). Many tea factories under construction in Kotagiri signify the increasing demand of tea-processing to meet the growing production (8).

The workers in the bigger estates which come under the Plantations Labour Act, 1951, are usually given accommodation called 'lines' within the estates and live there with their family members. A few members in a family work as permanent workers in the estate. The remaining family members are temporarily employed in the estate, especially in the high season, or work in other estates. The workers in the smaller estates are not always given accommodation. Their status in such estates is that of 'temporary' workers, even if they work for many years in the same estate. There are also a few recruiting places in Kotagiri, where workers from the surrounding settlements gather to be recruited by the small estate holders or by their agents for the day's work. Generally speaking, they receive wage nearly one half of that given to permanent estate workers, and are underemployed in low season (9).

The workers covered by this study are all permanent workers. Compared with the temporary workers, their working conditions are better, protected by various regulations or acts.

Source of Information and Brief Outline of Sample Estates

The main source of information utilized in our study was either the Provident Fund Record or the Employees' Register File, both of which contain all or part of such details of each plantation worker as his name, caste, sex, religion, occupation, height, father's name, husband's name, marital status, date of birth, identification mark, permanent address, name of nominee and its address, relationship with the nominee and the latter's age, and date of enrolment. The contents of the record kept in each estate is not uniform, some of the record having all the above information, others not. However, these records giving each worker's native place without exception can be thought to fit our main objective in this study. The five estates will be hereafter referred as Estate A, B, C, D and E according to the number of the recorded workers in the respective estate's document, Estate A having the largest, Estate E the smallest.

Estate A is one of the oldest estates in the region. The year of its foundation was 1840 at latest. It was started by a British, with the acreage of 7ac, which had increased steadily either by the assignment or through purchase to 421.97 acres by the 1920's. In 1947 it was sold to an Indian Company and was again sold to the local Badaga people in 1984. The acreage under tea plants was 392 in April 1984, and 361 workers were engaged in tea production. The record of Estate A was first prepared in 1957, in the same year when the Employee's Provident Funds Act of 1952 was applied to plantations. The number of cases taken in this Estate A is, therefore, 940, for which only necessary information is available.

Estate B is also one of the oldest estates in Kotagiri. An English purchased jungle and started the estate in 1864-65. It was owned and managed by the British until 1956 when it was purchased by a Uganda based Indian family. In 1975 a British born in Nilgiris bought the estate, and an Indian is managing it. The area under tea plants is 599 ac. The record of Estate B has been maintained since 1957, but covers only the permanent workers employed by the Estate in the year of 1982. Those who had stopped working by 1982 are not included in it. The number of workers in this record is 438, out of which one could get the native addresses of 435 workers.

Estate C was founded around 1920 by a British, and was sold to an Indian Company 1957. It is owned and managed by Indian. The acreage under tea plants is 383 ac, and the number of permanent workers is 480. The record of Estate C was prepared around 1965 and has been kept since then. It has the date of 514 workers, out of whom 107 did not register their native villages (possibly by the same reason noted above, i.e., they might be born in the Estate itself). The number of cases taken from Estate C comes to 407.

Estate D was started in 1921. It had 209 acres of land under tea in 1927. The founder cum owner, a British, sold the estate to an Indian firm in 1957, since then the area has been extended to 295 acres. Besides tea, they have 26 acres under coffee and 15 acres under Cardamon. The permanent workers are 244.

Estate D has the record covering only the permanent workers employed at the date of January 1st, 1984. The number of workers recorded there is 234, all of whom register their addresses.

Estate E was started around 1910 by a British. In 1956 it was purchased by an Indian Syndicate and has been under the same management since then. It has 309 acres under tea trees, and 172 permanent workers. The record of Estate E has the smallest coverage of 168, though the record has been prepared since around 1965. The reason seems to be that the workers in this estate are mainly temporary workers. The total number of cases taken comes to 167. To sum up, the total number of workers taken for the study is, therefore, 2,183.

Nature of the Source and Its Limitations

The authors faced mainly two kinds of difficulties when we processed the data. First of all the information available was prepared for the estate management, that is, to provide the estate workers with the Provident Fund and the transport allowance to their native villages. The permanent address recorded in the documents, therefore, doesn't necessarily indicate the worker's native village. It is seen many workers registering their ancestors' addresses as their 'permanent' address even if they were born in the Estate or even repatriated from Sri Lanka. Women usually register their husbands' addresses after marriage even though they came from some other places. It is almost impossible to clarify all these cases, one reason being that we covered as well the workers who had left the estate.

Another difficulty was of somewhat more serious nature. Generally speaking a worker is not very conscious about the administrative unit, namely taluk or even district, to which his village belongs. Therefore he often gives wrong taluk name or district name. In addition there are not a small number of villages of the same name located in the same taluk, in different taluks, or districts. The Administrative Atlas of 1971 Census and the topographical maps in the scale of 1:50,000, are the main sources utilized by us in locating their villages, as they are supposed to be most suitable for our purpose. It is, however, to be noted that some of the hamlets whose information is insufficient could not be located. The final coverage in this study is 73 per cent of the recorded workers and 57 per cent of the villages.

Notwithstanding such limitations of the information source the coverage and the reliability of the statistics presented here may suffice to our objective to discuss the features of the spatial distribution of the estate workers' origin in this area.

Features of Estates

The workers of Estate A, numbering 940 in total, came mainly from the five taluks in Tamil Nadu, Namakkal and Tiruchengode in Salem district, Perambalur and Thuraiyur in Tiruchirapalli district, and Sankaranayanar koil in Tirunelveli

district. The migrants from these taluks constitute 76 per cent of the total number of cases. The workers from the States other than Tamil Nadu are negligible (3 per cent only).

Estate B (435 workers) has many workers from Karnataka State (28 per cent). None of the other estates has such high figures from this State. This might be due to the estate's proximity to the Karnataka border. As to Tamil Nadu, 194 out of 306 workers came from the three taluks of Coimbatore district, namely Gobichettipalayam (71 workers), Avanashi (69) and Erode (54).

Estate C (407 workers) seems to have two areas of recruitment, the one adjacent to Nilgiris (Gobichettipalayam and Palladam taluks in Coimbatore district, and Palghat district in Kerala State), and the other in northern Tiruchirapalli (Thuraiyur and Musiri taluks). The number of workers emigrating from these two areas forms 42 per cent and 25 per cent respectively.

Estate D (234 workers) has 8 taluks sending more than 10 workers, which can be grouped into three. The first includes the taluks in northern Tiruchirapalli (Thuraiyur, Musiri, Parambalur, and Lalgudi) and southern Salem (Namakkal and Tiruchengode). The total of this group is 113 (48 per cent). The second is Tirumagalam Taluk in Madurai District, from where 30 people came. The third is Avanashi Taluk in Coimbatore district (11 workers).

Estate E (167 workers) has recruited by far the largest number of workers from Tiruchengode taluk in southern Salem (29) and from Perambalur taluk in northern Tiruchirapalli (28). Next comes Palghat district in Kerala State, sending 22, and Palladam and Gobichettipalayam taluks in Coimbatore District, sending 12 and 9 each. Other taluks sending some number of workers to this Estate are, Thuraiyur and Musiri in northern Tiruchirapalli (10 and 6), and Namakkal in southern Salem (7).

It may be inferred from the above discussion as follows. First of all each estate has particular areas of recruitment. The workers are not widely recruited from various parts of South India. Only five taluks take a large share in sending workers. The share of these taluks in the total number of cases is about two third. Secondly, one can distinguish two areas which have sent considerable number of workers to all the five estates. The one is in the southern Salem — northern Tiruchirapalli area, taluks of Namakkal, Tiruchengode, Perambalur, Musiri, Thuraiyur, and Lalgudi) and the other is the adjoining area to Nilgiris (Gobichettipalayam, Palladam, Avanashi and other taluks in Coimbatore district, and Palghat district in Kerala State). The location of the latter area suggests us that the proximity of the native area to the estate is one of the contributing factors of the workers' choice of estates. This assumption is reinforced by the fact that Estate B, situated at the northern slope of the Nilgiris hills, facing the Karnataka border, has by far the high percentage of workers coming from Karnataka State. Finally there is no positive relation between the size of the estate and the spatial distribution

of its workers' native villages. The largest estate (Estate B) with 599 acres under tea trees has recruited the workers from 145 villages, whereas the third estate (Estate C) with 383 acres only has employed workers from 197 villages. The difference in the average number of workers' villages per acre between the two is more than twice.

Places of Origin: Situation from Aggregated Data

Out of the total number of 2,183 cases, 1,922 (88 per cent) are from Tamil Nadu; 118 (5 per cent) are from Kerala; 143 (7 per cent) are from Karnataka; and 3 (0.1 per cent) are from Nepal.

The majority of workers are from the taluks of the inland districts in Tamil Nadu such as Coimbatore, Salem and Tiruchirapalli. These three districts alone sent 1,684 workers or 77 per cent of the total emigrants (Coimbatore — 582 workers or 27 per cent, Salem — 645 or 30 per cent, Tiruchirapalli — 457 or 21 per cent). The number of workers from the coastal districts is negligible except Tirunelveli which has sent 101 workers (or 5 per cent).

The distribution within these districts is also highly concentrated. In each of the districts there are one or two leading taluks sending by far more number of workers. For example in Madurai district 30 out of 44 are from Tirumangalam Taluk, and in Tirunelveli district 63 out of 101 are from Sankaranayanarkoil Taluk. The same tendency can be observed in other districts, such as Gobichettipalayam and Avanashi in Coimbatore district, Tiruchengode and Namakkal in Salem district, and Thuraiyur and Perambalur in Tiruchirapalli district.

Another important indication from this study is that there are two distinguishable areas of recruitment as noticed before. One is in the adjoining area to Nilgiris. This fact implies that the proximity of the native place to the estates is an important factor (10). The other area, numerically more significant than the former, is in southern Salem — northern Tiruchirapalli (Namakkal, Tiruchengode, Perambalur and Thuraiyur taluks) which accounts for 42 per cent of migrants.

Village Level Study on Workers' Origin in Southern Salem — Northern Tiruchirapalli Area

Here it is tried to see the village — level figures in the southern Salem — northern Tiruchirapalli area comprizing the four Taluks of Namakkal, Tiruchengode, Perambalur and Thuraiyur. There are 6 villages in this area sending more than 30 workers (Kurubalur — 99, Pranthakam — 75, Manathy — 60, Sickathambur — 43, Puthoor — 36, and Thaligai — 35; 4 villages sending between 20 and 29; 12 villages, between 10 and 19. All the remaining villages have less than 10 workers in the five estates. The total share of these 6 villages is 39 per cent, and the share of the top 10 villages is 49 per cent (445 out of 908).

Such concentration in particular localities was also observed in the taluk level study. The next task may, therefore, be the reasoning out the concentration. This point may be approached from the two direction, one from the push-factors, and the other from the pull-factors.

Push - Factors for Migration

The record prepared in Estate A in 1957 is the only available source that gives us the workers' caste-names. According to this, 85 per cent (482 out of 568) of the workers belonged to Scheduled Castes of present day. This fact suggests us that the workers' economic status in their native villages was low, which also indicates that the lower economic position of the workers in their native places is one of the possible push-factors for emigration. The point to be clarified next is whether the villages sending many workers to the selected estates (hereafter, 'migration villages': sending more than 20 workers; there are ten such villages). The factors presumed to be important are 1) availability of agricultural land, 2) availability of irrigational facilities, and 3) structure of landholding. The first two factors regulate the land productivity per person in general and the third regulates the share of the village product to the lower section of the people who compose the major part of plantation workers. It may be seen whether 'migration villages' have any common features or not. If there are any such features, one may take them as possible push-factors. On the other hand if there are wide variance in the studied factors among the 'migration villages,' one may take it insignificant to cause emigration from the village.

The required data were gathered from the District Census Hand Books. Population density per cultivated extent was used to find the availability of agricultural land per person; the percentage of irrigated extent in total cultivated area, to show the irrigational facilities; and the percentage of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the total village population, to elucidate the landholding structure in the respective village.

The most densely populated villages, Puthur, has 11.00 persons per acre, whereas Ariyur has the lowest figure of 1.94, though both are included in the 'migration villages'. This wide variance among the 'migration villages' indicate that the presumed push-factor of high population density is not significant. The irrigated percentage of the 'migration villages' is from 6 to 61. This implies that not only highly irrigated villages but also villages with less irrigation have sent workers irrespective of the irrigation condition. Though it is well known that this area comprizing the taluks of southern Salem and northern Tiruchirapalli is a drier area, there is no significance of the impact of irrigational facilities on migration so far the sample area is concerned. The percentage of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the total population of the ten 'migration villages' fall within the range of 14 per cent and 36 per cent. It is doubtful this variance has any positive meaning to lead some conclusion as the percentages of the other villages also fall in this range.

The three push-factors presumed as contributing factors for emigration are not found to be positive ones. Therefore it is tried to approach the problem from the opposite direction, i.e., pull-factors.

Pull-Factors for Migration

A careful look of the distribution of migrants from a particular village among the five estates indicates that there is a close relation between a particular village and a particular estate. In most of the cases the migrants from a village are found only in one of the five estates. The close connection between a particular village and particular estate leads us to the study of recruitment system itself. It is well known that since the establishment of plantations the professional recruiters, called *Kanganies*, supplied most of the workers. They came from the rank of the estate labourers themselves, and were sent to recruit workers with a certain amount of advance.

The Kanganies names are obtained in the following manner in the respective estate. In the case of Estate A, the record prepared in January 1955 shows the names of the kanganies and the labour gang under each of them. The native villages of these kanganies are found through the interview with one of them, who is still living in the Estate. It can be said, therefore, that the list shows the Kanganies in the year of 1955. Estate B has no such record. It was found through interview with the staff and workers that the old Kanganies passed away long time ago and their descendants have also left the Estate. No one could tell us either their names or their native addresses. The listed Kanganies should be, in this sense, thought to be of recent origin. Estate C does not have such record, either, but one of the old Kanganies is still in the Estate and told us that most of the workers were recruited by the three Kanganies. They were from Nambiyoor (Gobichettipalayam taluk, Coimbatore district) Sickathambur (Thuraiyur taluk, Tiruchirapalli district), and from Tingalore (Gobichettipalayam taluk, Coimbatore district). Other Kanganies listed were also mentioned by some workers. Estate D has somewhat different character. As mentioned before, the Estate was transferred from a British to an Indian firm in 1957, when most of the workers were said to be replaced by the workers newly recruited by the new owners who were from Thuraiyur and Perambalur taluks and had worked in Sri Lanka. Some of the workers were from the same estate where the owners had worked in Sri Lanka. The Kanganies in the list may not, therefore, contribute the recruitment in this Estate to a large extent. In Estate E the authors met an old Kangany who asserted to have recruited more than 500 workers, though most of them had already left. He was from Mangalam (Palladam taluk, Coimbatore district) but had recruited also from Tiruchirapalli, Salem and other areas. There are several other Kanganies too who recruited workers.

From the somewhat insufficient information as mentioned above, one may be able to assess the 'Kangany factor' partly. The figures shown below are the shares of the workers from the Kanganies' native villages in the total number of cases.

Estate

	A	B	C	D	E
Persons out of total	427/940	43/435	62/407	6/234	25/167
Share	45%	10%	15%	3%	15%

The shares are apparently low except the case of Estate A. Especially Estate D has quite low share of 3 per cent only though the reason of which was already attributed to the nature of information source. The spatial distribution of these villages may show a different picture as to the contribution of 'Kangany factor' on recruitment. The shares of the workers from the Kanganies' native villages in the total number of cases in the four taluks in southern Salem — northern Tiruchirappalli area are as follows.

Taluk

	Trichengode	Namakkal	Thuraiyur	Perambalur
Persons out of total	127/204	128/389	43/128	157/187
Share	62%	33%	23%	84%

It is seen that the share will increase much more if the surrounding villages of the Kanganies' native villages are also included. For instance one old Kangany coming from Kurumbalur told the authors he had also recruited some workers from Ladapuram, neighbouring village. In this sense the Kangany village can be said to be 'nuclear' village influencing the migration from the surrounding villages, and most of the villages sending some workers can be grouped, having Kangany villages as their 'nuclear'. It is true that some of the villages far from the Kanganies' village also sent a certain number of workers to Kotagiri; one can guess that they got some information about the concerned Estate in advance through their own communication network (relatives, marriage and other functions etc.). It is to be verified.

It may be summed up that the high number of emigrants from the Kanganies' and their surrounding villages and their coverage in the total number of cases in the respective estate proves the importance of Kangany recruitment system as pull-factor. In this sense pull-factor represented in recruitment system can be said to have put more impact on emigration than the economic or ecological push-factors.

Summary and Conclusion

The present study based on the statistical data obtained from the five estates in Kotagiri can be summarized as follows.

- 1) Each estate has particular areas of recruitment. The workers' native places are highly concentrated in certain areas.
- 2) There are two main areas sending considerable number of workers irrespective of estates. The one is in the adjoining taluks to the Nilgiris hills, especially in the Coimbatore district and Palghat district, and the other is in southern Salem — northern Tiruchirapalli area.
- 3) The location of the first area indicates that the proximity of the estates from the workers' native places is one of the contributing factors in their choice of working places.
- 4) The village-level figures in the second area also indicates a high concentration of workers' origin in a certain number of villages. The presumed push-factors, economic or ecological, do not give positive reason of the concentration.
- 5) Instead, a close relation between particular villages and particular estate indicates the importance of Kangany recruitment system as pull-factor.
- 6) The final conclusion is, therefore, that the Kangany recruitment system was the determinant factor on spatial pattern of estate workers' origin.

One of the subject remain to be done is to gather detailed information on migration from all the villages in a certain locality. By this study only one can expect the proper assessment of the impact of push-factors on emigration. Another study to be done is the change of workers' origin before and after the abolishment of Kangany system in 1958. A detailed case study covering all the workers in an estate may give light to it.

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References and Notes

1. As to the details see T.Mizushima, 'Changes, Chances and Choices — The Perspectives of Indian Villagers' —, "Socio-Cultural Change in Villages in Tiruchirapalli District, Tamil Nadu, India Part 2 Modern Period — 1," ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, March 1983. See also "Green Revolution? Technology and Change in Rice Growing Areas of Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka," ed. by B.H. Farmer.
2. Plntations in India are proviing employment to over 1.25 million workers "A Note on Plantation Labour," The Unitd Planters Association of Southern India (UPASI), January

1982, p.7. According to the same source, 'Plantation are the largest single employer of labour in the country.

3. Some of the studies on Nilgiris plantattion industry are: P. Griffiths, "The histoy of the Indian Tea Industry," Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1967, K.J.Tanna, "Plantations in the Nilgiris — A Synoptic History," Glenorgan Estate, 1969. The following Committee reports or statistics also give us detailed information on thissubject: "South of India Planters' Enquiry Committee" 1986, "Report on an enquiry into conditions of Labour in Plantations in India", D.V. Rege, Delhi, 1946, "Reporton the Production of Tea in India", (Annual), "Indian Tea Statistics", (Annual).
4. The only source we came across regarding the origin of the estate worker is the "Report on an enquiry into conditions of Labour in Plantations in India" 1946. The Report produced the following Table.

The number of workers belonging to District Association in the year of 1943 in Nilgiris were as follows:

Anantapur	4	Nilgiris	2,152
Arcot, North	401	Ramnad	8
Arcot, South	739	Salem	1,878
Chingleput	60	Tanjore	13
Chittor	92	Tinnevely	1,493
Coimbatore	8,135	Trichinopoly	1123
Coorg	111	Cochin	364
Ganjam	28	Mysore	3,370
Guntur	—	Pudukottah	14
Kanara-South	—	Travancore	542
Kanara-North	—		
Madurai	224	TOTAL	23,139
Malabar	2,286		

5. "World Agricultural Cenus 1970-71", Tamil Nadu, Vol.II, Govt. of Tamil Nadu, 1974, PP. 464-65.
6. The Plantations Labour Act, 1951, covers all plantations with 10.117 hectares (= 25 acres) or more and employing 30 or more persons. "A note on Plantation Labour", op.cit., p.10. According to the same source, 'About 75 per cent of the area is under corporate ownership. In the remaining proprietary section a fairly large proportion is in the small grower sector', ibid., p.3. There are in India 13,345 tea estates, out of which 6,596 were counted in Nilgiris in 1979. "Tea Statistics, 1980-81", Tea Board of India, Calcutta, p.4.
7. "Tea Statistics, 1980-81", op.cit., p.6, and "Plantations in South India", April 1982, pp.6-8.
8. There were forty tea factories in Kotagiri area in 1982. "Plantation District Maps of South India", UPASI, 1982. Ten more factories are found to be under construction in September 1984 by our survey.
9. According to the record of one of the Estates, the total earnings of most of the permanent workers fell in the range between Rs. 3,500 and Rs. 4,000 annually (from July 1982 to June 1983). The current wage rate for the permanent estate workers is fixed by the following manner (April 1984). An adult worker is paid Rs. 8.05 as basic wage and Rs. 7.10 as Dearness Allowance (D.A.) daily upto 13 kg of harvest. In case his harvest falls between 13 kg and 25 kg, he will be paid 16 paises per kg as extra. If his harvest is more than 25 kg, he will be paid 17 paises per kg as extra. For instance, the total wage give to the worker who harvested 30 kg will be calculated as follows.

Basic		D.A.		13-25 kg		25-30 kg		Total
8.05	+	7.10	+	$0.16 \times 12 (= 1.92)$	+	$0.17 \times 5 (= 0.85)$	=	(Rs.) 17.92

The wage rate of 'temporary' workers living and working in estates is about Rs. 10. Those who work in the smaller holdings are given between Rs. 6 and 9 in the case of male labourer and between Rs. 5 and 8 for female labourer.

The wage rates prevalent in Kotagiri area in other kinds of works are as follows.

Kind of Work	Season	Wage in Rupees
Head loading		Rs. 2 per hour
Vegetable harvest	Oct. to Nov.	Rs. 10-20
Building construction		Rs. 10-15 for male
		Rs. 10 for female
		Rs. 20-25 for skilled workers
Road construction		Rs. 10-15 for male
		Rs. 10 for female
Stone quarry		Rs. 10-15
White washers		Rs. 25
Carpenter		Rs. 35-40
Cow boy		Rs. 6-8
Grass cutting		Rs. 8 per bag
		(2 bags a day maximum)
Eucalyptus cutting	Jan. to Mar.	Rs. 8 per bag
		(2 bags a day maximum)

10. This finding coincides with that obtained from the Census on Migration in Tamil Nadu in 1971. C.T. Kurien and Bdul Huq, "An Analysis of Internal Migration in Tamil Nadu", MIDS, Working Paper, No. 12, 1980. p.11.