Chapter-VI

CASE STUDIES
Agrarian relations are shaped by the circumstances in which the members of an agricultural community participate in various activities pertaining to agriculture. As the relations undergo a change, the social hierarchy undergoes a change and there are cases where small farmers could become medium farmers or vice-versa. Tenancy may not be in pure form as some of the marginal farmers may be supplementing their family income through tenancy. In some other cases, the marginal farmers may be working as agricultural labourers besides cultivating their lands.

In order to capture the changes in the agrarian relations that determine the life of an individual in an agrarian set-up, some case studies are presented here. These case studies, though miniature in form, will present the many-sided nature of present day agriculture and how those who are involved are able to lead their lives. For this purpose cases have been presented from the cultivator class, tenants and agricultural labourers and the cases have been selected from the three sample villages chosen for study.

CASE STUDIES IN INDUKURPET

Cultivator- (1)

Damaramadugu Subbaiah, aged about 60, has been residing in Indukurpet for 50 years. He belongs to Jangam Devara caste. He has one son named Sudhakar who is aged about 35. His main occupation is agriculture. He has 12 acres of land of his own. He got a part of his land from his father's property. He is an illiterate. He has 6 acres of land near Indukurpet Madugu and six acres of land along the western side of the tank of Indukurpet.
He is interested in self-cultivation. He and his son work in the fields. He cultivates paddy in his field. He employs hired labourers for agricultural works. According to him, the cost of production per acre ranges between Rs. 6000 – 7000. He gets 60 bags of paddy per acre. He also grows bananas in his fields. For the last two years, he has been utilizing 4 acres of his land for prawn culture. However, it is not proving profitable for him. He is interested in cultivating paddy in his fields. He gets loans from the banks for cultivation. He gets fertilizers from the Rural Co-operative Bank in Indukurpet. The value of his land is about 2 lakhs per acre. By continuously saving his profits from cultivation in the past, he purchased 2 acres of land from others.

This case study highlights how a farmer belonging to backward classes and who does not belong to a traditional agriculturist caste, could practice cultivation efficiently. He ploughed back his profits reaped from agriculture to improve his acreage and he also attempted for a diversification by converting four acres of land for prawn culture. But he could not succeed there and hence is reverting to paddy cultivation. Though he possesses twelve acres of land, he, along with his son, is managing the cultivation and he neither gave his land to a tenant nor employed a farm servant. Though costs are increasing per acre of cultivation, he is able to end up with profits, because his land is fertile and the productivity of land per acre is comparatively high. This case reflects how capitalist relations in agriculture would benefit an enterprising cultivator.
Leburu Venkaiah is 50 years old and has been living in Indukurpet for 45 years. He got his father's property of four acres at Chellayathopu in Indukurpet. He belongs to Pallikapu community which is an agriculturist caste. He has two sons and two daughters. He performed the marriages of his two daughters and two sons. He is practicing self-cultivation. He is a hard worker. He is cultivating paddy in his fields. He is maintaining his family with the income accruing from his lands. His sons work with him in his agricultural fields. He employs hired labourers for transplantation work and weeding. All the members of his family participate in other agricultural works. He is producing 60 bags of paddy per acre in his fields. The value of his land is about one lakh fifty thousand rupees per acre. He got that land by inheritance of his father's property after his father's death.

This is the case of a small farmer, who is able to lead his life without indebtedness. Though he has four acres of land, he is able to gain income that is sufficient for his family needs. As he utilizes family labour in his fields for most of the agricultural operations, he is able to minimize labour costs. This kind of minimizing the costs of labour is the usual advantage that farmers have when they utilize family labour. As he belongs to an agriculturist caste, he knows all agricultural practices and hence he is also able to produce 60 bags of paddy per acre on his lands. As the income he gets is just sufficient to meet his family expenditure, he could make further investment on land and he is able to preserve the property he inherited without running into debts. This case study shows how the peasant mode of production can function in a
society where capitalist relations in agriculture have developed to a greater extent.

Cultivator-(3)

Punamalli Ramachandraiah who belongs to Indukurpet was born in 1965. He is the eldest son of Punamalli Penchalaiah. His parents were illiterate. His parents educated him upto 7th standard. He inherited his father property of two acres of land. He is cultivating sugar cane in one acre of land and paddy in the other. Last year he was engaged in prawn culture in the two acres of his land, and incurred heavy losses. Now he turned his attention to cultivating paddy. He belongs to a backward class community.

He has a son and a daughter, who are studying 10th class and 8th class respectively. He has been living in Indukurpet for forty years. Besides cultivating his lands, he works in a flour mill and gets wages for his work. His current income is sufficient to maintain his family. So he could not reinvest any amount on purchasing more land. According to him, his neighbours helped him in repaying some of his debts. Now he is getting loans from the families of the people belonging to Naidu Communities in order to meet the expenditure required for cultivation of his own land. The cost of production per acre for cultivation of sugarcane is Rs. 15,000/-.

He does not employ farm-servants. He works in his fields along with hired labourers and pays wages to them for different agricultural works. Self-cultivation gives him some satisfaction, and also some profits to him. For the cultivation of paddy and sugarcane, he hires a tractor for ploughing. For
transplantation work, he hires labourers. Again for the thrushing operations, he hires a tractor.

A farmer running into debts due to converting his paddy fields for prawn culture is represented in this case study. In order to maintain his family, he is working as a wage earner in a flour mill. Further, he borrows loans from large farmers and he is unable to get institutional loans. The cultivator has some foresight and hence he is cultivating a commercial crop like sugarcane in an acre of land. Hence, this case study shows how a marginal farmer faces risks in a market-oriented economy.

Cultivator- (4)

Punamalli Prabhakar was born in 1970. He is the second son of Punamalli Penchalaiah. He is aged about 35. He studied upto 10th standard. He started working in his fields after discontinuing his studies. He also inherited 2 acres of land from his father. He practices self cultivation. He was engaged in prawn culture last year and incurred heavy losses. He belongs to a backward class. He has one son aged about 13 who is studying 8th class. He also works in a flour mill like his brother to earn wages. He is now cultivating paddy in his fields. The cost of production is very high. He takes loans from the families of the people belonging to Naidu community to maintain the expenditure that is involved in agriculture. He also utilizes hired tractors and the services of hired labourers for agricultural activities. His income is not sufficient to repay the loans. He invested huge amount of money for cultivating prawn culture. He incurred heavy losses to clear the
debts since his income is not sufficient. He is waiting for financial assistance from the government. This is also case of a marginal farmer running into debts owing to high costs of production in agriculture and to the risks in market-oriented economy.

Cultivator- (5)

Kurukanti Venkata Rathnam, aged about 55, belongs to an upper, non-agriculturist caste. His father first lived in Potlapudi, a nearby village of Indukurpet. His father inherited property of 8 acres of land some 40 years back. After the death of his father, Rathnam inherited that land. He has three brothers. They have all lived in a joint-family after his father's death for twenty years. Now he parted from his brothers and is living with his own family.

Venkata Rathnam is interested in self-cultivation. As the head of joint family, he took up the responsibility of educating his brothers. Rathnam studied upto intermediate. His brothers are all graduates. Owing to indebtedness, it has become difficult for him to maintain his family. He employs hired labour for all agricultural works. His lands are near Pothuraju Dibba in Indukurpet Bit-I.

As the property was distributed among his brothers, each brother has got share of 1.80 acres. Rathnam shifted his family from Potlapudi to Indukurpet. Though it is difficult for him to maintain his family by cultivating land, he is still engaged in cultivation with hired labourers. He has one daughter and one son. Now they are going to school and studying fifth class
and fourth class respectively. His brothers sold away their property of 1.80 acres each at the rate of one lakh seventy thousand per acre.

Rathnam and his brother Subrahmanyam have their lands in Pothiraju Dibba. All the other brothers are working in private companies. Rathnam alone is living in Indukurpet along with his wife and children. He is not getting any help from the institutional sources. He only gets credit from the banks as crop loans, which are not sufficient to him for improving his cultivation. He is now in debts. He also resorted to prawn culture in his lands, but owing to his incurring heavy losses, he converted those lands again to paddy fields. Though he is a hard worker, it is becoming difficult for him to maintain the family. Moreover, the education of his children has become a great burden. Besides agricultural loans from banks, he borrowed money from the local rich people. Now he is not in a position to repay the loans. Some times it becomes very difficult for him to pay wages to his workers on the field. He has no farm servants. He employs wage labourers for all the agricultural works. He is solely dependent on agriculture for earning his livelihood.

This case study shows how the dissolution of joint family and distribution of property among brothers can affect a family. As long as he had been heading the joint family, he had to meet the educational expenses of his brothers. But after partition, he became a marginal farmer and unlike his brothers, who are employed, he did not get any employment, though he is also educated upto intermediate. His two brothers have also sold away their lands. Like other farmers, he had converted a part of his land for prawn culture, but that risk-taking did not fructify into profits for him. Hence, he is
now cultivating only paddy, the cost of production of which is relatively high now a days. Though he got agricultural loans from institutional sources, he has to borrow from large farmers. This case study highlights how a member from a non-agriculturist caste faces many problems when he practises self-cultivation.

**Tenant- (1)**

Daggu Krishnaiah, son of Chennaiah, aged 56, belongs to a backward class community. He was born in Pallapalem colony in Indukurpet Mandal. His parents were illiterate. Owing to the illiteracy of his parents, he was also not educated. He helped his parents in agricultural activities. Krishnaiah became the father of four children of whom two are male and two are female. He did not educate his eldest son and eldest daughter. But he educated his second son and second daughter upto 10th standard. His eldest son is helping him in agricultural works. Krishnaiah performed the marriages of his two daughters and of his eldest son.

Krishnaiah is cultivating eight acres of land, 3 acres of his own and 5 acres of as leased land. He possessed the three acres by inheriting ancestral property. He is also cultivating 5 acres of land belonging to Ranganatha Swamy Devasthanam on lease basis. He pays a rent of 12 bags for each acre of land that he is cultivating. He has been a tenant for these lands for the past twenty years.

He is cultivating paddy, besides growing bananas and vegetables in his fields. The costs of production for vegetables and bananas are very high. The
The investment on agriculture is increasing day-by-day. Even in self-cultivation he is unable to get fair prices for his products. There are no farm-servants to him. His eldest son and he himself work in the fields. He employs hired labourers for transplantation, weeding and other works. For sowing seeds and spraying of fertilizers, the members of his family help him. He cultivates the land by hiring a tractor for ploughing. For the leased land of five acres, he pays fixed amount of 8 thousand rupees. As he turned to paddy cultivation from prawn culture, the capital investment required for changing the prawns ponds to crop growing fields was also very huge. He has not received any financial help from any institutional sources in this regard. He is still waiting for getting some assistance from the government to protect himself from indebtedness.

This case study indicates how a tenant is utilizing family labour for cultivating the lands leased in by him. As it has become common for every cultivator in this district, he also opted for prawn culture, but after incurring losses, he again reconverted his land for paddy cultivation. He is indebted...
mainly because of the cost of conversion and rising costs of cultivation and he is waiting for succour from the government. This farmer has been continuing as a tenant for the temple lands for the past ten years, which is indicative of his good relations with the temple authorities.

Tenant - (2)

Daggu Chinna Venkaiah was born in 1955. He is the second son of Chennaiah. His parents were illiterate and hence he was also not educated. He helped his father in agricultural works. He is cultivating his 3 acres of his own land and 5 acres of (Ranganatha Swamy Temple lands) leased in land. Chinna Venkaiah belongs to a backward community. He has two children. He resides in Indukurpet-I. He is paying as a tenant 12 bags of paddy per acre to the temple. Daggu Chinna Venkaiah has been cultivating Ranganatha Swamy Devasthanam lands for the past ten years. He converted his land for prawn culture and incurred heavy losses. Now he reconverted the land for paddy cultivation and is cultivating paddy in his fields. He is getting loans from the local people. His two sons completed their education upto degree level. Now they are helping their father in agricultural works. He has been living in that village from fifty years and he is cultivating leased in lands. He is considered as reliable tenant. Though he is interested in self-cultivation, he also leases lands for the maintenance of his family.

Though this is not a case of pure tenant, it shows how a small farmer, who owns 3 acres of land is supplementing his income. In the early years of his life, he spent his little agricultural surplus for educating his
children up to graduation. As they are also now helping him, he is able to cultivate his three acres of own land and 5 acres of temple land taken for lease. As he pays in kind for his leased land, he is able to meet the costs of cultivation and could also garner a little surplus on his leased in lands. Hence he has been continuing as a tenant over the past ten years. On his own land, he also turned to aquaculture, but incurred heavy losses and reconverted his land for paddy cultivation. Thus, the surplus amount he could generate on his leased in lands could act as a buffer for him to tide over the losses and hence he could not expand his acreage.

Agricultural labourer - (1)

Punamalli Venkaiah, aged about 45, was born in Indukurpet in 1960. He has two children, a daughter aged 23, and a son aged 20. Punamalli Venkaiah is an agricultural labourer and also 'maistri' or the head of a group of labourers. Every day he works as a labourer and with the wages earned, he maintains his family. He performed the marriage of his daughter. Though he is illiterate, he educated his son up to degree standard. He is a hard worker. He owns a house in the colony for backward communities. He earns honestly and works honestly in the fields. He has no other source of income. His wife also works as an agricultural labourer. On average, he gets Rs. 60 as wages. He does not own even a single cent of land. He always works in the fields of others and gets wages.

This case study shows how a labourer remained as a labourer over the last thirty years. He is working every day to earn his livelihood, as otherwise
the family has no other source of income. He is able to construct a house and perform the marriage of his daughter. He also spent some amount for educating his son. He is able to accomplish all these things within the limited income that he earns. He is not in debts. This also signifies that though it has become very difficult to maintain the family, his continuous occupation with the work and the supplemental income that his wife earns, make the family meet its expenditure. He is able to find work as a daily wage labourer. This reflects the honesty of the labourer in sincerely doing the work that is entrusted to him.

**Agricultural labourer- (2)**

Punamalli Narasimham is also an agricultural labourer. He is aged 43. His wife is Paddamma, aged 38. They have two male children. His eldest son is aged 23 old and second son is 20 years old. The first son studied upto 7th standard and the second studied upto 9th standard. Now the two sons are also agricultural labourers.

Narasimhulu possesses one acre of his own land. He works in his field and during leisure, he works in the fields belongs to others. The members of the family help him in agricultural works. When they have no work in their own field, they go to work in the others’ fields for earning wages. Their main occupation is working as agricultural labourers. Some years ago, they carried on aquaculture in their own land investing huge amount of money and incurred a heavy loss in that. Still they are unable to repay the debts. Now they turned up to the cultivation of paddy in their land. They get daily wages of
Rs. 60/- per head. The grains which they get in their field are helpful for their subsistence. During the lean season, they have no work to do. At such times, it is difficult for them to maintain their families. Narasimham is expecting financial from the government to clear his debts.

Though Narasimham also works as daily labourer, he owns one acre of land. As he converted his land for prawn culture, he incurred heavy loses in later years. In order to clear the debts, he along with his sons work as agricultural labourers, but they are unable to clear their debts. Hence, he is hoping for liberal assistance from the government to clear all his debts. This case shows how an agricultural labourer, who is also a small peasant can land into difficulties and how his dependence increases on the work he performs.

CASE STUDIES IN SOMARAJU PALLI

Cultivator - (1)

Bojja Sudhakar, aged about 55 has been residing in Somarajupalli for 40 years. He is a driver in the bus services of the Road Transport Corporation Department. He belongs to balija caste. He obtained 7 acres of inherited property, after the death of his father. He is interested in self cultivation. He has two sons and two daughters. He performed the marriage of one daughter. His eldest son studied upto S.S.L.C. His second son helps him in agricultural works. He is cultivating paddy in his fields. He is able to produce 60 bags of paddy per each acre. He employs hired labourers for his agricultural activities. The members of his family also help him during agricultural seasons. He
constructed a good house in Somarajupalli. He is a hard worker and improved in cultivation. The cost of production per acre is about seven thousand. He invests all his earnings in agriculture and gets profits. He is interested only in self-cultivation.

This is the case of a farmer-cum-bus driver, who utilizes his spare time for cultivation, as his second son looks after the same. This driver-cum-agriculturist is very active and shrewd in planning agricultural operations and he is one of the good agriculturists of the village as he is able to produce 60 bags of paddy per acre on his fields. Though this agriculturist pursues his agriculture diligently, he remained only as a medium farmer and has not expanded his acreage by reinvesting his profits. As he utilised family labour, he could keep the costs of production at a minimum level. Thus this case shows how an employee, despite his office work, could maintain the inherited property in the same condition by practicing self-cultivation.

Cultivator- (2)

Vankayalapati Mohan Naidu, aged about 55, is the son of V. Sankara Naidu who is residing at Nellore. He purchased lands in Somarajupalli in the year 1989 and 1991. His native place is Tikkavarappadu, Sarvepailli-I in Venkatachalam Mandal. He studied upto degree standard. At first, he ran a pesticide shop in Nellore and also carried on real estate business. He earned profits. But later he turned to cultivation. He has three brothers. He purchased 8 acres of land at the cost of 5 thousands each acre in the year 1989. He was the first man who introduced fish ponds in Somarajupalli. He has been
carrying on aquaculture for the past 16 years. He later purchased 10 acres of land at the cost of 1 lakh fifty thousand per acre in the year 2005. Now he has 20 acres of land of his own. He obtained huge profits in this business. He is maintaining six workers permanently paying salaries of Rs. 2000/- per each worker. He has one daughter and one son. His son aged 25, is studying MCA. He performed marriage of his daughter. His son-in-law is a graduate. He is helpful to his father-in-law in aquaculture. Mohan Naidu is getting good profits at the rate of twenty thousand per acre. He is always vigilant regarding his ponds and he personally visits them every day. Maintaining fish ponds is profitable for him as compared to cultivating paddy or sugar cane in his fields. Most of the farmers incurred losses in prawn culture. Hence, he says that maintaining fish ponds is more profitable than prawn culture. He constructed a house at Nellore. He is also constructing godowns and feed sheds in Somarajupalli. This is the case of a successful agri-business unit headed by a farmer, who turned to fish ponds. He used his initial profits in agriculture for investing in the fish ponds. He migrated to the town from his village, but yet he could expand his business later.

Cultivator- (3)

Thikkavarapu Rami Reddy, aged about 60, is the son of Venku Reddy and he residing in Somarajupalli. He has been living in this village for 50 years. He is illiterate. His parents were not educated. His father gave him 3 acres of wet land. He developed agriculture and he purchased ten acres of land. He also purchased some waste land twenty years ago. He purchased ten acres of land at the cost of 23 thousand per acre during 1995. For the last
10 years he has been doing Aquaculture. He has been maintaining fish ponds for last 10 years. He has only one daughter. He constructed a good house in Somarajupalli. He is more interested in maintaining fish ponds than in cultivating paddy in his fields. Maintaining fish ponds has proved a profitable business for him. Now he has 15 acres of land of his own. All his waste lands are converted into fish ponds, as he earned huge and abnormal profits in this business.

This case demonstrates how a small farmer can become a large farmer with foresight. Though this farmer had 3 acres of land, he initially reinvested his profits for purchase of land and upto 1980’s, he was also a paddy cultivator. But as aquaculture picked up in this district, he purchased some waste land and converted most of his lands as fish ponds and he is reaping huge profits. Thus this is case of a small farmer turning into a large farmer and later becoming a successful agri-business man.

Cultivator- (4)

Maggam Ramachandraiah, son of Venkaiah, was born in 1935. His parents were illiterate. So he has not received his education properly. He has two brothers named Maggam Narasaiah and Maggam Venkaiah. Maggam Ramachandraiah has two daughters and one son named Maggam Chennaih, aged 50. Ramachandraiah is a good farmer. He improved his cultivation. Now he has 20 acres of his own land. In the beginning, he cultivated paddy and sugar cane in his lands. He belongs to a Harijan community.
He introduced aqua culture in the year 2000 in his lands. He purchased ten acres of land. His brothers are carrying on cultivation. His son is very helpful to him in cultivation. Maggam Chennaiah is the only son of Ramachandraiah and he is living with his father. Both the father and the son worked in their 20 acre land, cultivating different crops, before their introduction of aqua in their lands. They are interested in self-cultivation.

The case study shows that in villages, social hierarchy plays an important role. Those in the lower rung cannot hope to rise up to the social level of those who are placed above them. This they can achieve only through acquisition of property. The case of a Harijan, possessing 20 acres of land and developing agriculture as well as fish ponds and practising self cultivation, indicates how a farmer can utilize his capabilities. He is a big successful farmer and as he is helped by his brothers and his son. The participation of his family labour is also one of the reasons for his success as a farmer.

Tenant- (1)

Katragadda Vinodh Kumar is 33 years old. He is a graduate. He belongs to Somarajupalle village. He is a tenant-cum-cultivator. He is cultivating 8 acres of Ramalayam lands of Narasapur. Those lands were originally leased to Battapattu Venkata Subba Naidu. Vinodh Kumar took sub-lease of their lands. All these lands are near Somarajupalli. Vinodh Kumar has 7 acres lands of his own. He purchased 4 acres, at the cost of one lakh forty thousands per acre. Three acres were given by his father-in-law. He is paying a rent of five thousand per acre for cultivating Ramalayam lands.
Vinodh Kumar has a total of 15 acres of land, his own and leased lands put together. He cultivated paddy in the beginning later he also turned his lands as fish ponds. He usually resides at Nellore and he visits his ponds every day. He earned more profits in fish ponds. So he is able to purchase the 4 acres of land at the cost of one lakh and forty thousands per acre.

This is the case of a new tenancy form. Hitherto poor tenants were taking land for lease. This cultivator, being a medium peasant has taken lands from the temple authorities and cultivates them. He converted his own lands into fish ponds, but cultivates temple lands by growing paddy. As he has some social standing in the village, he is able to manage his cultivation, even though he resides at Nellore. He supervises all the activities visiting his ponds regularly and hence could earn profits. As this is the case of a fixed rent tenancy, he has no tenancy problems with temple authorities.

Tenant- (2)

Tikkavarapu Venkata Rami Reddy, aged about 65, is a resident of Somarajupalle village. He has political affiliations. He lost the landed property inherited by him by contesting in the elections. He is cultivating the lands of Chenduru Srinivasulu Reddy at Mothalu near Indukurpet. He is cultivating paddy in the 4 acres of the leased lands. He is paying five thousand per acre towards the tenancy. He is cultivating two crops in the leased lands. He has two daughters, aged about 38 and 35 respectively. He performed marriages of his daughters. Though he resides at Somarajupalle, he is cultivating the leased lands at another village called Mothalu. He employs hired labourers for
the agricultural works in the leased in lands. He is producing 60 bags of paddy per acre. The cost of cultivation per acre in kind comes to 30 bags of paddy, which is equal to seven thousand rupees per acre. He is paying a lease amount of five thousand per acre. Whatever remains after paying the lease amount, is his earning. This case represents how a small peasant can become a pure tenant. As he lost his inherited property, he had to depend on the tenancy. As he has political affiliations, he did remain only as a poor peasant, but still his source of income now is the income earned from tenancy. Hence, he could withstand the loss of his ancestral property.

Agricultural Labour- (1)

Thotapalli Jayaram was born in 1964. He is the son of Chennaiah. Jayaram is 41 years old. His illiterate parents did not send him to school, so he has been helping his father in agricultural works since his boyhood. By working as a labourer, he earned some money and he saved a part of his earning.

He is an agricultural labourer. He used to go to work in the other farms. With the wages earned by him, he maintains his family. He gets the wages at the rate of Rs. 70 per day. His wife also gets Rs. 40 per a day. With his limited savings, he took lease of one acre for cultivation. But his source of living is hiring labour to others. He also works in fish ponds. He cultivated paddy in his leased land. Afterwards, he introduced fish culture in that land. He incurred heavy loss. Now he is a pure agricultural labourer. He left that land to the owner and he is working as labourer in the fields of others. He has two sons.
His first son is 20 years old and second son is 17 years old. They also help him in the agricultural works. His wife also works with him in fish ponds.

Some times, he goes to work as a labourer in the building construction work and earns wages at the rate of Rs. 100 per day. He gets credit from the rich families belonging to the Reddy Communities. To clear those debts, he has to work in their fields also. This is the case of an agricultural labourer, who strived to become a tiny peasant, but could not survive because of the market frauds. Hence he has to once again do the same job of an agricultural labourer. As he is a good worker, his services are utilized not only for agricultural works but also for fish ponds and construction work. Owing to his contacts with the large farmers, he is able to get some loans, which he needed to tide over the losses incurred in maintaining fish ponds. This case shows how good relations can offer some protection to labourers, when they do not get institutional help to come out of their indebtedness.

**Agricultural Labourer - (2)**

Maggam Ravi the only son of Maggam Ramaiah. He belongs to Harijan family was born in 1977. He is 28 years old. He studied upto 7th standard. He helps his father in agricultural works. He has one acre of land "sivoyee" (land without ownership documents). The land has insufficient irrigation facilities. He cultivates paddy in that land for his home consumption. His main source of living is working as a labourer in the fields belonging to others. He earns wages at the rate of Rs. 70/- per day.
Ravi also worked as a farm-servant in the families of big farmers. He has worked as a farm servant to Panmuru Ranga Reddy for two or three years. After the introduction of aquaculture, big farmers dismissed farm-servants and started employing casual labourers for their work in the fish ponds. He has one son, who is 7 years old. He is studying 2nd class. Ravi has been living in the village for more than 28 years. He some times worked in as a labourer in the house building-construction works in other places. He earned wages at the rate of Rs. 100 for those works. After the introduction of aquaculture, he works in his own village. His income is not sufficient to maintain his family.

This labourer possesses some land, but as he is a Harijan, others do not help him in providing public irrigation facilities to his land. As he cannot afford to provide borewell facilities, he remains as a tiny peasant and earns his income mainly though working as an agricultural labourer. Though he also works as a labourer in fish ponds and building-construction works, besides cultivating his own tiny piece of land, he is not able to earn sufficient income as he is not employed throughout the year. So this is also a case of the failure of a tiny farmer to come up because of social hierarchy.

Agricultural Labourer-(3)

Thaluru Yesub was born in 1940. He is about 65 years old, He is an illiterate belonging to a harijan family. His parents did not educate him. He has a sister. He owns a small house. After the death of his father he had to maintain his family and he also faced the problem of performing his sister's
marriage. He performed the marriage with great difficulty borrowing money from others. Later he fell sick and was unable to repay the debts. He rendered services as an agricultural labourer in his youth. He also helped his father in agricultural activities. He has one son aged about 40. After his marriage, he got separated from his father and mother and is living with his wife separately.

Yesub is a hard working and sincere agricultural labourer. His wife also works with him in agricultural activities. His income is not sufficient to maintain his family. He has not received any assistance from the government since from his boyhood.

He some times works as a labourer for the house construction works. He is unable to repay his old debts. He is still expecting government help to free himself from his debts. His wife also helps him in maintaining his family when he is indisposed. She also works in the other fields for wages. This case shows how the labourer gets into the vicious circle of poverty once his health is affected. There are no institutions to help agricultural labourers when they are ill. The relations they have with the employees can offer some protection, but such a help can come if they are farm servants or work only under one or two employers. But a daily wage labourer working under many employers cannot hope to get protection, unless they are kind enough to offer him some help. Even with all the programmes undertaken by the government, there are no provisions for health insurance for agricultural labourers and this causes serious hardships to them.
Kavali Malli is 23 years old. He was born in 1982. His father’s name is Chengaiah. He was not educated, owing to the illiteracy of his parents. He has his own house. After his marriage, he has been living separately with his wife. His main occupation is working as an agricultural labourer. He earns wages at the rate of Rs. 70/- per day. With that limited amount, he maintains his family. Some times his wife also goes to work as a labourer and earns Rs. 40/- per day. They do not get work throughout the year. As Malli’s income is not sufficient, he has to borrowed money from others during non-agricultural seasons. He has a son who is 7 years old, who is going to school. He is expecting financial assistance from the government to improve his conditions.

This is the case of a young agricultural labourer, who is unable to find work except in the busy season. Even though his wife also works along with him, their combined income is not sufficient for maintaining their family. Thus new entrants to agricultural work are also facing problems as the availability of work in non-agricultural season is very limited in the villages.

CASE STUDIES IN JANGAMVARIDORUVU

Cultivator- (1)

Amuluri Papaiah, Harijan aged about 70, has been residing in Jangam Doruvu since his childhood. His father was an agricultural labourer. Papaiah is an illiterate and was an agricultural labourer in his childhood. His father gave him two acres of land. By working hard as a labourer, he earned some money
and purchased one acre of land. Papaiah has four sons and two daughters. He got two acres of land (taken over under land ceiling act) distributed by the government in the name of his sons. He cultivated those lands along with his sons, who live in a joint family. Now, they possess five acres of land. Some time ago, he also cultivated the leased lands of Modam Ramana Reddy and Puchalapalli Seshu Reddy. The extent of the leased lands is 4 acres. When he was cultivating the leased lands, he paid tenancy of 15 bags of paddy per acre to the owners of that land. Later he purchased 2 acres of land at the rate of Rs. 27,000 per acre from Modeam Ramana Reddy. Though he incurred debts at the time of purchasing these lands, later he earned some profits in cultivation. In the year 1991, he purchased 3 acres of land from some Brahmin families at the rate of Rs. 30,000/- each acre. The total amount he spent for purchasing 3 acres of land was Rs. 90,000/-. Now he is the owner of 10 acres of land.

He distributed the land among his sons. Now his eldest son has 5 acres of land, including the land he got from the government. His second son has 3 acres of land. The third son has 1½ acre and fourth 1½ acre. His three sons are still working as agricultural labourers. His eldest son purchased a tractor of his own. He is also doing haystack business (selling dry grass). His youngest son is a trader and a 'broker' in paddy-selling business. Papaiah constructed a house in J.V. Doruvu. He has reached a high position, starting from the lowest rung. Now his sons are living separately. All his sons are good, sincere and hardworking. They work together in their fields. They are in
possession of some mango trees and coconuts along the margins of the fields. They are able to produce 60 bags of paddy per acre (43\% Kg. per bag).

For them, the cost of production per acre is 7 thousand. Papaiah is able to produce 60 bags of paddy per acre (43 ½ Kgs. per bag). He has 6 to 7 electric motors in his fields extending over ten acres in different places in J.V. Doruvu. He cultivates two crops in one year. He is interested in cultivating paddy in his fields. He also cultivates green grams from January to April every year. That is the gap period between the crops. He employs hired laborers and also the members of his family in the agricultural activities. For transplantation, weeding up and harvesting work, he employs hired laborers. His sons help him in watering the fields. He has no farm-servants. His sons work hard, throughout day along with him to reduce the cost of production in cultivation. He employs his own tractor for ploughing the lands. He purchases fertilizers from the Rural Co-operative bank in Indukurpet. His last son is a trader. He gets fair prices for his produce. He is living happily with his family.

This case demonstrates how a small farmer can become almost a large farmer by putting hard work and utilizing family labour. This is also a case of a harijan with his enterprising nature could become a capitalist farmer. One initial advantage he had was that they lived in a joint family in which all the members worked. Even though they were separated later, they could get some land owing to the foresight of Papaiah in improving his landholding.
Maddina Ravindra Naidu, aged about 50, is residing at a place called Naidu Dibba near Jangamvari Doruvu. He is the eldest son of late Masthan Naidu, who originally hailed from Nandyal in Kurnool district. He came to this village some 50 years ago. His relatives were in that village at that time. He purchased five acres of land, and started cultivation. He was a hard worker. He himself worked in the fields along with the workers and he also maintained milch animals at that time (Dairy farm). Ravindra Naidu studied upto 7th class. He also worked in the fields along with his father. Masthan Naidu earned some profits in agriculture as well as in dairy farms. Moreover, all the members of his family helped him in the fields. He purchased ten acres of land at different costs. He purchased 4½ acres at the rate of Rs. 90,000/- per acre and the remaining land he purchased at the rate of Rs. 30,000/- per each acre. Masthan Naidu distributed all the land among his sons before his death. Masthan Naidu had three sons and one daughter, eldest son named M. Ravindra Naidu, one daughter, second son named Mohan Naidu and the youngest son named Mallikarjuna Naidu. Ravindra Naidu received 4½ acres of land from his father as inherited property. Later he purchased some land. In the beginning, Ravindra Naidu cultivated paddy in his fields. He earned profits. He has got two daughters. His elder daughter is 22 years old and younger daughter is 21 years old. He performed the marriage of his first daughter. His second daughter is studying B.Com.

He is also cultivating his brothers' lands. His second brother named Mallikarjuna Naidu is staying at Tirupati. He is working as a supervisor at
Mayuri Hotel in Tirupati. Mallikarjuna is in possession of ten acres of land. He inherited a five acre land and later he purchased 5 acres of land. Ravindra Naidu is now cultivating all the 10 acres of land. In the year 2000, he introduced prawn culture. He converted his lands into fish ponds and he developed prawn culture in it. In the beginning, he earned profits. Later he incurred heavy losses. He has debts upto Rs. 4.00 lakhs. When he was cultivating paddy, he was happy and contented. When he started doing prawn culture, he invested large amount of money and is unable to recover that money out of the proceeds of prawn culture. He is also paying tenancy to the leased lands. His second brother Mallikarjuna Naidu is helping him. When his father was alive, they lived jointly in one house. After the death of their father, they got separated. They constructed individual houses.

Ravindra Naidu is carrying on cultivation near J.V. Doruvu. He is interested in self-cultivation. He has no farm-servants. He works along with the workers during the agricultural season. He is a hard and sincere worker. He employs hired labour for agricultural works. He himself keeps a watch over his motors and also sprays fertilizers and seeds in the fields. Now, he is not maintaining milch animals in good number. When his father was alive, he possessed 20 buffaloes. He also maintained one bullock cart and two pairs of bulls. In the olden days, every farmer was in possession of bulls and cows. That practice disappeared now in these villages. Now-a-days most farmers are not maintaining farm-servants. The replacement of plough bullock by tractors brought about significant changes in the labour-market. Year round, workers are no longer required for the agricultural operations. Therefore, the
system of employing farm servants or attached labourers has been discontinued. Ravindra Naidu is cultivating paddy in his fields and the cost of production is seven thousand rupees per acre. He is able to produce 60 bags of paddy per acre (1 bag is equal to 43½ Kg.). Now he is slowly repaying the debts incurred by him in prawn culture.

This case shows has a peasant loses his income when he forays into the other activities in which market trends are not stable. As agriculture is a known activity, the farmer now feels that he is practising an activity in which he has some expertise. Like all the other farmers in this village and surrounding villages, he also tried prawn culture. As the competition in prawn culture is at the international level, these farmers could not perceive the latest changes in prawn culture as well as the market trends. All this would lead to a sharp decline in meeting the international standards. Hence, we find a many a farmer burning his fingers in prawn culture or aqua culture. But this farmer could recover a part of the losses owing to his foresight in retaining most of his lands for paddy cultivation.

Cultivator- (3)

Maddina Naga Mohan Naidu, the second son of late Masthan Naidu, is 45 years old. He is the younger brother of Ravindra Naidu. He is also living in Naidu Dibba near Jangam Doruvu. He did not receive his education properly. He worked along with his father in their fields. His father gave him 3½ acres of land as his share in the property. He also purchased 3' acres, at the rate of Rs. 30,000/- per acre and cultivated paddy. He has one son aged 13, and one
daughter aged 12. He is interested in self-cultivation. He is also cultivating 4½ acres of his brother's land on lease basis. In total, he is cultivating 10 acres of land. He also invested a large amount on prawn culture. He is unable to recover the amount he invested on prawn culture. He has debts upto Rs. 3.00 lakhs. He is also paying tenancy to his brother Mallikarjuna Naidu, at the rate of rupees five thousand per acre. He also employs hired casual labourers in his agricultural works. He himself watches the motors and the crops. He has no farm servants. Now he is cultivating paddy in his fields and slowly repaying his debts.

This case is similar to that of his brother. He had taken his brother's lands for lease and hence he had to pay rent for those leased lands, though he incurred heavy losses in prawn culture. As migrants, they prospered well. Both the cases show that their neglect of dairy activities and their decision to invest huge amount in prawn culture have been responsible for their present troubles.

Tenant and Farm Servant- (1)

Eduru Subba Ramaiah, a Harijan, aged 70, has been living in Jangam Doruvu since his childhood. He is not educated. His father was an agricultural labourer. Subba Ramaiah is an attached farm-servant to late Adapala Gopal Reddy, a resident of Potlapudi Village, 3 Kms. away from Jangamvari Doruvu. Since his boyhood, he has been working as a labourer attached to the Adapala family. Late Adapala Gopal Reddy has 15 acres in J.V. Kandriga.
which is also known as Panchanagulavari Kandriga. Once all the lands belonged to brahmin families.

All the members of Subbaramaiah's family, devoted their life to late Gopal Reddy. As a farm servant, he gets 60 bags of paddy every year. His wife and children also get wages of Rs. 40/- . Some times, they receive wages in kind (in the form of grains equal to wages).

Subba Ramanaiah's two sons also work in Late Gopal Reddy's farms. At first, Gopal Reddy had six acres of land. Later, in the year 1980, he purchased 9 acres of land at the rate of Rs. 10,000/- per acre from Vanam Subrahmanyam, out of which 3 acres of land is waste. During that time, Subba Ramaiah was given 1½ acres of land for lease. He cultivated Gopal Reddy's lands for rent. Subbaramaiah paid tenancy of 15 bags per acre to late Gopal Reddy. Later Subba Ramaiah, purchased the 1½ acres of that land from Gopal Reddy. Subba Ramaiah also got three acres of land for his sons under Government's scheme of distribution of ceiling lands. Each son has got one acre of land. He constructed a small house. He performed the marriages of his daughter and two sons. Now his sons are living separately. They are cultivating their own land and they also work as labourers in the lands belonging to others.

Subba Ramaiah is still working as a farm servant of late Gopal Reddy's son, Srinivasulu Reddy. He is also cultivating some land for lease. He is getting 60 bags of paddy as a farm servant. Subba Ramaiah pays tenancy to the owner in the form of grains at a rate of 1 putti paddy per acre. He also
introduced prawn culture in his own 1½ acre land and incurred losses. Now he is cultivating paddy in his lands. His sons help him in agricultural works. He hires a tractor for ploughing the land. The members of his family help him in transplantation and harvesting. He is interested in self-cultivation. The above case shows how a farm servant could become the owner of some land and how he earns his income through different modes. It also demonstrates how smooth relations with the owner can result in the owner helping him to become a land holder.

Tenant - (2)

Dara Venkateswarlu, son of Dara Narasaiah, aged 45 is residing in J.V. Doruvu. His father was an agricultural labourer in the beginning. But later he acquired ½ acre land. Venkateswarlu got 0.75 cents of land. He works with his father in the fields and produces paddy. Venkateswarlu also cultivates the lease land of others. He is a tenant. The land he has taken for lease from the families of Reddy community, extends over 4 acres. He pays tenancy in the form of 15 bags of paddy per acre for one crop. That comes to Rs. 7500/- per acre per year. He is interested in self-cultivation. He belongs to a scheduled caste community.

The members of his family help him in the cultivation of the lease lands. In the beginning, he cultivated paddy in his land. Later he also introduced aqua culture. He incurred a heavy loss, and landed himself into debts amounting to one lakh. His father also cultivated aqua culture in his own
land. He also incurred heavy loss. Now both the father and the son, are cultivating paddy in their fields.

When Venkateswarlu was cultivating paddy in his fields and in the lease lands, he was very happy. When he started aqua culture, he was caught in the mire of debts, as he was unable to bear the cost of production and there were only losses for him. Once again, he turned to cultivating paddy in his own 75 cents of land and also in the lease lands. Now he is able to repay the old debts slowly. His economic position is now improving. He sometimes works as casual labour in other fields to clear his debts.

Agricultural labourer- (1)

Eduru Chenna Venkaiah is 70 years old. He belongs to a harijan community. He is the son of Atchaiah. He has been residing in J.V. Doruvu for last 70 years. He was a farm-servant in the beginning. He has not received any education. During his boyhood he worked as an attached labourer in the rich families of Potlapudi village. When he grew up, he became their farm-servant. He worked as farm-servant in several other families of Reddy communities in Potlapudi village. In those days the wages were very low. He received 2 bags of paddy per month during those days as an attached farm servant. He was engaged in the agricultural activities like ploughing the land, watering the fields, planting and weeding up. Sometimes, he worked as bullock cart driver. In the year 1958, he joined as a farm servant to the brahmin farmers near J.V. Doruvu Kandrika and he has worked very sincerely for about 15 years. At that time he received 40 bags of paddy per year. He
also worked as a watchman taking care of the motors installed in the fields. As a farm servant of the brahmins, he improved cultivation in various ways through the construction of boundaries to lands, digging of canals and laying ledges or fences etc. Thus, he is a good, honest and hard working labourer.

He has one daughter and two sons. He performed their marriages. But he has not purchased a single bit of land of his own. Under the Government scheme of the distribution of ceiling land, his sons have got 25 cents land in one area and 25 cents in another area respectively. All the members of his family are working as agricultural labourers. Chenna Venkaiah devoted his entire life to the service of to rich farmers. He is staying with his sons jointly. Some times, he goes to work in other farms as a casual labourer. But now he has become quite old and he is not in a position to work. He owns only a thatched house. This is a case of labourer who had maintained good relations with his employees and who also contributed his services to the development of their lands.

Agricultural labourer - (2)

Eduru Venkaiah, aged about 65, also belongs to a Harijan community. He is also called Nagannu Venkaiah. His mother’s name is Nagamma. He has been living in Jangamvari Doruvu for the past 65 years. He is illiterate. He also worked as a agricultural labourer during his boyhood along with his mother. Afterwards when he was grown up, he worked as a farm servant, in the families of some rich farmers belonging to the Reddy Community in Potlapudi village. It is at a distance of 3 Km. from J.V. Doruvu. In those days
he received 2 bags of paddy per month as a farm servant. Later in 1958, he became a farm servant of brahmin families near J.V. Doruvu. He also worked very honestly. Later, he became leader of the labourers and maintained a group of workers. He worked as the leader or the head of one group of labourers, called maistry. In those days he used to take labourers to fields and make them work in the fields and he would only supervise their work. He earned "Maistrikuli (or wages for the headman)". Thus he earned money by arranging labourers at the work spot. He never bargained for wages. He never organized struggles among the agricultural workers for higher wages. Some times, he also rendered his service as a casual labourer. He says that it is better for him to be a casual labourer than to be a farm servant. He also adds that the wages are high now when compared to the wages in the past. So one can live happily with plenty of money in hand by rendering one's service as a casual agricultural labourer. He has two sons and a daughter. He performed the marriage of his daughter and of a son. He constructed one house in his village. As an agricultural labourer, he is living happily with his sons. He has no ancestral land. But he received 0.25 cents of land distributed by the government. Some times his sons also work as labourers in to construction work and earn Rs. 100/- per day. The female members of his family Rs. 40/- per day and the male members get Rs. 60/- per day as casual labourers.

This is the case of a labourer becoming a labour leader. This case also demonstrates how the labour-market functions in villages.
Agricultural labourer- (3)

Kakani Prabhakar, son of late Kakani Polaiah is aged 34. He has been residing in J.V. Doruvu for the last 34 years. He belongs to the harijan community. He studied up to Intermediate. He worked along with his father after discontinuing his studies. In the beginning, he worked in the fields of others as a casual labourer. His father was a farm servant. Polaiah worked in the fields belonging to some brahmin families for three years during 1986 to 1989. At that time he earned 2 bags of paddy every month. Later he was unable to work in the fields continuously and so he stopped working as a farm servant. It was very difficult for him to make both ends meet. Prabhakar used work in the fields of other as a casual labourer. Hence, he discontinued his studies. He could not get any employment suited to his qualification. He worked as an agricultural labourer to maintain his family. He married Krishnamma at the age of 28. His mother and brother also live with him. He has one son aged about 5. He has 45 cents of land distributed by the government. He works in that field for food grains. Every year he produces 15 bags in the tiny piece of his land. He also works as a casual labourer in the fields of others. He gets Rs. 70/- as wages per day. His mother and the other members of his family also work. Some times he also engages in other activities relating to canal digging work and digging borewells and he is able to earn Rs. 100/- per day as wages. He wants financial assistance from the government to fix electrical motor in his land. With that he can cultivate two or three acres of other land for lease. His brother also helps him in agricultural
works. After the marriage of his brother, he is living separately. Prabhakar is a good and hardworking agricultural worker.

This is a case of an honest and sincere agricultural labourer maintaining good relations with his employer. He is also earning some amount by cultivating his own tiny piece of land. This case demonstrates how casual agricultural labourers find it very difficult to maintain large families.