Chapter-VII

CONCLUSIONS
In the pre-independence period, rural India was characterized by feudal and semi-feudal relations. Even in the early post-independent period, tenancy is an important feature of the Indian agrarian structure. As tenancy is associated with exploitation features, such as rack renting, insecurity of tenure, forced labour and usury. It is often concluded by researchers that poor presents were ruthlessly exploited by rich landlords. One of the features of Indian economy is that the land has been very unequally distributed and the ownership and control of land constitute the immediate source of economic power. Even though there were land tenure systems like Ryotwari besides Zamindari and Mahalwari, the land under this accounted only for 39 percent of the total land. Inspite of this type of tenure, the present system is considered to play a pivotal role in the agrarian system. The agrarian relation in general was found to be semi-feudal in nature, as 75 percent of the cultivated land was under tenancy.

A long history of land legislations to carve out inequitable land system suffered mainly due to conceptional deficiency authorities and loop holes. As land legislation is a state subject, the purview of the equity is limited to the changes that were brought about by an Indian state like Andhra Pradesh.

The objectives of this research study are mentioned here under:

1. To analyse the changes in the distribution of land holdings between 1970-71 and 1995-96 as seen from the data on census of land
holdings and National Sample Survey data in the State of Andhra Pradesh.

2. To describe the extent of tenancy and the forms of tenancy in Andhra Pradesh.

3. To bring out the impact of changes in agrarian structure on altering the agrarian relations in Nellore District.

4. To portray the nature of agrarian relations in Nellore District with special reference to Indukurpet Mandal, a revenue division of the district.

5. To illustrate the nature of agrarian transitions through case studies in some villages of Nellore district.

The research design consisted of a sample design, wherein a multi-state sampling method has been used for organising research study. In the state of Andhra Pradesh, a district like Nellore has been chosen for study and further a Mandal, namely, Indukurpet has been chosen. In the next stage a smartfed random sample has been drawn from three villages in the Mandal. The three villages being Indukurpet-I, Jangamvaridoru and Somarajupalli. A structured questionnaire has been administered to agriculturists, tenants and agricultural labourers.

The literature on agrarian relations had been mainly centered round the mode of production of the Indian agriculture. The debate that ensued in 1970's and 1980's discussed primarily whether the agrarian relations had
changed from a semi-feudal mode to a capitalist mode. Sau suggested certain features of the mode of production to find an answer to be penetrated of capitalistic mode in Indian Agriculture. They are:

(i) The size distribution of land holdings;
(ii) The extension of tenancy and share cropping;
(iii) The degree of exploration of high rent;
(iv) The role of usurious namely lenders
(v) The pattern of utilization surplus
(vi) The process of agricultural proletarianisation and magnitude of commodities production

On the basis of his studies, Sau concluded that the rural economy of India was still under the sway of semifeudal exploitation, but as capitalism is penetrating into Indian agriculture, there are indications that the grip of semifeudalism is in the process of weakening to a certain extent. Utsa Patnaik made studies on green revolution in Haryana and labour influencing was found to be one of the characteristics of the new technology. Bandhundas Sau also found that wide spread adoption of modern technology by small and medium size farms is predominantly not scale neutral. Hanumatharao's studies on technological changes in Indian agriculture revealed that there had been a widening of income disparities between (1) different regions, (2) small and larger farmers and (3) land owners on the one hand and tenants and agricultural labourers on the other.
Keith Griffen's study on the political economy of agrarian change concluded that the change revealed in greater income-equality and pluralisation of social class. Profits and rents have increased absolutely and relatively, while the share of wages declined. Utsa Patnaik's conception of the emerging agrarian structure had been explained in terms of a complex interruption of developing capitalism with pre-capitalistic organisations. In the debate on the mode of production, Ashok Rudra recognises the feudal mode as a mode that involves extra-economic coercion that exposes through the legal power enjoyed by the landlord in curtailing the individual liberty and in many other ways to serve the landlord. Another characteristic of feudalism is the fact that the direct producer retaining the possession of means of production. Hence, for some scholars feudalism and serfdom are equalants and a typical expression of feudalistic relation between a landlord and a tenant is unpaid or under-paid labour services that the tenant might have to provide for the landlord. On the other hand, semifeudal mode of production is characterized by an extensive non-legalised share cropping system, perceptual indebtedness of small tenants, operating both as land owner and lenders to the small tenants and tenants having incomplete access to the markets. Though Charles Bethlehem characterized Indian agriculture having semi-feudal conditions in a large sector, others like Ashok Rudra and Utsa Patnaik found as per their studies that Indian agriculture is neither clearly capitalistic nor feudal.

In other South-East Asian countries, E.H. Jocoby found that agrarian dissatisfaction and labour unrest have been fundamental problems. On the other hand, Jean Yoong Deok found that land reforms in South Korea led to a
redistribution of income from landlords. To the other economic groups, such as tenants and general public the subsequent abolition of tenancy system increased agricultural production.

Even in Bangladesh, though agrarian reforms were implemented, and the present mode of production developed, the relationship between zamindar and tenants relatively remained unchanged. But in Pakistan, Mohammad Hasan Khan found that Green Revolution strengthened the emergence of capitalistic agriculture. Like-wise, Johnston and Cowmine found that seed fertilizer revolution led to a hope of rapid and relatively low-cost increase in agricultural output and observed a considerable position of the growing labour-force in productive employment in West Pakistan. Even Mazloev found that in USA, Eastern Europe and China, tenancy is an effective mode of organisation in agricultural farms. "Ghonemy" found that in South Africa the reconstruction development programme introduced in 1995 provided for (1) Market-assisted property transfers with governmental international finance to support the beneficiary; (2) land redistribution for the landless blocks (3) strengthening the lease rights of the tenants and protection of land tenure arrangements.

The studies on agrarian relations in pre-Independent India by Gupta, S.C., Theodor Bergman, Thripathy and Pradhan, Mruhdal Mukherjee, Sunil Sen highlight the feudal farm of dependence and exploitation and growth of agrarian population without employment opportunities except their dependence on agriculture. Even in the post-Independent India, Aravind Das and Nilkant show how poor peasants are getting restless and organise
themselves to change their own conditions. Lakshminarayana, H. and Tyagi's study highlights how notional transfer of land among the family members to avoid land ceiling legislations might have been one of the causes for the increase in the number of small holdings besides the sub-division of land. Many state-wise studies made in 1980, 1990 highlight the co-existence of semi-feudal and capitalistic relations in Indian agriculture.

The conclusion drawn, in general by most of the studies is that capitalistic transformation of agriculture will be same and incomplete so long as merchants and usurer's capital dominate the rural economy. As the study is related to the changes in agrarian relations in the state of Andhra Pradesh with special reference to a district, the changes brought about in agrarian structure of Andhra Pradesh which is composed of three different regions had been discussed in the third Chapter. The broad conclusion from this study is that agricultural workers had been increasing steadily and the percentage of cultivators in the total agricultural population has been slowly declined. Regional disparities persist in agrarian relations in the coastal districts. There is a slow transition from kind to money wages and casualisation of agricultural labour. There is a transfer of capital from the coastal districts to the irrigational projects in Telangana or Rayalaseema region and also for commercial agriculture in the traditionally backward areas. In the drought-prone Rayalaseema, the rural magnate in alliance with traders-cum-money lenders continued without any fundamental transfers of the class of the magnates. Bonded labour was slow to disappear in Telangana. The penetration of capital into the tribal areas was associated with the tribal changing into a free agent subject to custom regulations or into a bounded
slave. Though land reforms had been enacted in the state in 1960, the ineffective implementation of the certain laws was considered to be one of the main factors in agrarian unrest and the consequent rise of Naxalite moments in Andhra Pradesh. Another series of Land Ceiling Laws, were formulated in 1972 and the Andhra Pradesh Land Reform Act, 1973 had some positive impact on re-distributing the land to the down-trodden sections in rural areas.

The changes brought about these reforms show that the share of the holdings increased substantially for the marginal farmers during 1953-54 to 1991-92. They have their number increased from 53.72 in 1953-54 to 73.24 in 1991-92 and the percentage of areas owned increased from 5.27 percent in 1953-54 to 21.30 percent in 1991-92. On the other hand, the number of holdings for large farmers declined from 5.77 percent in 1953-54 to 0.45 percent in 1991-92 and the area operated declined from 45.33 percent in 1953-54 to 8.06 percent in 1991-92, but the inter-class concentration ratio for different categories of farmers show that it did not increase much for marginal farmers as it was 0.81 percent in 1953-54 which stood at 29.08 in 1991-92, but for large farmers it increased from 785.62 in 1953-54 to 1791.11 in 1991-92. Another finding of importance is that the marginal holdings are commercialized as much as large holdings. For instance, per hectare use of fertilizers in terms of Nitrogen, Phosphorous and Potassium is the highest for marginal holdings as compared to larger holdings. It has also been found that farmers in marginal holdings are also growing commercial crops like sugarcane and cotton. The Gini coefficient calculated for measuring inequality in the distribution of landholdings shows that from a value of 0.728 in 1953-54 had declined to 0.6650 in 1991-92, if ownership households alone are taken into account. If landless
households are included, the ratio assumes a value 0.8000 in 1953-54 and it declined to 0.7046 in 1991-92. Though Gini values are declining, still the coefficients have relatively higher value indicating that the inequalities of distribution of land holdings among households had not declined, leading to an unequal distribution of land holdings.

In Andhra Pradesh, there were certain Acts passed by the State Government to bring about changes in tenancy. Among the tenancy reforms the Andhra Pradesh (Telangana Area) Tenancy and Agriculture Land Act of 1915 is hailed as one of the best pieces of legislation, as it is considered a comprehensive piece of legislation. This act offered protection rights to the tenancy and it also protected the rights of tenants to purchase the land taken lease from the land owner after a period of 6 years by paying 40 percent of the market value of land or 8 years of rent. This act had been the forerunner for such acts passed in the state of West Bengal. But, according to Gunnar Myrdal's estimates, only 12 percent had managed to fulfill the intent of the law by becoming owner cultivators.

According to the available data, the operated area leased-in had declined in initially from 32.6 percent in total operational holdings and 18.60 percent of the total operating area in 1953-54 to 18.52 percent and 9.15 percent respectively in 1960-61 by 1991-92 though the number declined to 14.11 percent, the area remain almost same at 9.57 percent. This phenomenon had been partially attributed to the reverse tenancy.

When compared to All-India figures, the relevance of tenancy is still more marked in the state of Andhra Pradesh. Another phenomenon to be
observed is that pure tenancy is of lesser percentage than mixed tenancy. Though both categories show a decline i.e. is from 11.21 percent in operational holdings in 1953-54 to 2.32 percent in 1991-92 in the case of pure tenants and 21.40 percent to 11.79 percent in the case of mixer tenants. The tenancy is clear that the number of pure tenants had been declined and reverse tenancy is operating in the state of Andhra Pradesh. Among the terms of lease, the percentage of operational holdings, under fixed money, had been 4.32 percent in 1970-71 and it was 4.20 percent in 1980-81. In the case of fixed produce, it increased from 2.02 percent to 4.35 percent whereas the sharecropping declined from 7.80 percent to 4.69 percent. The area leased out also shows that the area under the sharecropping declined from 3.18 percent to 2.77 percent between 1970-71 to 1990-91. The region-wise differences show that share-cropping type of tenancy is practiced mostly in Telanga and Rayalaseema areas.

The agricultural labour force in Andhra Pradesh had been increasing in the agricultural work-force as it increased from 37 percent in 1981 to 41 percent in 1991. Among the female workers 60 percent were agricultural labourers in 1991. Their participation-rates show that female participation rates are increasing according to the census data, while male participation rates have remained almost constant. But agricultural employment had almost stagnated in the total employment has the usual status occupation, thereby increased in 1993-94 and 1999-2000, wherein terms of daily status it actually declined though the real wages for male and female labourers with 1980-81, as the base year had increased over the last two decades, the real wages had grown at a higher rate in 1980, it had slackened in 1990. But the
growth rates of real wages are relatively higher in Andhra Pradesh than All-India level. The State Government had divided the state into three zones and fixed the minimum wages. Though the rates are same for male workers and female workers, in reality, they are not equal for different agricultural operations. Invariably, higher wages were paid to the male labourer.

While the above inferences show the agrarian relations at macro-level, Nellore District shows how some of these relations exist at the micro-level. Hence, in order to study the micro-level changes in agrarian relations, a mandal, called Indukurpet mandal had been chosen for a better analysis. The main workers among working population in Nellore district slightly declined into 2001 over the figure observed in 1991. But the figure for marginal workers increased by more than three times between 1991-2001. Even the agricultural labour as a percentage of main workers increased from 47.71 percent in 1991 to 54.25 percent in 2001. This observation shows that agricultural labourers have been growing over the years and this district is known for its agricultural labourer population among the districts in the states. The net-sown area had been declining last decades due to agriculture and land put to non-agricultural use increased from 14.68 percent in 1976-77 to 17.78 percent in 2003-2004. As the irrigation facilities are likely to improve with the completion of two major irrigation Projects, Somasila and Teluguganga, the acreage under irrigation is likely to increase. Even in the present times, the district ranks second in terms of irrigation facilities as 90 percent of the area sown is under irrigation. This was achieved mainly due to the increase in the percentage of area under tube wells. The percentage of
area irrigated to net cropped area is about ¾ of the net cropped area in 2003-04.

If the percentage of the irrigated area is an indication of commercialization of agriculture, this district has a greater commercialization of its agriculture. The implementation of land reforms in this district shows that between 1990-91 and 2000-01, the marginal holdings increased from 64.90 percent having an area of 23.30 percent in 1991, increased to 65.39 percent and 25.21 percent respectively in 2000-01. The share of small holdings had also increased from 22.10 percent in 1990-91 to 26.10 percent in 2000-01 in the total area. Thus the number as well as the area under marginal and small holdings had been increased over the last decade. The land distributed to the down-trodden groups such as scheduled castes and scheduled tribes also shows that the number as well as the area is 25.23 percent and 22.68 percent for scheduled castes and 6.49 percent and 5.73 percent for scheduled tribes among the marginal farmers in 2000-01. The historical background of this district shows that due to the implementation of land reforms people belong to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes could get a tiny piece land, as in the earlier period land was mostly under the control of upper castes in the district.

From the early times, this district has thriving land lease markets, a feature of such tenancy relations was the registration of written documents, where the landlord and tenant enter into a formal agreement. In the case of share-tenancy, oral agreements were a common feature. In the 19th century one form of lease was Izara, which related to the leasing out of villages and large tracts of land, the villagers were called, Kandrika, Agranaharam, Palli,
Vanam, Wada etc. In the case of share cropping the ratio was either 25:75 or 50:50, where the earlier ratio was adopted for one year or two year leases, while the second type of contract was prepared in the case of medium term or long, term leasers. The landlord-tenant relations are better when compared with the tenancy relations in all the districts of Telangana or Rayalaseema. Such a type of relations prevailed mostly before 1950. But later, modifications were there in the share-cropping system. The last-sharing phenomenon is the new feature after the Green Revolution started in this district in the 1980's. After 1990, written documents were rare and concealed tenancy an oral terms is current practice in this district.

There were some struggles for land distribution and joint-farming societies were encouraged by the administration. An impact of land-grab movement was organized in delta areas of the district and banjar lands were distributed to the agricultural labourers by confirming their ownership instead of the lands over the tank bund and waste lands. According to one estimate, about 40,000 acres had been transferred to the poorer sections, especially agricultural labourers. In this district, agricultural labour unions have been struggling for the implementation of the minimum wages act, demanding that the wages for male labourers should be at least Rs. 70/- per day and Rs. 40/- per day for the female labourer. Especially, these rates are applicable to delta areas, while in others areas it is Rs.45/- for male labourers and Rs.35/- for female labourers. Indukurpet Mandal is endowed with good irrigation facilities and as such this mandal has claimed a leading role in agricultural production in this district. This mandal has the highest number of electric motors, besides a well-developed canal system. The population in this mandal has been
growing at a lower rate than what it had been between 1981-1991. Another
tendency had been a faster rise in the female population in comparison with
the male for 2001. The agricultural labourer population shows that female
agricultural labourers out-number male labourers. The land utilization in this
district shows that in 1993-94, the net sown-area had been declined either
due to the prevalence of aquaculture or due to increase in the area under
other fallow and urban fallow. The distribution of operation holdings show that
the marginal holdings have a greater percentage than other categories and
the control 12 percent of total area.

In the upper size categories less than 2.5 percent holders operate
about 20 percent of total area. All the number of operating holdings is more
than the number of cultivators by more than two times. The inference could be
that some of the holders of the lands might have given their lands for lease.

The crops grown on the net sown-area shows that paddy is the leading
crop among food crops. While the percentage of area under commercial
crops such as sugarcane, fruits and vegetables had been growing in
importance and this could be due to the increase in the private irrigation
facilities. Though agriculture is commercialized, mechanization is slowly
taking place, as this Mandal occupies fifth place in the position of tractors
among all the mandals in the district.

The agrarian relations in this mandal shows that three categories in the
agricultural working population namely: (1) Owner cultivators (2) Tenants
(3) Agricultural Labourers have an relations in course of agricultural
productions. Among agricultural labourers again, broadly, we find three types
of labourers namely: (1) Fully attached labourers (2) Semi-attached labourers and (3) Casual labourers.

As a fully attached labourer is a farm-servant whose contract with the landlord is normally for one year in most of the cases he will not be possessing land. In the case of semi-attached labourer, he works in the agricultural season only and he may be also given a small piece of land on crop-sharing basis, i.e. he may be acting as tenant. In the case of tenants, there are two categories, namely tenants having occupancy rights and tenants at will. Agriculturalists who have leased land for 10 or more years have occupancy rights. But in the case of other tenants, the leases are for shorter period. Tenancy is a phenomenon that can be observed in the case of temple lands, as all the temple lands are leased out to the tenants. Another class of owners who invariably lease out their lands are much mostly merchants and brahmins. In all these cases share-cropping is the predominant form of tenancy.

In the case of cultivators, most of the cultivators in this mandal can be regarded as owner-cultivators. Though, as per records any owner-cultivator do not possess land above the ceiling limits, there are some Reddy and Kamma cultivators, who possessed more than 100 acres of land. Some of these land-owners maintain a dairy and they mostly grow commercial crops on their land. Though semi-feudal relations are not relevant in most of the cases, some of the big land owners give loans to their workers, sometimes at a high rate of interest. But currently, this practice is changing and interest free-loans are given to the farm-servants by some of the landlords.
As village studies would unravel certain specific characteristics of the mandal, some of the villages have been chosen for specific study. Indukurpet Mandal has sixteen villages. Out of these, villages like Kudithipalem, Mudivarthipalem and Nidumusali have practically turned to aquaculture. Among other villages also we find some of the big farmers converting some of their agricultural lands as aqua farms. Currently, as many farmers incurred losses in the aquaculture, their lands have been reconverted into agricultural lands. Another special feature of this mandal is that among scheduled castes and scheduled tribes females outnumber males and even taking the total population into account, there are certain villages, which are generally more populated, having more female members than male. The population-size is the highest for the Indukurpet-I. In this Mandal among the villages with a population less than five hundred, two villages can be found namely Jangamvari Doruvu and Pagada Doruvu Kandriga. One highly populated village, one village, namely Indukurpet-I, one village with medium-sized population namely Somarajupalle and one lower-size populated village namely Jangamvari Doruvu have been chosen for a more detailed study. In this Mandal, in almost all the villages, there are only two sources of irrigation, namely canals and tube wells and the net area sown is also under irrigation, while dry land had been left fallow.

The agricultural worker in this Mandal shows that average 81 percent of the workers belong to agricultural labourers, who constitute a great proportion of agricultural labourers in this Mandal. Even among the agricultural labourers in certain villages, the proportion of female agricultural labourers is higher than the male agricultural labourers. But the mandal, as a
whole, the female agricultural labourers constitute about 52 percent among agricultural labourers. The land distribution shows that marginal holdings are relatively higher in villages like labourer, Mudivarthipalem, Gangapattanam, Komarika, Jangamvari Doruvu, Pagada Doruvu Kandriga and Koruturu.

The distributors also indicates that those who had been possessing operational holdings above 24 acres are very few and in 7 villages, only one cultivator is in possession of land in the range of 24.61 to 49.20 and only in Gangapattanam we find 8 farmers possessing land in the above range. Hence, in the above data most of the farmers either belong to the category of marginal farmers and small farmers and there are only a few big farmers in this mandal.

The village profile shows that there are certain villages were the land market and land lease market are thriving and like-wise there are certain villages, where ceiling lands were distributed to people belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes communities. While the land distributed was 0.20 cents per each individual in Somarajupalli, it was 0.50 cents in Pallepadu in the village where aquaculture is predominant. The male agriculture labourer is paid Rs. 100 as his wage per day. But for agricultural operations there are certain variations, as Rs. 60 to Rs. 80 being the range for male labourers and Rs. 35 to Rs. 40/- for female labourers in the villages like Indukurpet, Jangamvari Doruvu, Somarajupalli, Nidumusali, Mudivarthipalem and Pallepadu. But in Leburu-I female workers are getting Rs. 30 per day.

In villages like Somarajupalli, Pallepadu, Kudithipalem, Gangapattanam, the left parties such as Communist Party of India and
Communist Party of Marx had been organizing agricultural labourers for the enhancement of wages and other issues like conferment of the ownership of land. In villages like Mypadu and Komarika, it is observed that most of the big farmers are taking the temple lands for lease. In some of the villages the big farmers are also leasing in lands of marginal farmers and small farmers. Such a phenomenon is prevalent in Jangamvari Doruvu, Somarajupalli, Mudivarthipalem and even in some of the other villages to a lesser degree.

Certain respondents were chosen on the basis of their status in the agricultural working population, such as owner-cultivator, tenant and agricultural labourers and questionnaires have been administered. Among the respondents from the owner-cultivator group, among in all the three villages, namely Indukurpet-I, Somarajupalli and Jangamvari Doruvu, it was found that the majority of them are in the age group of 35 to 60 years. The caste-wise differences show that among Scheduled Caste the 35 to 40 years group has better representation in Jangamvari Doruvu, while backward class has better representation in this age group in Indukurpet I. In Somrajupalli cultivators from forward classes belong to these age groups. In all the villages, the joint family system is on decline and the majority of the cultivators belong to nuclear families. All the respondents possess wet land and in this sample those cultivators possessing land between 10 to 25 acres have the relatively higher number followed by those possessing land in size group of 3 to 5 acres. Marginal farmers, that is in the size group of 1-2 acres and medium farmers in size group of 5 to 10 acres have an equal representation. The big farmers group has a better representation in Somarajupalli, where a majority belong to other castes. In Jangamvari Doruvu also, other castes have a better
representation, but they are small farmers. The marginal farmers and small farmers have better representation in Indukurpet-I.

The labour-use by the respondent shows that the number of farm-servants per owner range between 2 to 6 in Somarajupalli, as most of the big farmers in the sample belong to this village. But in Indukurpet-I, many medium farmers are engaging one farm-servant. The daily labourers used per acre in the peak season show that the combination of 4 male and 16 female labourers is the usual practice in Jangamvari Doruvu, while 15 male and 5 female labourers are preferred by medium farmers in Indukurpet-I, whereas 10 male 8 female labourers are employed in Somarajupalli. Various other combinations are found among the cultivators in Indukurpet-I. The peak season rates for labourers differ in the villages, as Rs. 60 per day is paid to the male labourer in Indukurpet-I, while it is Rs. 75 and Rs. 70 in Somarajupalli and Jangamvari Doruvu respectively. In the case of female agricultural labourers, Rs. 60 is being paid per day in Somarajupalli, while it is Rs. 40 in other two villages. There certain significant differences among the payments made to farm-servants and after conducting a t-test, it was found that they differ widely in the case of Indukurpet-I and Somarajupalli.

Tenants becoming land owners had been observed in Indukurpet-I and in all the villages, the names of all the tenants may not be entered in the register, which is the basis for conferment of ownership. While respondents considered cultivation to be profitable except for two farmers in Indukurpet-I, none could improve their land holdings. The land acquired by marginal farmers is being purchased by the big farmers, as most of the marginal
farmers are not in a position to continue their cultivation. This phenomenon can be observed in Indukurpet and Somarajupalli.

Oral tenancy is prevalent in all the three villages. Even in the case of tenants a majority of them belong to 35 to 60 age group and relatively younger members enter into tenancy contracts in Indukurpet-I. The acreage taken per lease shows that a majority had taken land in the 1-2 acres size, whereas in Jangamvari Doruvu it was found tenants leasing more than five acres. There is one tenant in this village who had taken land in 15-20 acres size. The big farmers taking land for lease from marginal farmers can be found in Somarajupalli and Indukurpet-I. Though the tenant's earlier occupation had been either a cultivator or an agricultural labour, members from backward classes practicing their traditional occupations, taking land for lease can be found in Indukurpet-I. Even women who have become tenants are there in such a category. The duration of the contract is mostly for one year and in Jangamvari Doruvu and Somrajupalli 2 year contract can be found. The educational background of the tenants indicates that those belonging to non-agricultural occupations have a better background than those who are engaged in cultivation.

An enquiry into the reasons for becoming tenants shows that losses in agriculture is the main reason, while compensating lesser income in self-cultivation is another reason. Most of the tenants are fresh entrants. Those who are working for more than two years as tenants can be found mostly in Somarajupalli. Like wise, we find these tenants working for the same owner. The payment to the land owner is mostly in cash and the season wise
payment are in vogue in Indukurpet I and the payment ranges between Rs. 3000 and Rs. 3500 per acre for the season. In the other two villages, the payment is in kind and it ranges between Rs. 7500 and Rs. 8000 per year per an acre. Further in Indukurpet-I, the payment has to be made before the beginning of the season. That is immediately after the tenant enters into an agreement. But in Somarajupalli and Jangamvari Doruvu, the payment is made after the harvest is over. The crop to be grown on the leased land is decided by the tenants in all the villages. Wherever sharecropping exists, the sharing is on 50:50 basis cost sharing is there only in Somarajupalli. In general, the tenants will cultivate the land without making any improvement. But Indukurpet-I some tenants have under taken improvements and they also reaped the benefits due to these improvements. In all the villages, there are no farmer-associations to safeguard the interest of the tenants. Only some of the left parties have been representing their grievances, especially in Somarajupalli.

The agricultural labour has a greater representation from Indukurpet-I in the sample. The age-distribution shows that there are new entrants in the labour-force from 25-35 year age group in all the villages and such a phenomenon can be mostly observed in the place of labourers belonging to scheduled castes in all the villages. Labourers belonging to other castes are a few in number, while those belonging to backward class have a greater representation from Indukurpet-I. Another feature is those who are in the above 60 years age group are still working as labourers and they belong to scheduled caste. Here, also Indukurpet I, has more such members in the work-force. About 1/3 of the labour force has received education and we find
a graduate also working as a labourer in Jangamvari Doruvu. The sample shows that a considerable number among those who belong to scheduled castes are educated. In the labour households, nuclear families have become the norm. As regards to the ownership of landholdings, about 1/3 of sample units have some land and Indukurpet-I. 50 percent among Scheduled Caste labourers have land while none in this caste-group in the sample has land in Somrajupalli. In the backward classes, most of the labourers belonging to Indukurpet-I have no land. The sample indicates that those possessing more than one acre are also working as agricultural labourers among scheduled caste's in Indukurpet-I. Though some of the labourers worked in the past as farm-servants, only one member in the sample Jangamvari Doruvu is a farm-servant. The wage-rates paid for different agricultural operations show that female labourers are generally paid a lesser rate than male labourers. But their wages are relatively higher in Jangamvari Doruvu and Somarajupalli than in Indukurpet-I. For ploughing, the wage-rates paid for male labourers is Rs. 100 in Jangamvari Doruvu and for thrushing also, the wage-rate is same in both Jangamvari Doruvu and Somarajupalli. In general, a male labourer gets Rs. 60/- and female labourer Rs. 40/- for most of the agricultural operations except weeding, for which it is only Rs. 30 and Rs. 15 respectively for male and female labourers.

The number of days of employment for male labourers is 140 days an average in kharif season and 130 days in rabi season for farm work and 10 days in kharif and 20 days in rabi for non-farm work. In the case of non-farm work, the wages are relatively higher than the produce paid for farm-work and
in all the villages, the construction works generate more employment, while digging of wells and canals work are next in importance.

The non-farm work generated for labourers is on higher level in Somarajupalli, as most of the sample respondents are engaged either in canal digging work or construction work for a number of days, for which the non-farm work is generated is relatively high, i.e. 60 to 80 days in Indukurpet I and it is only around 30 days in Somrajeupalli.

In Somarajupalli, many labourers work for many employers, whereas, in Indukurpet-I a considerable number work for the same employer. One exception is a 50 year old labourer who worked for 30 employers in Indukurpet-I. He has bonded attachment with the employers in the form of loan advanced to him. Such a case exists among some cases in Indukurpet-I. Wage-enhancements have been reported in Somarajupalli. In certain cases same bondage exists as the children also worked for the same employer in the place of their parents and this bondage is due to non-repayment of debts. Struggles for an increase in wages had been observed in Somarajupalli. According to the some respondents, in general, there are no associations for labourers in the sample villages. The respondents are of the view that Government should bestow more attention to the problems of labourers, besides providing subsidies and creating good facilities for their better living.

As agrarian relations are better understood when a personal probe is made to elicit the views of the cultivators, tenants and labourers, some case studies had been undertaken. In Indukurpet, the case studies of cultivators show in general that all of them are utilizing family labour. Of the first four
case studies, the first case study shows that the farmer belonging to a backward class community could plough back profits and improve the acreage. The only failure has been where he converted his agricultural land for prawn-culture, but his profits from agriculture could compensate the losses and he now reverted to paddy cultivation. This case signifies that capitalistic relations in agriculture could benefit an enterprising cultivator.

The second case study shows how a small farmer could keep up the properties of his father by utilizing family labour by getting more bags of paddy per acre, the average being 60 per acre. He could lead a life without indebtedness with only 4 acres of land. The third case shows how a marginal farmer devoted his two acres of land for sugarcane production. But later he lost when he converted the two acres for prawn culture. Hence, he again converted his land for paddy cultivation and he is able to maintain his family with his current income by paying old debts. He also supplements his income by working in flour mill. This case demonstrates how a marginal farmer can take a risk and either benefits or loses by that risk, in the case of sugarcane production and prawn culture respectively. The next case shows how another marginal farmers with two acres of land had run into debts due to prawn culture and he is unable clear it completely, though he also works in a flour mill. His cost of production has increased as he hires tractors and also uses the services of hired labourers for agricultural activities. The next case study shows how an upper caste non-agriculturist who could maintain a joint family with his father’s inherited property of 8 acres for twenty years. But after his brother got educated, they divided the property and he could get only 1.80 cents. Now, it has become difficult for him to maintain his family, as invariably
uses the services of hired labourers. Thus this case study shows how restrictions of property can affect the life of an otherwise a medium farmer.

The case studies of the cultivators from Somarajupalli show how cultivators have been diversifying into aquaculture. The first case study shows how a owner cultivator possessing seven acres of land had been dividing the time for doing a driver’s job in the Road Transport Corporation as well as practicing in agriculture. He takes the help of family labour and be is a food agriculturist producing 60 bags of paddy per acre. The second case study shows how a farmer from another village could succeed in business first and invest that amount on land increasing his 8 acres of land to 20 acres in a period of 16 years. He had also been practicing aquaculture, mainly by maintaining ponds which are considered to be profitable than prawn culture. Another case study shows that by did not of his hard work, he improved his position from a small farmer to a medium farmer. This he could do by purchasing waste land and converting it into fishing ponds. Thus a small farmer could become a large farmer. The fourth case study shows how a small a scheduled caste farmer could develop into a successful farmer with 20 acres of own land. He could also benefit by aquaculture. His brothers as well as his children are helping him in cultivation. This case study shows how a member from a lower caste group can achieve success, through hard work by utilizing the opportunities available.

The case studies of cultivators from Jangamvari Doruvu show how some of the large farmers are diversifying into different activities. The first case study shows how with the help of ceiling lands distributed to them helped
a harijan farmer to improve his land-holdings. He had taken lands for lease and by saving a part of his income, he purchased lands from his employer and later he purchased another 3 acres of land. Thus a farmer who started his cultivation with two acres of government land, has become the owner of 10 acres. He distributed this land among his four sons. His first son possesses a tractor and his fourth son is a trader. But all of them work as labourers in their land. They also utilize their land for growing mango trees and coconuts along the margin of the fields. The enterprising nature of their father had helped the family to consolidate their property.

The second case study shows how an upper caste farmer could improve his land position by practising self-cultivation. But he also ran into losses when he converted a part of his land for prawn culture. His parents possessed a dairy, but now he is not maintaining it and the silver lining is that he converted his lands for paddy cultivation and he minimized his losses.

The next case study shows how his brother could improve his inherited property and could accrue almost seven acres besides his inherited property of three acres. Though he also incurred losses by undertaking prawn culture, he is able to recover, partly by leasing in a part of the property of his brother.

Two case studies of tenants in Indukurpet I show that both are mixed tenants. Besides cultivating their own lands, they had been cultivating temple lands over a decade. The first case study shows that is a owner of three acres of land and five acres had been leased from temple authorities. He pays in kind at rate of 12 bags per acre i.e. roughly 1/5 of his total produce to the temple authorities. The other tenant cultivates some land of his own,
besides five acres of temple land. There is a similarity between the two cases, as both had prawn culture is their own lands and incurred losses. In a way, the income they could get from their leasing of land acted as a buffer for overcoming the losses incurred from prawn-culture. They reconverted their lands into paddy fields. Thus the two case studies show how tenants belonging to backward classes are struggling to maintain their families by working hard using family labour and continuing the leases.

In Somarajupalli, both the case studies of tenants show how those belonging to upper castes are also leasing lands and working as tenants. The first case study shows how subleasing is done by the cultivator, who possesses 7 acres of land. He is also cultivating paddy in 7 acres of temple lands, but on his own land, he is maintaining fish ponds. Though he is not a resident-cultivator, he is effectively supervising his cultivation. He pays in cash at the rate of Rs. 5000 per acre, which is relatively higher than the kind payments made by the tenants in Indukurpet I. This is due to the sub-leasing of lands by the medium farmers. Another case study shows how a Reddy farmer lost his lands due to expenditures incurred in elections and now he depends only on the income from leased lands. He also pays Rs. 5000 per acre and his case is that of a pure tenant.

The case studies of tenants from Jangamvari Doruvu show how agricultural labourers are becoming tenants. The first case study shows how a harijan, after working for some time as an agricultural labourer could become a tenant for 1 ½ acres due to his allegiance to land-owner from the beginning. Earlier he was a farm-servant for the some land owner and later
he became a tenant and paid 15 bags per acre as rent to the land owner. Later he purchased this land. His sons are able to get government land of one acre for each and in the process he had been utilizing family labour to cultivate his own lands as well as tenant lands. He still works as a farm-servant to the land-owner’s son and gets 60 bags of paddy, while he continues to lease the land and pays 20 bags of paddy as rent to the land-owner. This study demonstrates how smooth relations between the land-owner and tenants can lead to the tenant becoming an owner of the tenanted land.

The second case study shows how an agricultural labourer owning 0.75 cents of land is maintaining family by leasing in lands from different owners to an extent of four acres. He is paying 15 bags of paddy per acre and he became indebted due to prawn culture like other farmers in the Mandal. He also reconverted the land and he works as a casual labourer also to clear his debts.

The case studies of agricultural labourers in Indukurpet show how labourers belonging to backward classes had also remained as casual labourers without becoming tenants or farm servants. The first case study shows how an agricultural labourer could become a leader of group and he earns about Rs. 60 per a day on average and his income is supplemented by the earning of his wife, who also works as a casual labourer. Because of their combined income, they are able to maintain their family without incurring debts. The other case study shows how a labourer even by possessing one acre is not to meet the family expenditure, due to the adoption of prawn
culture on his one acre of land. He ran into debts later. In order to clear the debts, all the family members work as agricultural labourers. He personally feels that unless government provides him with liberal assistance, he may not be able to come out of his debts.

The case studies from Somarajupalli show how harijans are trying to become marginal farmers, but could not do so. The first case study shows how the labourer could not succeed by taking one acre on lease for the sake of fish ponds and had to revert back to his position as a labourer to clear the debts. One advantage is he is known to be a hard worker and so he could get Rs. 70 on average for his daily labour either for farm-work, or non-farm work. His wife also works as a casual labourer and they maintain good relations with large farmers. So he could tide over the difficulties caused by his indebtedness.

The second case study also shows that how a labourer with one acre of unregistered land and having less irrigation facilities could just give him that much paddy needed for his home-consumption. He worked as farm-servant and now he is working as a labourer either at fish ponds or construction works. Though his family members help him by doing some labour, his income is not sufficient to maintain his family.

The third case study shows how a labourer gets into the viscous circle of poverty once his health is affected. This harijan was a labourer in his youth. He had to shoulder the responsibility of performing the marriage of his sister after death of his father. Further, his son who is an earning member got separated from him. Later, when he fell sick, he had to borrow money and as
he could not work, he became indebted. There is no in institutional help for him. As he did not work as a regular farm-servant, he remained a daily wage labourer. No land-owner gave him protection. Another case study shows how a young entrant to labour-force could get work only in the peak season and even by supplementing the income earned by his wife, could not lead a happy life when employment was not available.

The three case studies of labourers in Jangamvari Doruvu belong to a harijan community. The first case study shows how an aged labourer remained as a labourer even after working for five decades. Only his sons could get only 25 cents of land from government and he could not get any land. In the beginning, he worked as a farm-servant and he contributed a lot for the development of land of his land-owner. He still maintains joint family. He does not work regularly, though he works as a casual labourers at certain times.

The second case study shows how a farm-servant became a casual labourer. According to him, in the present conditions, it is better for him to be a casual labourer than a farm-servant. Earlier he worked as a head of one group of labourers and he prefers casual work now, as wages are relatively higher in the present times than in the past. He has 25 cents of land given by the government. His past experience shows that labour market had been smooth in the past as there was neither bargaining for wages nor any struggle for higher wages.

The third case study shows how an educated member had to opt for labour, as he could not get employment elsewhere. He could get 45 cents of
land distributed by the government and he produces 15 bags of paddy. As this is not sufficient to maintain his joint family, the members of the family also work as casual labourers to supplement his income.

Thus the case studies demonstrate how markets are decisive in the lives of the people in the majority of agricultural population. The agrarian relations as seen from a microcosm of a mandal in a district clearly indicate the complexions involved in the emergence of new relations in the marketised world, as capital investment plays a predominant role in shaping the new relations. One emerging feature is that unlike in the past, the cultivator-tenant and labourer have become risk-takers and dependence on the market trends is increasing day by day. This could be due to the sway of the capitalistic mode of production which is slowly emerging as a dominant mode in the agrarian economy.