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PUBLICATION 5

A large, stylized map of Tamil Nadu is the central focus. The map is filled with horizontal lines. Overlaid on the map is a black silhouette of a person bent over, working with a tool on the ground. The text 'TAMIL NADU' is printed in the center of the map. In the top right corner of the map, there is a small circle containing the letter 'S'.

TAMIL NADU

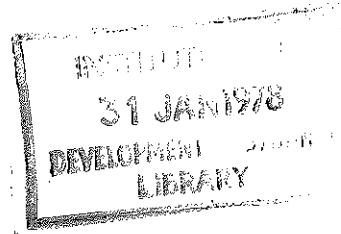
by
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LAND REFORM
IN
TAMIL NADU



G. VENKATARAMANI, M.A.

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P R E F A C E

Agrarian reform can be multifaceted in its scope. It concerns redistribution of land—through compulsory ceiling legislation: it refers to the consolidation of holdings either voluntarily as in a co-operative or compulsorily as in a collective or commune: it covers improved leasehold arrangements which involve the abolition of intermediaries and the adoption of various tenancy laws which improve and secure the rights of the tenants: it involves control of rent and the regulation of the farmer's indebtedness: it certainly includes land registration: it concerns besides the status, condition and extent of landless agricultural labour: and it also comprises the various forms of land taxation and the changes that characterise them. Agrarian reform is two-pronged in its objective, which are distributive equity and increasing agricultural productivity. The distributive objective is based on the fact that there is inequality in the land holdings and in the sharing of their product and incomes. The productivity objective stems from the fact that excessively large holdings impede productivity when the owners lack the desire, the ability, or the capital to develop the property as much as excessively small and fragmented holdings are an obstacle to the use of modern technology. So, too, do outdated systems of tenure act as disincentives to land improvement and use of the new farming techniques. There is also a further implicit or explicit politico-sociological objective in the agrarian reform movement. For non-communist societies, that objective is to bring about an increase in the number and improvement in the status of the small peasants who would provide the socio-political infrastructure, the progressive middle class, for a viable democracy. For communist countries, the objective is the support of the struggle of the small peasant and tenant for the break-up of larger estates as a means of ultimately socialising all land ownership.

In this monograph, the agrarian reform movement in Tamil Nadu is examined both from the viewpoints of scope and

objective; it also seeks to recommend future lines of action. For the State as a whole, the 1961 Census reports that those cultivating 7.4 acres and less constitute 85.86 per cent of farming households and the total land they use is about half the total cultivated area in the State. These inequalities in land distribution, which vary in degree as between the 13 districts of the State, are exemplified both in the average unit of ownership and the average unit of cultivation. The unequal land distribution in terms of ownership can be seen, for example, in Tirunelveli where 83.26 per cent of the households own 38.71 per cent of the total owned area in the district with a typical holding averaging 2.20 acres. Similarly, in Tiruchi district, 84.53 per cent of the households own only 49.23 per cent of the owned area yielding a per family average of ownership of 2.73 acres. There are also inequalities in the average units of cultivation which range from over 85 per cent of households cultivating less than 43 per cent of the land in use in Tirunelveli district to over 84 per cent of households accounting for around 56 per cent of the cultivated land in Salem. It should be noted, however, that the cultivating unit and the ownership unit are not always identical. The actual operational unit of cultivation may be more or less than the owned unit, depending on whether land is leased out as a result of factor availabilities. This view is borne out by the fact that, while the area owned per household is reported by the Census to be 2.05 acres for the State as a whole, the area farmed by a cultivating household in the State is 4.56 acres. The various land ceiling Acts in the State have aimed at correcting this situation by (a) the State acquiring land in excess of a stated ceiling and distributing it to the landless and (b) increasing agricultural production through such redistribution. The broad conclusion that emerges from the study is that the surplus land that so far distributed in this fashion is small (20,977 acres), so that its redistribution has not really affected the ownership pattern. As for its effect on agricultural production, the available data on production trends is lumpy, so that it has not been possible to isolate and correlate redistribution and productivity either positively or negatively. Two conclusions suggest themselves. First, a comprehensive survey

is needed to study the correlation over a five-year period following the 1971 legislation. Secondly and immediately, while a method based on consensus has been worked out for acquiring surplus lands, a methodology of execution is necessary for its effective distribution.

CO-OPERATIVES AND CONSOLIDATION

The State's record of consolidation of holdings has been even limited. There has been no attempt at compulsory consolidation. The few voluntary or joint producers' co-operatives, which either merged the individual's land in common holdings or provided pooling arrangements for members, have not been persisted with. As on January 1973 there existed in the State: Land Colonisation Societies for Harijans (56); for Ex-Service men (6) and for Civilians (25). There existed besides Co-operative Tenant Farming Societies (63), Joint Farming Societies (15) and Collective Farming Societies (3) making up a grand total of 168. Of these 31 had made a profit up to 1972 and 130 incurred losses, while seven were just about able to break even. Government assistance to these societies, which included loans and grants, was of the order of Rs. 60.43 lakhs during the same period. It is noteworthy that all the 15 Joint Farming Societies incurred losses consistently. While it is necessary to ensure that voluntary co-operative farming societies are not called into existence to provide cover for any *benami* ownership which seeks to evade the ceiling law, any measure with this end in view should not be content with merely restraining. Of course a restrictive law must naturally restrain from doing but it must not sully the forces of action. A further issue is that the 1972 amending law restricts the exemption from ceiling limit only to colonised lands ceded to them by the Government. The reason for this is unclear as it militates against the principle of producers' co-operatives. Some indirect effects of joint action can also be traced through a study of the land development banks, co-operative credit societies and the Small Farmers' Development Agency which have tried to make available to the small and fragmented holdings the inputs available to the large farmers; of high yielding variety of seeds, fertilizers, water supply, pesticides and farm implements. Even here the co-operative agen-

cy has not been a major source of credit to the small farmer as both the Report of the All-India Rural Credit Committee and 1971 State pilot studies show. It is also difficult to assess the impact of the Small Farmers' Development Agency in this area in view of its limited application and tentative character. It has been operating on a pilot basis in three districts of the State and the Agency schemes have functioned only for three years. On the other hand, what consolidation of holdings has occurred has been at the level of large farmers through *benami* transactions.

TENANCY REFORM

Lease-holding arrangements, which have been the subject of continuing legislation in the State, aim at removing intermediaries between the owner and the tenant-cultivator, securing the tenant's farming rights and controlling the rent he has to pay. As a result, the definition of the tenant has become more precise and the registration of cultivators begun. The intermediaries of various types have been removed, agricultural debts liquidated and rent control introduced. The eviction of tenants has begun to be controlled or made justiciable. As of 1967, 3,165 tenants had been evicted, and 73 restored to their former lands out of the 633 who had applied for restoration of their leaseholds. On the whole, the State has made slow progress in this area of securing the rights of tenants. Even the registration of tenants has so far been confined in three districts, viz., Thanjavur, Tiruchirapalli, and Madurai. Of these, the most advanced in tenancy registration is Thanjavur and even here only 40 per cent of the tenants have been registered to date. The 1973 legislation enabling tenants to purchase their cultivating lands is a far-reaching measure whose impact will depend on its manner of execution and the responsiveness of the tenants who wish to benefit from it.

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

The status of agricultural labourers in the State has been the subject of legislation and executive decrees since 1949. The evidence presented in the monograph suggests that the number of the landless labourers is increasing in the State as a result of

the increase in the rural population both relatively and in their absolute numbers on the one hand and as a result, on the other, of small tenants and small farmers being obliged to give up their lands due to a variety of reasons and become landless labour. The regulation of the wages of such labourers is assuming growing importance. The minimum daily wages in force today excluding parts of the Thanjavur and Tiruchirapalli districts range from Rs. 1.80 for women to Rs. 3 for men. The Tamil Nadu Agricultural Labourers' Fair Wages Act of 1972 has fixed farm wages at Rs. 2.25 for women and at Rs. 3.70 for men in East Thanjavur and Rs. 2.25 for women and Rs. 3.50 for men in West Thanjavur. The problem here is that a Statewide regulation of wages is needed and on this, a Commission is currently at work. Such a system will have to establish wages for each development district on the basis of the available labour supply, prices of essential commodities and rise in the cost of living. Homesteads for labourers are provided under the Tamil Nadu Kudiyiruppu Act, which is now in force in Thanjavur district, and under which 33,000 agricultural labourers had by 1972 been granted ownership of their house sites. In brief, piecemeal legislation and measures whose scope is spatially restricted are the salient features of contemporary State efforts to improve the status of agricultural labourers.

TAXATION

The agrarian reform movement in the State also covers land taxation. Here the Country as a whole, by and large, continues the regressive land tax system inherited from the colonial days. This State, however, made a start with a progressive agricultural income-tax which has had to be modified as a result of the agitation organized by the Coimbatore district Agricultural Association. As a result, the compounding facility which was available to those owning land up to 30 acres has been extended to all holdings and all crops without a ceiling limit. The present limit for exemption from agricultural income-tax, which is 7.5 to 10 standard acres, as well as the definition of standard acres for tax purposes are to be revised. In land taxation, then, the present system favours the larger farmers and landowners and does not ensure an adequate or fair tax

contribution from them for the development of the State in any manner comparable with that made by their urban and industrial counterparts.

SLOW IMPLEMENTATION

To sum up, the agrarian reform movement in the State is characterised by a sound and comprehensive body of legislation on the one hand and on the other a very slow rate of execution, by partial and pilot coverage of the State by continuing loopholes which allow evasion and *benami* transactions. The result is that neither the equity nor the increasing production objective has been well served.

CONSOLIDATING THE REFORM

Against this background the monograph proposes measures to make agrarian reform effective. An economic holding for this State is defined as the area which, in terms of productivity and a marketable surplus, can support a family of five persons and which will vary in actual acreage according to local conditions of soil and climate and averages around 2.5 acres for wet land and 7.5 acres for dry land. On this basis, it is recommended that the ceiling law be amended as a start by ordinance retroactively from 1965 to 10 standard acres. The ordinance mechanism and the retroactivity are aimed at preventing the usual *benami* transactions and closing some of the escape hatches. The amended ceiling legislation necessary to attain the double aim of redistributive justice and increased productivity should be supported by further legislation or through the reactivation of moribund laws on the Statute-book to secure tenancy rights, prevent absentee landlordism, control rents, relieve and liquidate indebtedness, ensure the regular and unimpeded flow of farm inputs, extend the regulated markets with the Food Corporation of India and the State Civil Supplies Corporation acting as the procurement agencies, and regulate effectively a system of minimum, fair, real wages for agricultural labourers.

One of the major factors retarding agrarian reform has been the growing gap between aims and realisation, between

legislation and execution. To counter this constraint, it is recommended that a consolidated Act bringing together all the separate and scattered legislation be developed. It is also recommended that the objectives and strategies of agrarian reform measures in terms of equity and productivity be widely canvassed in the State and a consensus arrived at. On the basis of such a consensus, a programme to train the officials who must execute the programme in the intensions and precise implementation of the legislation; the continuing maintenance of land ownership and tenancy records and their annual transmittal to the district and State authorities; and the establishment of specially constituted district tribunals as courts of final appeal in order to dispose of all contested decisions within fixed time periods are recommended. Given the fact that the economic, landowning and cultivating status of the scheduled castes in the State has shown little improvement over the past two decades, as found by *Income Earning Trends and Social Status of the Harijan Community in Tamil Nadu*, an Institute publication, it is recommended that members of that community be given priority over a long period of time in the land distribution and homesteads (kudiyiruppu) programmes.

A CONTROLLING ECONOMIC MODEL FOR REFORM

Another important recommendation is the development by the State of a total economic model as distinguished from a technical or statistical model for the State's agriculture. The economic model seeks to work out a cultivating area suited to each soil, climate and time context, which consistently combines all the multifarious objectives of agrarian reform, such as increased production and productivity, redistributive equality, economies of scale, security of operation, innovation and increasing incomes and living standards of agriculturists. While theoretically such a model may apply to any one of the holdings of several sizes, it is recommended that the State set up an increasing number of large-sized holdings both for their demonstration effect and as a means of countering fragmentation and the disadvantages of small holdings. For, in their absence, private disinvestment following drastic ceiling laws

may neutralize massive State investment in agriculture. In such State-operated large-sized holdings, the ownership of land may be merged or pooled among the small owners in accordance with the wishes of the people concerned. Or these may be built around the nucleus of the model farm that exists in each district or the same result may come about through an extension of the joint cultivation farm which is not unknown in the State. An integral part of the agrarian reform recommendations is the imposition of the Agricultural Holdings Tax along the lines laid down by the Raj Committee report both as a means of mopping up surplus resource from those earning a net income beyond a minimum and as a means of ploughing back into this primary industry the growing volume of investible funds. The costs of these recommendations in financial terms are negligible in relation to the State's developmental outlays as the concluding section of this monograph shows. The real costs are the will to work and make a success of this socio-economic undertaking. Finally, a reasoned case has been made for decentralising execution of parts of this programme of agrarian reform to the district planning authorities recently established in this State as one means of tailoring the programme to local conditions, securing the participation of the people and ensuring its enduring effectiveness.

This study uses data, both published and unpublished, available from the Union and State Governments. It is addressed to the State authorities—the Government, the State legislature, the State Planning Commission and the Panchayat Unions—whose responsibility it is and to whom reform is an integral part of development. It is also addressed to students and specialists of agrarian reform in the Country. Like all Institute Studies, this one also is a collective endeavour. C. L. Narasimhan, the economic specialist, G. Sukumaran, a statistical specialist and M. Natesan, an investigator collecting primary data from Tiruchy and Thanjavur and attached to the Institute, have been of particular assistance in the analysis and interpretation of data set forth in the monograph. However,

the contents of the study, its judgements and recommendations are the sole responsibility of its author, G. Venkataramani.

I commend the study to the Government and people of Tamil Nadu.

Malcolm S. Adiseshiah



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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM IN OUTLINE AND METHODOLOGY

I-1. "The State shall direct its policy towards securing that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good; and that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment."

REFORM AS WELFARE

I-2. In pursuance of Article 39 of the Indian Constitution, many State Governments have enacted legislation so as to bring about a socialistic pattern of society. Land reform, which is an important but a small beginning towards the goal, has been characterized by two specific objectives. The first of them is to eliminate the impediments to increased agricultural production, which is a legacy from the past. The remnants of alien rule founded in deep-seated passions have thrived in a predominantly feudal structure, and these have to be dispelled from any projected structure of land ownership and use. Such reform would help to create conditions for evolving with the greatest despatch an agricultural economy characterized by high levels of efficiency and productivity. The second objective is to eradicate all instruments of exploitation and social injustice within the agrarian structure so as to provide security for the tiller of the soil and to assure equality of status and opportunity to all sections of the rural population. The over-all objective of land reform measures is of course to ensure equal opportunities to all sections of rural society. This has entailed a study of the particular content of welfare in agriculture with a view to maximizing or optimizing as necessary, production and participation. In spite of these laudable objectives and

much action taken in pursuit of these goals the agrarian situation in the State has not yet shown noticeable improvement. The pressure on land has been increasing steadily with the result that equal opportunities are becoming difficult to provide. At the same time, the concentration of land holdings has been continuing apace uninterrupted by the advent of political independence. As 50 per cent and more of our population lives in the rural areas and as the bulk of it depends on agriculture for a livelihood, structural changes are necessary in the first place for ensuring a balanced development of all the rural people.

I.2. (i) The present study generally covers the period 1948-1972. Older agrarian systems where they are extant and workable are considered in the light of their historical origins. The status of landholders in Tamil Nadu, the economic viability of the rural economy as a whole, the position of agricultural labourers, the conditions of tenant farmers have all been examined in the light of over-all objectives for possible readjustment. The study thus concerns itself more with the systems of agrarian relations rather than with the extent and procedures of agriculture in Tamil Nadu.

HYPOTHESES

I.3. The present study attempts to analyse the reform measures, their underlying objectives, their effects on the general economy and how they have been implemented so far. The following hypotheses, which appear *prima facie* to explain the agrarian situation adequately with regard to their origin, need to be tested against the facts and parameters of that situation :

- (i) An equitable distribution of land has been brought about through the land reform measures.
- (ii) Land reform measures have effectively abolished intermediaries in agricultural systems and have served to upgrade the status of tenant farmers.
- (iii) The measures have succeeded in improving the economic position of small and marginal farmers.

- (iv) The status of agricultural labourers, too, has undergone a perceptible change.
- (v) Agricultural production and productivity have increased due to these reform measures.

CONCEPTS

I.4. The concepts that have been used in the study may be defined thus :

- (i) Land reform measures include all legislative and para-legislative measures covering land ceilings, the protection of tenancy rights, small and marginal farmers, and agricultural labourers; credit facilities and service units for their benefit.
- (ii) A tenant is defined as one who holds land from another person, works on it for himself with the help of the members of his family or through hired labour while he himself might not own the land.
- (iii) A small farmer is defined as a person who holds land between three and five acres.
- (iv) A marginal farmer is defined as a person who holds land measuring between one and three acres.
- (v) An agricultural labourer is a person who holds less than one acre of land and/or more than 50 per cent of whose income is derived as wages from agriculture.
- (vi) Credit made available to farmers in cash or in kind either directly or indirectly through Government or banking institutions is taken as agricultural credit.

PROCEDURE

I.5. In analysing the performance of the various reform measures, the following procedures have been adopted : (i) each measure has been considered on its merits; (ii) each measure is screened for gaps of commission and omission; (iii) each measure is examined for problems arising from its application in extent over the area sought to be covered by it; (iv) suitable

statistical methods are applied to evaluate the performance and significance of each measure. In the present study, the test of significance method for difference in proportions is used. As for the distribution of *pattas* held by farmers as token and authority of ownership the methodology adopted in an earlier study by the Union Planning Commission has been followed.

LIMITATIONS

I-6. The study suffers, however, from the following limitations:

- (i) Lack of availability of necessary data. The study leans largely on secondary data, published or unpublished, from official government sources. Certain essential data, such as the land ownership pattern for 1971 or for any year after the introduction of reform measures, are not available.
- (ii) In certain cases, data derived from sample surveys have been used. All the general limitations to which sample surveys are subject are all applicable here. Some of these limitations are evidenced by the census figures themselves. The official data suffer from their own limitations for often correct entries are unavailable. This arises occasionally from lack of coordination among the government agencies which are concerned with the control or regulation of different segments of this primary sector.
- (iii) The time factor has been another limitation. All aspects of the problem have not been dealt with exhaustively for want of time.
- (iv) The major constraint is that the study deals with the problem only with respect to the existing economic and political set-up. That is to say, the reforms and their objectives have not been evaluated normatively in terms of any extraneous *a priori* structure. The suggestions, criticisms and recommendations made in this monograph belong in the existing socio-political framework.

THE MONOGRAPH IN OUTLINE

I.7. The second chapter traces the evolution of the landed proprietary class and poses the problem of agrarian relations while making out a *prima facie* case for redressal. The third chapter considers all the measures that have been formulated to rationalize and reform the situation in the agrarian community. All legislative and para-legislative measures introduced in Tamil Nadu from 1948 to the present day have accordingly been analysed in this chapter. The fourth chapter attempts to evaluate the performance of these measures as sectoral agrarian reforms and in the wider context of general economic development. The last chapter outlines certain suggestions and recommendations based on the findings formulated in the fourth chapter.

CHAPTER II

GENESIS OF REFORM MEASURES

II.1. The Tamil Nadu agrarian situation should be examined first in its historical perspective. In most countries, land ownership and the nature of rights and obligations as between the members of the land-using rural community, are the product of a long evolution and are determined also by the geographical, economic, social, cultural and political conditions. These are the local circumstances so called which serve to make many common problems unique. Thus the evolution of estates and the origin of the proprietary class should be considered as a backdrop to the projected study on land reforms.

II.1. (i) In this chapter, the evolution of zamindaris, inamdaris and other estates is taken up first for consideration. The establishment of a well-formed proprietary class and its influence on the local people are considered next. The position of agricultural labour, the wage rates, the status of tenant farmers *vis-a-vis* intermediaries and finally against the concentration of land ownership are considered in their historical perspective. All these present a *prima facie* case for reform and lastly, the need for corrective measures is underlined.

HISTORICAL ORIGINS

II.2. (i) This period may be divided into two parts. The first deals with the evolution of the zamindari, inamdari and other land systems. The second deals with the co-existence of the ryotwari system with zamindari and other types, and with their interaction in a semi-feudal setting resulting in new land tenures evolving as in imitation of western models.

II.2. (ii) In the revenue administration of the old Hindu Rajas, the existence of an intermediary class of proprietors between the crown and the common man for revenue collection was unknown; this system had to await the advent of Mughal

rule. The Government undertook the responsibility of revenue collection directly, through its village servants. The collection was effected by accepting a share of the produce as tax or by levying a money-rent without the intervention of middlemen, farmers or zamindars. The Muslims occupied the country as a military colony and initially at any rate, made no attempt to dismiss the old officers who had served under the Hindu Rajas and to replace them by their own staff. The Muslim rulers, however, found the old revenue system inconvenient, as it necessitated constant and close supervision and considerable local knowledge besides and therefore, set up a class of intermediaries who were just revenue farmers. They found that the Deshmukhs and Deshpandes had had considerable experience of revenue collection under the Hindu Rajas and wielded considerable local power and influence. These, they made the new "revenue farmers" who as a result attained a certain "fixity of office and independence". This prepared the ground for their becoming zamindars and landed proprietors when the British arrived.

ZAMINDARI TENURE

II.3. The word 'zamindar' literally means a landholder. In the early stages, he had no proprietary title to the lands under his control. He was merely a collector of revenue entrusted with the main functions of supervision of the cultivation of land and the partial maintenance of order in the villages under his control. He collected the land revenue for the Government and advanced loans to ryots for cultivation. For shouldering these responsibilities, he was granted a mallikhana which amounted to 10 per cent of the collections. He was also allowed to cultivate lands of his own without the payment of revenue and on occasion, was even entitled to reserve for his own use the entire collections from certain villages in addition. In time, the zamindars developed the system further by entering into an agreement with the rulers for the payment of lump sums as revenue for the year as a whole or a longer term. The rulers in turn assessed the lands for the assured revenue they could yield in this manner, and every time they entered into a fresh contract they came progressively to demand an increased *janma*. The zamindar wa,

appointed by official warrant to hold office for his life-time, or at the will and pleasure of the rulers, but he was never a local land-owner, apart, of course from the land he had been allowed to reserve for personal cultivation. The zamindars were not given any landed rights nor the power to alienate the ownership rights of the ryots under their charge. They, however, steadily increased their power and position and consolidated the zamindari into a hereditary right. They cultivated large tracts of wasteland under their purview, used their own hired labourers to establish the ownership of such lands contrary to the terms of the revenue contract. With their power, the zamindars had also opportunities to buy up farm lands that had been hypothecated to them and extended this practice slowly to assume possession of other lands under their charge in default of rent payments when they were in arrears. The proviso in the rent contract preventing zamindars from assuming ownership of the land under their charge was designed precisely to prevent these transactions resulting in the accretion of zamindari power. As the Mughal empire began to disintegrate, the zamindars, utilising their influence and power, were able to assert proprietary rights on the soil and as they became independent of the central authority. They even usurped the power of the overlord to dispense justice to the tenants under their control.

POLIAMS

II-3. (i) In Tamil Nadu, the old Madras Province, the zamindari system took roots only in the northern parts while in the southern areas, lands were held by a class of people known as *poligars*. These poligars were of three kinds:

1. The descendants of the royal families of Vizianagaram, Conjeevaram and Madurai.
2. The military chieftains of the sovereigns who had successfully defied the Muslim invaders.
3. District Collectors who had eluded immediate control by their Muslim rulers and had gradually usurped the attributes of sovereignty.

II.3. (ii) In 1560, the founder of the Nayak dynasty organised his kingdom on a feudal basis which resulted later in the poliam system. The *Poliams* comprised a few villages. The revenue of entire villages would accrue to poligar for feudatory or *kaval* service rendered to the sovereign as a tribute. These payments were made in lieu of assistance rendered or required of the poligars by way of men, money or materials during wars. Lands were assigned in proportion to pay the servants of poligars, who were utilised for external wars and/or internal policing. In sum, poliams were assignments, for specific purposes, of portions of Government revenue to individuals in lieu of a salary.

INAMS

II.4. Apart from the zamindaris and poliams, there were also the inamdari lands, growing in extent, free assignment to certain persons, known as *Inam*, either for services during war or in any other service to the sovereign. The holders of these lands could cultivate them without the payment of rent or revenue. Whole villages were given away as 'Inams' and the inamdar could also collect for himself the entire revenue without the payment of any consideration to the Government. The titles to inam villages then became hereditary. The practice was in vogue in ancient Tamil monarchies, prior to Muslim rule. Poets and military personnel were normally the recipients of such inams. The practice was well nigh universal while the word itself, because of its Persian origin, has been traced to the Muslims. The practice of gifting lands beginning in ancient Indian history, however, continued well after the Muslims.

II.4. (i) After the breakdown of Muslim rule, the administration of the province came under the British East India Company during the middle of the eighteenth century. Aliens in the country, their foremost anxiety was the collection of revenue and they were obliged to choose from a confusing welter of practices prevalent at the time. The new rulers had to familiarize themselves with the surviving institutions of the old rulers, rent farmers and zamindars through whom the Muslim rulers had collected their land revenue. Although

zamindars had in large measure abused their power, the only established machinery for revenue collection was the zamindari. Hence the British had no option except to treat with and make their agreements with the zamindar. Only where zamindars were not in existence did the British seek to contract with others whose intermediate titles to the land were of a different and lesser kind.

RYOTWARI

II.5. These arrangements formed a different type of and system, known as the ryotwari. The ryotwari arrangement covered two-thirds of the land system while the non-ryotwari accounted for one-third of tenures. The system involved the division of all arable lands, whether cultivated or waste, into blocks or lots, each block being assessed at a fixed rate for a varying term of years (30 in Madras Province) and the collection of revenue from each title-holder known as the *pattadar* according to the area of land assessed.

II.5. (i) The ryotwari system has three main features :

1. The ryot had the right to hold land and bequeath it only so long as he paid the land revenue—his position being only that of an occupancy tenant. The reduction in his status is seen as the direct result of foreign occupation.
2. The system re-introduced the assessment of revenue from individual ryots as an obligation to be discharged through the overlord.
3. It necessitated periodic revenue surveys (as a matter of fact every thirty years).

II.5. (ii) The early ryotwari settlements suffered from innumerable defects. Highly differentiated criteria, designed naturally so as to benefit the overlord, were employed to fix individual revenue assessments. Heavy obligations were imposed on garden lands and those planted with special crops. Restrictions were placed on the sale of lands¹⁸ and re-assessments in subsequent surveys largely followed the first valuation. From

this beginning, the ryotwari became ramified into the system as we know it today.

II-6. *Estates and Their Effects* : Until Independence, then, and well after that in Madras province, intermediaries and owners were bound to the political authority by two major types of tenure or revenue obligation, the zamindari and the ryotwari, and between these intervened a series of other variations in tenures. These tenurial systems were self-perpetuating served to impose and maintain a semi-feudal structure that and survived into Independence. After the transfer of power and during the transition, many holders consolidated their lands into large tracts or estates. They made sure that they were not dislodged from the pedestal of high authority which they had long enjoyed in relation to their vassals. Thus, in 1948, there were 5092 estates extending over 11439.28 square miles. These estates included all zamins, under-tenure and inams in the State. Apart from these, there were 13,565 minor inamdari villages. Many other intermediary systems also obtained in the State at the time of Independence. These estates resisted the effort of the new Government to correct the inequity of the existing land systems. As the estate-owners disposed of vast tracts of land which they could not themselves cultivate, there was a certain amount of neglect in their function. As they did not have to pay large amounts of revenue, there was no incentive to increase productivity. On the other hand, there was inefficient management of these lands with the result that the production of essential commodities began to decline. In the event, the peasants and tenant cultivators were the real sufferers as they had to pay their share of the produce to their immediate masters irrespective of the size of the harvest. Feudalism had reached the limits of its resilience and the situation was explosive on the eve of Independence.

II-7. *Agricultural Labour* : All through alien rule and for some years after the national Government took over, the case of agricultural labourers was either not surveyed or taken cognizance of or it was ignored. The land systems were such that they helped the rich to become richer. The remnants of the systems survived into Independence, with the result that

the labourers had to work harder with little increase in their wages. They even had to fight to be paid their wages. Agricultural labour had no interest in increasing production at the ruling levels of wages. The 1954-55 average daily wages of agricultural labourers are set forth in Table I.

II.7. (i) The average daily wage in the State is low—one rupee twenty paise. Only in a few districts are the wages a little higher than the State average. If these were the levels of wages seven years after Independence, the even lower levels obtaining under alien rule in earlier times must clearly have been a cause for serious unrest. Again, better wages had to be fought for collectively. The low economic status coupled with appallingly low incomes drove them inevitably to resort to borrowing for survival. Invariably, the lenders have been the owners of the land. This made the rural poor to plunge increasingly into indebtedness. To pay back their debts, many cultivated their creditors' lands as tenants. The owner appropriated 60 per cent of the produce as the owner's share, collected rent besides and demanded a third towards an usurious rate of interest leaving a less than subsistence wage for the poor peasant. He had to borrow to cope with seasonal calamities and to meet the demands of ritual social status enjoined upon him. Many have tried to measure the extent of rural indebtedness and so far no one has come forward with a precise estimate. The peasant had to produce more to pay back his loans, but his method of cultivation was such that he could not produce this surplus and was always at a disadvantage *vis-a-vis* the moneylender to whom he eventually forfeited his little tract of land.

SIZE OF HOLDINGS

II.8. The influence of the past land system continued to be felt for many years after Independence. Even in 1961, there continued a widely uneven distribution of land-holdings and excessive concentration of arable lands in a few hands, a situation described by the Government as feudalistic. The following figures for the distribution of land, the size of holdings, and the holdings of cultivated and owned lands would bear out the view the then Government took of the situation.

TABLE I — Daily Wages in Agriculture : Average for July 1954.

State/Districts	FIELD LABOUR				HERDSMEN				OTHER LABOURERS			
	Men		Non-adults		Men		Non-adults		Men		Non-adults	
	Rs.A. P.	Rs.A. P.	Rs.A. P.	Rs.A. P.	Rs.A. P.	Rs.A. P.	Rs.A. P.	Rs.A. P.	Rs.A. P.	Rs.A. P.	Rs.A. P.	Rs.A. P.
Tamil Nadu	1 3 1	0 11 6	0 10 6	0 15 5	0 8 0	0 7 10	1 5 2	0 12 4	0 9 4			
Chingleput	1 4 9	1 1 0	1 1 0	—	—	0 5 0	2 6 0	—	—			
South Arcot	1 13 6	0 5 9	—	0 8 0	—	0 8 0	2 0 0	—	—			
North Arcot	0 8 6	0 9 11	—	2 8 0	—	—	2 0 0	—	—			
Salem	1 0 0	0 10 0	0 7 0	—	—	0 8 0	1 0 0	0 10 0	0 6 0			
Coimbatore	0 13 9	0 8 0	0 8 0	—	—	—	1 4 0	—	—			
Tiruchirappalli	1 5 3	0 8 11	0 7 2	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Madurai	0 11 7	0 9 0	0 9 4	—	—	—	0 12 0	0 10 0	0 8 0			
Thanjavur	0 15 8	0 10 8	—	—	—	—	1 1 0	0 12 0	—			
Ramanatha- puram	1 0 0	0 11 4	0 11 0	0 8 0	—	—	1 0 0	0 12 0	—			
Tirunelveli	0 12 0	0 9 6	0 7 9	0 9 0	0 8 0	0 6 0	0 14 8	0 8 0	0 6 0			
Malabar	2 9 0	0 14 11	—	0 12 0	—	0 12 0	1 9 6	0 14 6	—			
S. Kanara	1 1 0	1 0 0	0 13 7	—	—	0 8 0	1 0 0	0 14 0	0 12 0			
Nilgiris	1 9 1	1 2 7	0 13 6	—	—	—	1 10 0	1 2 6	0 14 0			

Source : Season and Crop Reports, 1954-1955; Director of Statistics, Government of Tamil Nadu.

TABLE II—**Districtwise Distribution of Land between Owning and Cultivating Households.**

State/ District	Average area (in acres)		
	I per head	II per house- hold	III per cultiva- ting house- hold
Madras State	0.45	2.05	4.56
Chingleput	0.33	1.52	3.55
North Arcot	0.38	1.90	3.54
South Arcot	0.47	2.16	3.73
Salem	0.54	2.57	4.82
Coimbatore	0.61	2.78	8.47
Nilgiris	0.17	0.77	3.86
Madurai	0.43	1.98	4.74
Tiruchirappalli	0.60	2.62	4.57
Thanjavur	0.40	1.77	4.20
Ramanathapuram	0.59	2.62	4.46
Tirunelveli	0.43	1.90	4.46
Kanyakumari	0.13	0.64	1.64

Source: *Census of India, Volume IX, Part I-A (ii), Madras.*

II.8. (i) For the State as a whole, the average area works out to less than one acre per head, 2.05 acres per household and 4.56 acres per cultivating household. Among the districts, Coimbatore has the highest extent per head, per household and per cultivating household; Kanyakumari's averages per head, per household and per cultivating household, are the lowest. The figure for Column III is higher than that for Column II; that is to say, the average area tilled by a cultivating household is higher than that owned by a typical household. This has been an age-old problem of Indian agriculture; many owners of land preferred to pass on the burden of cultivation to others less fortunate for a consideration, thus adding to the number of middlemen. The districts, when grouped with reference to the

land held by cultivating households, fall into four distinct groups: the cultivating households in Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot and Nilgiris hold lands between three or four acres in extent. In Salem, Madurai, Tiruchirapalli, Thanjavur, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli, the cultivating households hold land between four and five acres in area. Coimbatore forms a separate category where cultivating households hold an average of 8.5 acres of land and Kanyakumari appears as another separate category where the average holding of cultivating households are the lowest, at 1.64 acres. In Coimbatore, each household holds roughly double the acreage held by comparable households in other districts, and in Kanyakumari, cultivating households do not have even one-third of the lands held by corresponding households in other districts.

II.8. (ii) In the State, the number of cultivating households holding between 1 and 2.4 acres is the largest, this size-class being the most representative holding. In the districts also, the largest percentage of cultivating households lies in the size-class ranging from one to 2.4 acres, except in Kanyakumari, Salem and Coimbatore. In Kanyakumari, the maximum percentage of households are subsumed in the size-class of less than an acre in extent, whereas, in Salem and Coimbatore, the maximum number of households fall within the size-class varying from 2.5 to 4.9 acres. More than half of all the cultivating households (55.6 per cent) in Kanyakumari hold less than an acre each. (This district reproduces the pattern obtaining in Kerala State of which it formed part until the States were re-organised in 1956.)

II.8. (iii) The next highest percentage of land-holding households in the State hold between 2.5 and 4.9 acres (this being constituted into a separate official class) with the exception of Tirunelveli which has the second highest percentage of households in the size-class of "less than one acre". In general this pattern in sizes of land held by households is exemplified in most of the districts of the State, with the exception of Kanyakumari, Coimbatore and Madras. In other districts, only marginal variations are noticeable.

II.9. *Concentration of Holdings* : The cumulative percentages set forth below seek to measure the concentration of the right to cultivate land in a few households :

TABLE III—**Concentration of Cultivation Rights in Households.**

Size of Land	Percentage of Cultivating Households	Percentage of Area held by them
Less than 1 acre	14.80	1.62
upto 2.4 "	48.01	14.00
" 4.9 "	73.34	33.43
" 7.4 "	85.86	50.17
" 9.9 "	90.07	58.11
" 12.4 "	94.03	67.76
" 14.9 "	95.15	71.10
" 29.9 "	98.66	87.45
" 49.9 "	99.46	94.24
50+ "	99.80	99.71
Unspecified	100.00	100.00

Source : *Census of India, Volume XI, Madras, Part I-A (ii), 1961.*

II.9. (i) As much as 85.86 per cent of the households in the State cultivate land of less than 7.5 acres and they hold 50.17 per cent of the total cultivated area. About 5 per cent of the households cultivate more than 15 acres but they hold about 30 per cent of the total area.

II.9. (ii) The curve (Fig. 1) represents the distribution pattern of cultivable lands among households in Tamil Nadu. The curve, which shows the skewed distribution in the class range upto 7.4 acres, rises steeply here. It is the "gradient

of the skew" that represents a dysfunctional or an excessive concentration of landholding.

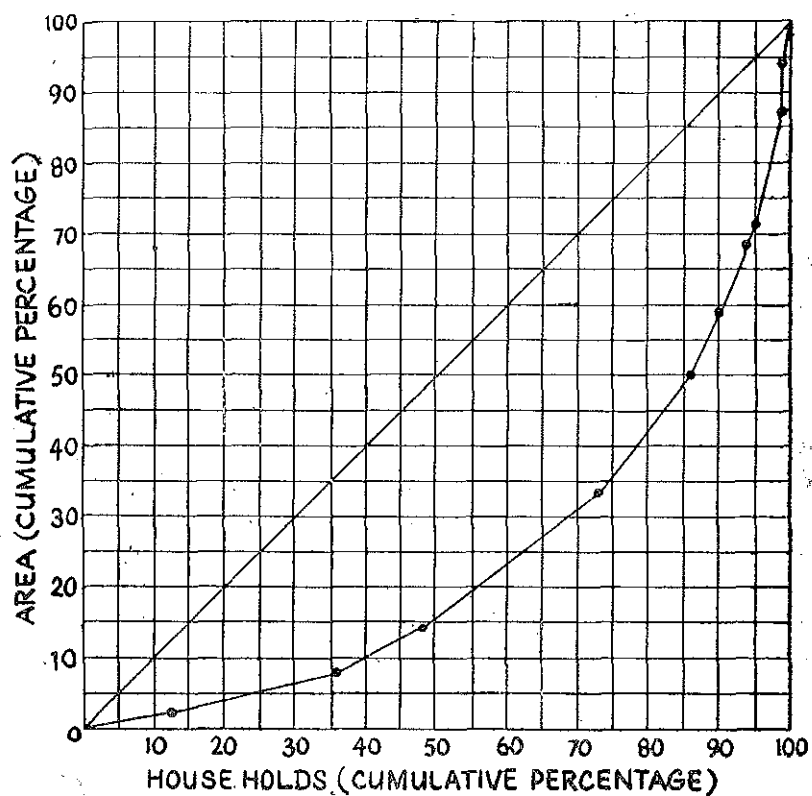


Fig. 1

II-9. (iii) *Districtwise Data* : The cumulative percentages of households holding upto 7.4 acres in all the districts are presented below.

TABLE IV—**Districtwise Distribution of Households holding Less than 7.4 Acres.**

State/District	Cumulative percentage of households	Cumulative percentage of area held by them
Madras State	85.86	50.17
Chingleput	90.91	60.28
North Arcot	91.64	66.84
South Arcot	89.72	57.71
Salem	84.71	55.60
Coimbatore	66.42	27.63
Nilgiris	90.62	60.35
Madurai	85.10	49.41
Tiruchirapalli	85.59	51.13
Thanjavur	88.50	55.13
Ramanathapuram	84.38	48.22
Tirunelveli	85.78	42.31
Kanyakumari	97.87	80.55

Source : *Census of India : 1961, Volume IX, Part I-A (ii), Madras.*

II.9. (iv) Of all the districts, the holdings are smallest in Kanyakumari; 97.87 per cent of the households holding less than 7.5 acres and the total extent held by them being 80.55 per cent of the cultivable area. The remaining 2.13 per cent families hold about 20.45 per cent of total lands. Coimbatore shows a less uneven distribution with 66.42 per cent of the households holding 27.63 per cent of the area cultivated.

II.9. (v) *Households with Owned Lands* : The 1961 Census figures show that 85.31 per cent of the households in the State own lands of less than 7.5 acres in extent amounting to 48.79 per cent of the total area owned. While the average held by 85.31 per cent of the households comes to 2.67 acres and falls within the size class extending up to 7.4 acres, the remaining 14.69 per cent of the households own 16.07 acres on

an average. The table below affords a full picture of land ownership in the districts (exclusive of Madras, which, being an urban area, does not figure in the table) in two categories—one 7.5 acres and above, and the other below 7.5 acres.

TABLE V—**Districtwise Land Ownership Pattern.**

District	Below 7.5 acres cumulative percentage of			7.5 acres and above cumulative per- centage of		
	House- hold	Area	Average acre per house- hold	House- hold	Area	Average acre per house- hold
Chingleput	89.88	56.11	2.35	10.12	43.89	15.50
North Arcot	91.32	65.39	2.58	8.68	34.61	14.06
South Arcot	89.22	56.33	2.40	10.78	43.67	15.34
Salem	84.78	55.33	3.16	15.22	44.67	13.99
Coimbatore	66.46	27.22	3.52	33.54	72.78	18.25
Nilgiris	90.35	60.95	2.58	9.65	39.05	15.73
Madurai	85.06	48.44	2.75	14.94	51.56	16.08
Tiruchirappalli	84.53	49.23	2.73	15.43	50.75	15.70
Thanjavur	90.19	56.70	2.62	9.81	43.30	16.40
Ramanatha- puram	84.53	47.49	2.75	15.47	52.51	15.97
Tirunelveli	83.26	38.71	2.20	16.74	61.29	18.10
Kanyakumari	97.90	78.97	1.35	2.10	21.03	14.92

Source: *Census of India: 1961 Volume IX, Part I-A (ii), Madras.*

II.9. (vi) In Kanyakumari 97.90 per cent of the households own 78.97 per cent of the land with an average of 1.35 acres per household. While, in the same district, 2.10 per cent of the households own 21.03 per cent of the lands, an average household holding being about 14.92 acres in extent. Another district strikingly more noticeable for its concentration of land holdings is Tirunelveli. While 83.26 per cent of the households

own only 38.71 per cent of the area which works out to 2.20 acres per household, among those holding above 7.5 acres, 16.74 per cent of the households own 61.29 per cent of the lands with 18.10 acres per household representing an average holding. Next to Coimbatore, Tirunelveli has the highest average in per household holding among those holding above 7.5 acres of land. With the exception of these districts and Nilgiris, the others conform to the same pattern exemplified by the State figures, a remarkable feature of which is that the majority of the households own lands below 7.5 acres and hold moreover a very low acreage. Those households holding above 7.5 acres in extent constitute a small percentage and as among the members of this group, there is an uneven distribution of holdings testified to by the fact that the average per household holding in these brackets is about 15 acres.

II.10. This table thus underscores a lopsided distribution of land put to agricultural uses which is clearly a legacy from the feudal past. The economic status of peasants and labourers in these districts has been very low over a period of time. The high concentration of land in a few hands; the land systems in a poor state of productive efficiency; the collection by landlords of unconscionable rents and usurious rates of interest on loans given for productive uses; the very low level of wages obtaining among labourers; these are the principal features of the agrarian scene, the state of which can only be described as regressively maladjusted in an overall state of underdevelopment. These cried out for immediate rectification as early as 1950 and afforded an irreducible basis for the land reform measures which followed. These are dealt with in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE REFORMS IN OUTLINE

III.1. Despite many laws passed prior to 1961, which attempted to correct the agrarian relations, the structure itself had been left untouched. The brief analysis of land holdings in 1961 following a decade of independent rule has shown up the position as being no better than under alien rule. The situation demanded immediate attention and quick redressal. The Government, therefore, enacted a variety of laws bearing on those parameters of agricultural production which had retarded the growth of the rural economy, and some of them have been applied with retrospective effect so as to counteract any evasion of the purposes of the Acts. Of the laws that attempted to treat the problem at the basic level so that the serious agrarian situation could be retrieved, the following have been discussed in detail in this chapter :

1. The Madras Land Reforms (Fixation of Ceiling on Land) Acts, 1961 and 1970 ;
2. Estates (Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari) Act, 1948 and 1963 ;
3. (a) The Madras Cultivating Tenants' Protection Act, 1955;
(b) The Tanjore Tenants and Pannaiyal Protection Act, 1952 ;
(c) The Madras Cultivating Tenants' (Payment of Fair Rent) Act, 1956 ;
(d) The Madras Cultivating Tenants' (Protection from Eviction) Act, 1956 ;
(e) The Madras Occupants of *Kudiyiruppu* (Protection from Eviction) Act, 1964 ;

4. The Madras Occupants of *Kudiyiruppu* (Conferment of Ownership Rights), Act 1971 ;
5. The Record of Tenants Act, 1969 ;
6. Minimum Wages Act, 1959 ;
7. Wages Enquiry Commission and Regulation of Wages Act, 1969 ;
8. Small Farmers' and Marginal Farmers' Development Agencies ;
9. Co-operative Agencies, Credit Societies and Co-operative Services units ;
10. Amendments to the Ceiling Law, 1972.

CEILING LAWS

III-2. The Ceiling Acts of 1961 and 1970, together with amendments, constitute the basic land reform measure of the State. The preamble to the 1961 Act states the objectives of land legislation with clarity.

Whereas under the clauses (b) and (c) of Article 39 of the Constitution of India, the State should, in particular, direct its policy towards securing the ownership and control of the material resources of the community so as to subserve the common good ;

And whereas the area of agricultural land available for cultivation in the State is limited ;

And whereas there is great disparity in the ownership of agricultural land leading to the concentration of such land in the hands of certain persons ;

And whereas it is necessary to reduce such disparity in the ownership of agricultural land in the State ;

And whereas it is necessary to fix a ceiling on the agricultural land holdings ;

And whereas it is necessary to acquire the agricultural land in excess among the rural population and distribute it to the landless ; And whereas

such distribution will best subserve the common good, increase agricultural production and promote justice, social and economic.

III.2. (i) The above extract from the 1961 Act sets forth the objectives in fixing the ceiling limit of agricultural holdings. The Act came into force with retrospective effect from April 6, 1960 and covered the whole of Madras State except the hill areas. The Act fixed the ceiling on agricultural land that can be held by a family consisting of not more than five members at 30 standard acres. For those families having more than five members, an additional five standard acres was allowed for each additional member subject to an overall limit of 60 standard acres.

III.2. (ii) A standard acre, as defined in the law, consists of one acre of wet land where it was assessed at the rate of Rs. 10 and above per acre; one and one-sixth of an acre of wet land where it was assessed at between Rs. 8 and Rs. 10 per acre; one and three-fifths of an acre of wet land assessed at between Rs. 4 and Rs. 8 per acre and dry land irrigated by lifting water from Government sources of irrigation; two acres of such wet land assessed at below Rs. 4 per acre; two-and-a-half acres of dry land assessed at Rs. 2 and above per acre; three acres of dry land assessed at between Rs. 1.25 and Rs. 2 per acre or four acres of dry land assessed at below Rs. 1.25 per acre.

III.2. (iii) This definition of a standard acre enabled a family of five members to hold land between 30 acres of wet land assessed at Rs. 10 and above per acre, and 120 acres of dry land if the assessment was below Rs. 1.25. For a family that could hold 60 standard acres, the limit could even go up to 240 acres. The Act exempted the following from the operation of the law: (i) Any land held by the Central Government, any State Government or any local authority; (ii) any land held by any charitable or educational institution of a public nature or any trust or any statutorily constituted University; (iii) any land owned by co-operative societies and approved by the Government; (iv) any land held by any industrial and commercial undertakings and approved by the Government and carrying on *bona fide* industrial or commercial operation;

4. The Madras Occupants of *Kudiyiruppu* (Conferment of Ownership Rights), Act 1971 ;
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(v) hill areas; (vi) all plantations; (vii) lands converted on or before July 1, 1959 into orchards or *topes* (தேர்ப்பு) or arecanut gardens; (viii) any land exclusively used for growing wood for fuel; (ix) *gramdhan* land donated for purposes of the Bhoodan *yajna*; (x) any land used exclusively for dairy farming or livestock breeding; (xi) any land interspersed among plantations or contiguous to them; (xii) any land awarded for gallantry to defence personnel; (xiii) any land used for the cultivation of sugar-cane; and (xiv) any land upto an extent of 50 acres used exclusively for grazing and assessed for purposes of land revenue at Rs. 1.25 and below per acre.

III.2. (iv) The Act provided for the establishment of a Land Board and a Sugar Factory Board. The Madras Land Board was vested with specific functions connected with applications for acquisition of land for dairy farming or livestock breeding and land lying interspersed among, or contiguous to, any plantations. The decision of the land boards was made final. The Sugar Factory Board was vested with powers of decision in respect of lands to be used for cultivation of sugar-cane. A Land Tribunal was also established to entertain appeals regarding land rights.

III.2. (v) The State was divided into 13 zones in 1962 for the administration of the Act. Each zone was placed under the jurisdiction of a Revenue Divisional Officer on special duty, designated as Authorized Officer. Each authorized officer was assisted by a field staff consisting of Special Deputy Tahsildars, Revenue Inspectors and headquarters staff consisting of one manager, upper division clerks and others. The main functions of the Authorized Officer were: (1) to enquire into the case of each landholder reported by the Agricultural Income Tax Officers as possessing more than 30 standard acres; (2) to undertake a full investigation of the nature and extent of the holdings of each of the landholders finally coming under the purview of the act; (3) to enquire into changes in the extent caused by sale, partition, gift, purchase and other transactions between April 6, 1960 and the date of submission of returns by landholders; (4) to take possession of land declared as surplus after scrutiny; (5) to call for and obtain applications

from prospective tenants for the cultivation of these surplus lands and to screen the applicants for eligibility and make recommendations for leasing them out; and (6) to call for applications from eligible persons for the award of *pattas* or titles over the surplus lands at the final stage of the implementation of the Act and arrange the applications as per the prescribed priorities. The Authorized Officers thus held a key position to which attached a heavy responsibility. They personally assessed the validity of each application, scrutinized them and even visited those lands. They conducted hearings on objections and issued statements before finally taking decisions. Applicants could appeal to the Land Tribunal and thence to the High Court from any unacceptable decision of the tribunal. The Act fixed the limits of compensation and to recover these amounts, collected levies from those persons to whom *pattas* were distributed.

III.2. (vi) The Government later withdrew certain exemptions by suitable amendments. One such is the exemption granted to the Sugar Factory Board and sugar-cane cultivating lands. By the Land Reforms (Reduction of Ceiling of Agricultural Holdings) Act of 1970, the Government further reduced the ceiling limit to 15 standard acres for a family of five persons and the overall ceiling limit to 40 standard acres for any family above this size. Furthermore the exemptions granted to religious bodies and other trusts were withdrawn and ceiling limits imposed on them as well. The 1970 Act kept the remaining provisions of the 1961 Act intact. The reduction of the ceiling on holdings was aimed at securing a uniform pattern of holdings in consonance with that of other States, where 10 to 11 standard acres had been fixed as the ceiling limit.

ESTATES' ABOLITION

III.3. As soon as the country attained Independence, one of the first tasks was the ending of the vestiges of alien rule. In the Madras State of 1948, a Bill was introduced to abolish all zamin estates. The Tamil Nadu Estates' Abolition Acts of 1948 and 1963 declared all zamin, under tenure and *inam* estates as abolished. Minor *inam*

estates and estates under special provisions were also abolished. As noted in Chapter II, there were about 5092 such estates covering 1,143,928 square miles and 13,545 villages, which were held as minor *inams* at the time of Independence. These two Acts held such holdings to be illegal and applied the *ryotwari* mode of revenue settlement to them.

PROTECTION OF TENANCY

III.4. In a sense, even more than agricultural labourers, the tenants were subjected to many serious forms of exploitation and feudal suppression. Realising the need to relieve them of these ills the Government passed a series of laws starting from the Tanjore Pannaiyals' Protection Act of 1952 and extending to the Maintenance of Record of Tenants Act of 1969, to protect the tenants.

III.4. (i) For Tanjore district, the Government promulgated the Tanjore Pannaiyals' Protection Ordinance in August 1952, amended it on September 8, and issued a fresh Ordinance on October 1, 1952, which was in force for six weeks before it was regularised. The Ordinance and its amendments were immediately followed by the Tanjore Pannaiyals' Protection Act of 1952. This Act was further amended and the Tanjore Tenants and Pannaiyals' Protection (Amendment) Act was adopted in 1956. This exempted holders owning $6\frac{2}{3}$ acres of wet or 20 acres of dry land or less in any village from its purview. The tenants and other forms of agricultural labourers in this predominantly agrarian district were sought to be relieved of some of their disabilities by this Act. The Madras Cultivating Tenants' Protection Act of 1955 protects the tenants from eviction with retro-active effect from December 1953; enables restoration of the tenants to their former leaseholds; and permits resumption of land by the owner under certain specified conditions. In effect, this Act laid down a code of rights and duties for both the tenants and landholders—for the lessees and lessors. Fearful of the consequences of these measures, the landlords started evicting their tenants on a large scale. This posed a serious situation calling for Government intervention.

III.4. (ii) The 1955 Act protects the tenants from all kinds of arbitrary evictions but enables landowners, in deserving cases, to resume land for personal cultivation. A tenant can be evicted under the Act only for the following reasons :

(a) if he is in arrears with his rent over a month beyond the due date of payment ;

(b) if he is guilty of any negligence which is destructive of or injurious to the land or any crop on it ;

(c) if he has altogether ceased to cultivate the land ;

(d) if he has used the land for non-agricultural or non-horticultural purposes ; and

(e) if he has wilfully denied the title of the landlord.

III.4. (iii) If a person had been a cultivating tenant on December 1, 1953, and if his leased land had been resumed for personal cultivation by the land-owner before or at the commencement of this Act, he was entitled to the restoration of the same leased out land provided that :

(1) the total extent of the land held by his landlord is in excess of or equivalent to $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres ;

(2) the landlord is assessed on account of sales, profession or income-tax ; and

(3) the landlord had not *bona fide* admitted some other cultivating tenant before the commencement of the Act.

III.4. (iv) A landlord is entitled to resume possession for his personal cultivation any extent of the land if he does not own more than $13\frac{1}{8}$ acres of wet land or its equivalent and if he is not assessed on account of sales, profession or income taxes. Even then he is entitled to resume only that much of the leased-out land which would make his total holding five acres of wet land or its equivalent. This limit of five acres introduces a double standard as between the landowner and tenant because

the maximum leasehold a tenant can cultivate is fixed at $6\frac{2}{3}$ acres; if the landlord does not cultivate the land he resumes or does not put it to the use for which it was resumed within a period of one year, he would forfeit his right.

III-4. (v) The Government of Tamil Nadu also enacted in 1956, the Madras Cultivating Tenants' Protection (Payment of Fair Rent) Act to abolish usury and rack-renting. The Act also defined the term 'tenant' much more rigorously in order to differentiate between an intermediary who does not cultivate the land and a cultivating tenant. The cultivating tenant is defined as a person cultivating not more than $6\frac{2}{3}$ acres of wet land or the equivalent thereof belonging to another under a tenancy agreement but one who also contributes his own physical labour or that of the members of his family in the cultivation. The procedure of fixing the fair rent involves three steps, namely, (1) the classification of land into three categories in which irrigation, its nature and intensity, is the most important criterion; (2) the determination of the normal gross produce of each category; and (3) the fixation of a percentage of the gross produce payable as fair rent for each category of land, the percentage being correlated in each case negatively to irrigation intensity. The rents thus fixed for the three classes are as follows:

(a) for wet land 40 per cent of the normal gross produce or its value in money of main and catch crops;

(b) for wet land where irrigation is supplemented by the lifting water of 35 per cent of normal gross produce or its value in money of main and catch crops; and

(c) for any other class of land, the rent to be $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent of the normal gross produce or its value in money of main and catch crops. Apart from this, in every harvest, the landowner is entitled to one-fifth of the straw. In the case of lands in item (b) in which water, is lifted by pumpsets installed at the cost of the landowner, the fair rent is 40 per cent. The fair rent may be paid either in cash or kind or partly in cash and partly in kind in accordance with the terms of the contract. The Collector of each district is required to publish the average market prices of the main crops in January, April, July and

October. Wherever the crop raised happens to be paddy, the landowner is granted the right to insist upon the rent being paid in kind. If the gross produce is reduced by more than 25 per cent due to adverse seasonal conditions, the Act requires the landowner to remit a fair or proportionate share of the rent.

III.4. (vi) In 1969, the Tamil Nadu Agricultural Lands Record of Tenancy Rights Act was adopted with a view to regulating the working of the other Acts, intended to protect the tenants. The implementation of the Act involved the preparation of a record of tenants in the State. In the first instance, the Act was implemented in the districts of Thanjavur, Tiruchy and Madurai with effect from December 19, 1969. Special staff were appointed to prepare the record of tenancy rights. For the other districts, the Act was implemented with effect from September 8, 1971. This Act enables the Government to maintain a list of actual tenants so that the intermediaries of landholders would not be benefitted by the measures that were meant to protect the rights of tenants.

III.4. (vii) *Kudiyiruppu Acts of 1964 and 1971*: In 1964, legislation was adopted to protect many agricultural labourers and tenants from being evicted from their *kudiyiruppu* or place of residence. This has the same precedence as that of the tenants' eviction from lands held. An act was passed in 1968 allowing that arrears of rent may be paid in three annual instalments as the earlier 1955 Act had envisaged the eviction of a tenant on the ground of non-payment of any arrears whatsoever. The earlier Act was liable to the interpretation that non-payment of rent as it fell due, without regard to natural calamities or the personal circumstance of the tenant, would attract the penalty of eviction. Many poor peasants were under threat of eviction from the places of their residence. The Government, by the Act of 1964, directed the owners not to evict the occupants of *kudiyiruppu* except for reasonable and justiciable causes like non-payment of rent over a sufficiently long period. In 1971, the Government conferred titles of ownership on the occupants of *kudiyiruppu*. This Act came into force in Thanjavur district with effect from January 15, 1971. There are six Authorized Officers assigned as Special Deputy Collectors (*kudiyiruppu*) and Additional Special Deputy Collec-

tors. A register of kudiyruppu is maintained as per the procedures laid down in the Act. The field staff would conduct the necessary enquiries and then fix compensation as per rules. After the completion of the procedures, *pattas* are issued to the *kudiyrupputar* concerned.

AGRICULTURAL WAGES

III-5. The Minimum Wages Act of 1948, passed by the Union Parliament, aims at securing for the workers in certain employments, where labour is exploited and not well organised a minimum wage to enable him and his family to subsist. Every person employed for hire or reward to do any work in a scheduled employment was to be covered by this Act, for which minimum wages were fixed. Section 27 of this Act empowers Madras State to add on by notification any employment to this category. In their notification dated November 29, 1959, the Madras Government fixed the minimum rates of wages for seven classes of workers employed in agriculture, and it came into force on December 10, 1959. These rates were to hold good throughout the State except in those areas in which the Tanjore Pannaiyals' Protection and the Tiruchy Kaieruwaram and Mattuwaram Acts were in force. The schedule of minimum wages as notified was as follows :

TABLE VI—Minimum Wage Rates as Fixed in 1959.

Class of Employees	Minimum rates of wages per day	
	Rs.	P.
1 Employees engaged in ploughing (without bullocks and ploughs)	1	25
2 Employees engaged in sowing and transplanting:		
Adults — Grade I	1	00
Adults — Grade II	1	87
Non-Adults	0	75
3. Other agricultural employees :		
Grade I	0	87
Grade II	0	75
Non-adults	0	62

Source : *Director of Statistics, Madras.*

III-5. (i) These minimum rates of wages were not revised until 1969 when the Government appointed a one-man commission to look into the matter and effect the revision. The Commission submitted its report in May 1969 and recommended the fixation of fair wages on the following scales, which the Government accepted with marginal changes and embodied in suitable legislation.

TABLE VII—Minimum Wage Rates as Fixed.

<i>Class of Employees</i>	<i>Rates per day</i> R. P.
1. Ploughing without bullocks (men)	3 00
2. Ploughing, where bullocks and plough are provided by the labour (men)	5 25
3. Transplantation and weeding (women)	1 80
4. Levelling, trimming the bund (men)	3 00
5. Plucking seedlings (men)	3 00
6. Off-season <i>maranathu</i> work (men)	2 50
7. Off-season <i>maranathu</i> work (women)	1 75
8. Wages for all other work during cultivation season (men)	3 00
9. Wages for all other work during cultivation season (women)	1 60

Source : K. S. Sonachalam : *Land Reforms in Tamil Nadu, Appendix IX.*

(The wages apply to day's work of eight hours' duration for men and seven in the case of woman.)

III-5. (ii) The *pannaiyal* system was also the object of study by the commission which made the following recommendations and comments on it :

The system of *Pannaiyal* has practically gone out of vogue except in the case of about 5 per cent of landholders. Under the *Pannaiyal's Protection Act* of 1952, the wage rates prescribed are 2 *marakkals* for men, one *marakkal*

for women and $\frac{3}{4}$ *marakkal* for others. These rates have not been altered since 1952 and do not apply where the 'Mayuram Agreement' applies. In the Mayuram Agreement the rates prescribed are one *marakkal* for men and $\frac{3}{4}$ for women. The Pannaiyal Protection Act may be amended to provide for registration, on a compulsory basis or annual contracts, wherever they are entered into, (under these contracts, landholders agree to pay a standard wage throughout the year plus an annual bonus of 15 to 16 kalams of paddy) and to provide for cases where the conditions of the contracts are broken, the labourer should be enabled to go to the Labour Court or Tribunal appointed under the Pannaiyal Protection Act for relief. The Pannaiyal Protection Act may also be amended making the Tahsildar or Labour Court the authority to maintain a register of annual contracts for enforcement purposes. Acting on the advice of the Commission, the Government incorporated the recommendations in a separate law.

III.5. (iii) Other rural and agrarian development programmes have been launched to assist the agrarian reform measures. Two of them, the Small Farmers' Development Agency and the Co-operative Movement are briefly described.

WELFARE OF SMALL AND MARGINAL FARMERS

III.6. *Small Farmers' Development Agency*: During the three plan periods, various programmes of rural development and agricultural extension were elaborated and executed. The small farmers in the State, however, have not benefitted in proportion either to their needs or numbers. The response to the development programmes has, as a consequence, been limited mainly to a small stratum of cultivators, which, by virtue of its position in rural societies, has been able to make use of the facilities offered by the Community Development and Extension Programmes and by the Reserve Bank through credit co-operatives. The study group appointed by the Government of India in its report on the welfare of weaker sections of the village community pointed to the present pattern of society and habits of thought in the Country and concluded that "the fruits of development are bound to be most unevenly distributed the weaker sections receiving the smallest portions". The All-India Rural Credit Review Committee has also concurred in this observation. In the Fourth Five Year Plan document, an increasing awareness of the significance and urgency of the problem of small farmers is also reflected in the emphasis laid on special arrangements for the small farmers both for purposes

of institutional credit and State assistance. The approach now is to correct these inadequacies and anomalies in our development programmes by identifying the problems of potentially viable small farmers in the specific context of their own environment and to devise such techniques as to help them to cross the development barrier.

III·7. The use and advantage of modern implements and machinery are well known to the big farmers. These farmers own and use implements like tractors, threshers and sprayers. Apart from the privately owned tractors and sprayers, the demand for the above machinery on hire from the Panchayat Unions and other agencies is also increasing. While all the facilities made available are utilised by big and medium-sized farmers, the smaller farmers are still starved in relation to their basic needs.

III·7. (i) Thus the objectives of the small farmers' scheme are :

1. to identify potentially viable small farmers in compact geographical units which command irrigation sources and can for that reason be taken up for productive agriculture ;
2. to upgrade sub-marginal and marginal levels of farming so as to obtain progressively increasing returns ;
3. to assist the small farmers in relation to specific requirements like irrigation and land improvement, providing them with the requisite technical know-how ;
4. introduction of new cropping patterns ;
5. to step up per-acre yield by using modern farming methods along with high yielding varieties ;
6. to educate the farmers on all aspects of improved scientific techniques ;
7. to provide adequate customer services for important agricultural operations, chiefly land preparation, manuring, harvesting ;

- 8 to provide adequate credit through the co-operative agencies or commercial banks in time and to recommended levels ;
9. to provide facilities for assured marketing of the produce grown through regulated markets or through co-operatives for realization of better profits ; and
10. to provide fresh incentives in certain sectors where there is a felt need to create an impact on the development programme.

III.7. (ii) The chief activity of the Small Farmers' Development Agency has been to investigate and identify the problems of the small farmers in the area of operation and formulate a programme incorporating suitable measures to be implemented either by itself or through other agencies. The various supplies and services to small farmers are made available as far as possible through existing institutions and authorities. Irrigation is the most important need in many areas. Individual farmers have been helped to secure loans from co-operative banks and other assistance for sinking wells on their own. In addition, the Agency promotes activities such as the digging and deepening of wells, construction of community wells, private tubewells for groups of farmers and State tubewells. The small cultivators are also provided with improved seeds, fertilizers and other inputs in the required quantities and at the right time from the local sales depots of co-operatives, Government or private retailers. The Agency has used the services of the Agro-Industries Corporation or other appropriate bodies and institutions including co-operatives and local authorities such as the Panchayat Unions and Extension Services for the use of implements or machinery, such as sprayers, tractors and levellers.

III.7. (iii) The Agency also helps small farmers to secure facilities for storage, transportation, processing and marketing of their agricultural produce. The Agency draws up plans for investment and production programmes and supervises their implementation by cultivators. Plans drawn up by individual

cultivators participating in the programme are not ruled out but the Agency concentrates on various model schemes to suit the needs of cultivators in different situations. These plans ensure in practice that, on the one hand, the credit and supply agencies do base their transactions with small farmers on the Agency's recommendations uninhibited by their normal prejudices and doubts and on the other that these operations do in fact lead to increased production in and viability of the farm economy and recovery of dues payable to the Agency. The Agency functions in this manner so as to add to the income of small farmers. It also assists them to take up subsidiary occupations such as animal husbandry and dairying, sheep farming and poultry rearing. Furthermore the Agency ensures the flow of short term, mid-term and long term co-operative credit to cultivators for appropriate purposes from credit societies and central co-operative banks on the one hand and land development agencies on the other; it works through established financial institutions for this purpose. The role envisaged for the Agency is that of a catalyst and intermediary rather than a full-fledged executive organisation which mobilises the credit and assistance potential of existing institutions in the service of small farmers. As against this, it makes *ad hoc* grants to these institutions, from its own funds so as to (a) compensate them for risk-taking through loan insurance, re-discounting and re-financing facilities in respect of aid given to small farmers and (b) to enable them to employ special staff, technical as well as supervisory, for this purpose. It is clear that an extension role in the matter of green revolution technology is also envisaged for this Agency.

III-8. *Credit Agencies*: For the benefit of the agriculturists both the Governments of India and Tamil Nadu have enacted much enabling legislation to facilitate the disbursement of easy credit. The Reserve Bank of India's directives to the State Bank of India, the nationalised banks and the co-operative agencies are cases in point. The RBI has fixed a certain percentage of the deposits mobilised by the commercial banks to be used as credit for farmers. In fact, one of the main objectives of bank nationalisation was to secure a favoured treatment for the agrarian sector. Many new branches of the nationalised

banks have been started in the rural areas for the benefit of the rural community at the rate of two lead banks for each State. The State Bank of India has a number of schemes for providing credit to the farmers and has played a notable and pioneering role in the development of self-liquidating rural credit. The Intensive Agricultural Development Programme, the Village Adoption Scheme and the various direct and indirect financing methods are undertaken by the State Bank of India. The Village Adoption Scheme started by the State Bank of India marks a new beginning. Although the financing of farmers through the IADP and by direct and indirect means have been in existence ever since the RBI was made statutorily responsible for the specified function of rural credit extension, the Bank felt the need to establish closer rapport with the farming community. Hence certain villages have been adopted by the Bank so that the village may be developed into a self-sustaining viable unit. Only those villages having intrinsic potentialities for conversion into viable units are adopted. All the credit needs of the village, viz., for irrigation, high yielding seeds, modern implements and for any other improvement purposes, are met by the State Bank of India. Generally banks and other credit institutions advance credit through co-operative agencies. The co-operatives themselves raise funds, accept deposits, dispose of owned funds to provide loans. Besides they receive Government grants and refinancing facilities from the Government as well as their own apex institutions. In advancing loans, preference is given to co-operative farming units.

CO-OPERATIVE FARMS

III-9. In the State there are four types of farming units organised on a co-operative basis: (a) Co-operative Land Colonisation Societies; (b) Co-operative Joint Farming Societies; (c) Co-operative Tenant Farming Societies; and (d) Co-operative Collective Farming Societies.

III-9. (i) *Land Colonisation Societies* : The earliest attempt of this kind was the formation of land colonisation societies for settling landless persons, mostly Harijans as also ex-servicemen with an agricultural bias, on Government lands. These societies are designed not only to improve the economic

condition of the categories of persons mentioned above but also to increase the food production by reclaiming wastelands and bringing them under the plough. Usually Government wastelands available in compact blocks are assigned to these societies. They hold the lands on the *ryotwari* mode of tenure. Compact plots of three to four acres are cultivated by labour-intensive methods; they keep all the produce and pay all the taxes and rates to local bodies and the Union and State Governments. The land colonisation society is formed on an unlimited liability basis for purposes of agricultural colonisation, for securing of agricultural land from Government, dividing it according to its own needs and those approved by the Government. In the admission of members to these societies, the following order of preference is maintained: Harijans, landless labour and deserving persons in neighbouring communities.

III-9. (ii) No person owning five acres or more of land is eligible for admission to the land colonisation societies. There are 56 such societies formed for the benefit of Harijans, six societies for the welfare of ex-servicemen and there are 25 co-operative land colonisation societies exclusively organised for the benefit of economically backward agriculturists of communities other than Harijans. These societies are aided by the Government, the Central Bank, co-operative credit institutions and other credit agencies.

III-9. (iii) *Joint Farming Societies* : It came to be recognised that the existing system, under which small scattered holdings were owned and cultivated by poor peasants or tenants without adequate resources or knowledge of farming techniques, did not conduce to the achievement of maximum agricultural production and which could be maximised by the pooling together of resources skills and capacity, for aid absorption on a voluntary basis. The Tamil Nadu Government, therefore, decided to encourage the formation of joint farming societies distinguished by the following demonstrable characteristics: landholders pool their lands and entrust them for cultivation to the society, and individual ownership is retained. In a way these societies bring about consolidation of odd and uneconomic

pieces of land. The society farms the land on its own account and it is open to the erstwhile landowners to work in the farm for which they are paid current wages. The co-operative can and does often hire labourers. The lands are divided into blocks suitable for cultivation purposes. The income from the pooled lands, less expenses, constitutes the profits of the society. Each member is entitled to a share in the profits in proportion to the value of the land contributed by him to the pool. Each member will also have to pay for any improvement made on his plot of land.

III.9. (iv) The joint farming societies are registered on an unlimited liability basis. The members who pool lands for joint farming are under an obligation to hypothecate lands or create a charge in respect of them for the amounts borrowed by the societies, and the loans raised by them are thus covered by tangible security, provided by the land. There are at present two classes of members in the joint farming societies: landowners are A class members who have a share in the profits of enterprise and are paid wages for labour, can vote at general body meetings and B class members are agricultural workers who are paid only wages. Since most A class members turned out to be absentee-owners in effect, the Madras Committee on Co-operative Farming recommended that there should be only one class of membership in the joint farming societies. The Government has accepted this recommendation.

III.9. (v) *Tenant Farming Societies*: Another type of farming society is the co-operative tenant farming society. The lands belonging to religious institutions, such as temples, *mutts*, *chattrams* are taken on lease by private individuals either by auction or by private negotiation. In their turn, they sub-lease them to the cultivating tenants. By this arrangement the tillers are not able to derive the full benefit of their labour. With a view to eliminating these intermediaries between the tenants and the temples and providing the tenants with credit and other facilities for carrying on intensive cultivation, co-operative tenants' farming societies were brought into existence. These societies also help the tenants in securing a greater share of the produce for themselves without at the same time affect-

ing the income of the corporate owner. A co-operative tenants' farming society takes the land on lease from the temples or other religious institutions, sub-leases it to its members, collects rentals for the lands at the rates fixed and pays the rental due to the temple. The members carry on cultivation individually on their own account as in the case of the land colonisation societies. The main difference between these two types of societies is, however, that a land colonisation society does not play the role of an intermediate lessee and generally gets its land on alienation from the Government. The tenants' farming society and the joint farming society differ from each other in the pattern of organisation and the mode of their working. A tenants' farming society is also based on the unlimited liability of its members and takes the land on lease from the temple and distributes it amongst its members—mostly landless persons for cultivation individually on their own account. There is no question of pooling or sharing of produce by members in a tenants' farming society and each member is entitled to what he produces after paying rental due to the society and the loans. The order of preference for admission to membership is as follows: (i) persons who are already cultivating the identical land either as tenants or as *pannaiyals*; (ii) other landless persons residing in the area of operations of the society; and (iii) near relations of the persons specified in clauses (i) and (ii) above. As the tenants' farming societies are formed for the benefit of the landless agricultural workers who fall under the term "cultivating tenant" according to definition and as these societies are based on unlimited liability, their membership is not open to any institution or public trusts like Devasthanams, temples. Each tenant-member, to whom the land is allotted, has only an occupancy right in his holding as long as he cultivates the land, pays his dues, abides by the bye-laws of the society and carries out the instructions of the society in the cultivation of the holding. If he fails to abide by these conditions and is consequently expelled from the society or if he relinquishes his holding, the land will be transferred to a fresh member. These conditions are not, however, applicable to the members who on account of their joining the defence services are unable to cultivate the land themselves. Such members are entitled to nominate any person

pieces of land. The society farms the land on its own account and it is open to the erstwhile landowners to work in the farm for which they are paid current wages. The co-operative can and does often hire labourers. The lands are divided into blocks suitable for cultivation purposes. The income from the pooled lands, less expenses, constitutes the profits of the society. Each member is entitled to a share in the profits in proportion to the value of the land contributed by him to the pool. Each member will also have to pay for any improvement made on his plot of land.

III-9. (iv) The joint farming societies are registered on an unlimited liability basis. The members who pool lands for joint farming are under an obligation to hypothecate lands or create a charge in respect of them for the amounts borrowed by the societies, and the loans raised by them are thus covered by tangible security, provided by the land. There are at present two classes of members in the joint farming societies: landowners are A class members who have a share in the profits of enterprise and are paid wages for labour, can vote at general body meetings and B class members are agricultural workers who are paid only wages. Since most A class members turned out to be absentee-owners in effect, the Madras Committee on Co-operative Farming recommended that there should be only one class of membership in the joint farming societies. The Government has accepted this recommendation.

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ing the income of the corporate owner. A co-operative tenants' farming society takes the land on lease from the temples or other religious institutions, sub-leases it to its members, collects rentals for the lands at the rates fixed and pays the rental due to the temple. The members carry on cultivation individually on their own account as in the case of the land colonisation societies. The main difference between these two types of societies is, however, that a land colonisation society does not play the role of an intermediate lessee and generally gets its land on alienation from the Government. The tenants' farming society and the joint farming society differ from each other in the pattern of organisation and the mode of their working. A tenants' farming society is also based on the unlimited liability of its members and takes the land on lease from the temple and distributes it amongst its members—mostly landless persons for cultivation individually on their own account. There is no question of pooling or sharing of produce by members in a tenants' farming society and each member is entitled to what he produces after paying rental due to the society and the loans. The order of preference for admission to membership is as follows: (i) persons who are already cultivating the identical land either as tenants or as *pannaiyals*; (ii) other landless persons residing in the area of operations of the society; and (iii) near relations of the persons specified in clauses (i) and (ii) above. As the tenants' farming societies are formed for the benefit of the landless agricultural workers who fall under the term "cultivating tenant" according to definition and as these societies are based on unlimited liability, their membership is not open to any institution or public trusts like Devasthanams, temples. Each tenant-member, to whom the land is allotted, has only an occupancy right in his holding as long as he cultivates the land, pays his dues, abides by the bye-laws of the society and carries out the instructions of the society in the cultivation of the holding. If he fails to abide by these conditions and is consequently expelled from the society or if he relinquishes his holding, the land will be transferred to a fresh member. These conditions are not, however, applicable to the members who on account of their joining the defence services are unable to cultivate the land themselves. Such members are entitled to nominate any person

of their choice for the cultivation of the lands allotted to them and also have the right to resume the said lands for their personal cultivation on their return from military service.

III-9. (vi) *Collective Farming Societies* : It was not until 1958-59 that collective farming societies came into existence in Tamil Nadu. Land, whether freehold or leasehold, is tilled collectively by members who are paid wages. The yield belongs to the society. After meeting the expenses, the profits are divided as in every other co-operative society and the members are given a bonus on the wages earned by them which incidentally makes labour by members compulsory. The collective farming society and the joint farming society are almost identical in their *modus operandi*. In the former, ownership vests with the society; while in the latter, it vests in the individual members. Though in the collective farming society and tenants' farming society, the ownership of the land does not vest with the individual members, these two differ from each other in their set-up and mode of working too. While in the case of the former, the cultivation is done on the society's account by the members who are paid wages, the yield belongs to the society; in the case of the latter, the cultivation is done individually on the members' account and the yield belongs to the members who pay the rental due to the society. The following table gives particulars in respect of the number of societies in Tamil Nadu under each of the categories mentioned above :

TABLE VIII

<i>Society</i>	<i>Number</i>
1. Land Colonisation Society	
(a) for Harijans	56
(b) for ex-Servicemen	6
(c) for Civilians	25
2. Joint Farming Societies	15
3. Tenant Farming Societies	63
4. Collective Farming Societies	3
Total	.... 168

Source : *A Note of An Administrative Reforms Commission Meeting at the Office of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, January 1973.*

Note : The above figures exclude Bhoodan and Gramdhan Societies.

III-10. *Amendments to the Ceiling Law* : Under several amendments of the Tamil Nadu Land Reform (Fixation of Ceiling) Act 1961 and (Reduction of Ceiling) Act 1970, the exemptions from the ceiling limit granted in the case of grazing lands, dairy farming and livestock breeding establishments were revoked by law with the sanction of the legislature. The ceiling allowed to a family consisting of more than five members was reduced from 40 standard acres, as fixed by the 1970 Act, to 30 standard acres with effect from March 1972. Charitable, religious and educational institutions, for whose continued exemptions from the ceiling limit, eloquent cases were made out in the year 1972-73 sessions of the legislature, were debarred from acquiring further land with effect from March 1, 1972. By the fifth amendment of the ceiling law, co-operative societies will no longer enjoy exemptions from the ceiling in respect of lands not assigned by the Government. For the first time the quantum of compensation will vary inversely with the size of the land that falls surplus under the ceiling law. Under the sixth amendment, the ownership of land declared as surplus vests with the Government from the day of the commencement of the law. Even if production is carried on by the owner on the land, he is liable to pay the Government for the occupation and use of the land. Hitherto the owner was entitled to the proceeds of the standing crops and the produce generally until the notification was actually issued. The time limit for preferring objections against the enforcement of the ceiling law by the owners and mortgagees has been fixed at 30 and 60 days respectively.

III-11. These were some of the important agrarian reform measures enacted by the State and Union Governments. All these measures have one thing in common in that they attempt to correct the existing agrarian situation and to lay the foundations of a new era of social endeavour and shared prosperity.

CHAPTER IV

EVALUATION OF REFORM MEASURES

PART A : OBJECTIVES OF REFORM

IV(a). 1. As pointed out earlier, the reform measures introduced in Tamil Nadu between 1948 and 1972 were addressed to the rectification of counter-productive phenomena in several segments of the agrarian economy and thus it is that most of these measures were specific and covered only the limited chosen spheres. Other legislation was designed to remove age-old disparities in agrarian relations and to eliminate the remnants of a traditional land system that had received colonial sanction. For purposes of analysis, this chapter is divided into two parts. The first part of this chapter examines the implementation of the reform measures, generally dealing with the extent of implementation coverage, official evaluation of progress and the presentation of actual data incidental to the above purpose. The second part is analytical. For the purpose of the latter certain hypotheses are formed and they are tested against the performance. To recapitulate the hypotheses referred to in Chapter I :

1. A more equitable pattern of distribution of land has emerged in the wake of the land reform measures ;
2. they have moreover effectively abolished intermediaries and restored tenant-farmers to their rightful status ;
3. the measures have succeeded in improving the economic status of small and marginal farmers ;
4. the overall economic status of agricultural labourers has improved ; and
5. agricultural production and productivity have increased due to the reform measures.

IV(a).2. The land ceiling legislation avowedly sought to fulfil many of these objectives based on certain expectations, or hypotheses. The surplus land obtained from the enforcement of ceiling limits was to be distributed among the many landless persons. This distribution was expected to improve the economic position and status of the landless. There have been many criticisms of this legislation. Even at the time of introduction of the Bill many members of the legislature objected to the law expressing the view that the surplus that would accrue would not be sufficient for redistribution on the scale hoped for. The Government furnished the following particulars to the legislature with regard to surplus lands above ceilings as on April 1960.

TABLE IX—Land in Excess of Ceiling.

Persons owning more than 30 standard acres....	9,671
Area owned in standard acres :	
Wet	...3,19,613
Irrigated dry	... 38,660
Garden	... 42,155
Dry	... 1,71,807
Total	...5,72,235

Source : *Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, 14-4-1960.*

LOW LEVELS OF REALIZED SURPLUS

IV(a).3. Applying the rule that only 30 standard acres of agricultural land could be owned by a person as per the ceiling law, the surplus was estimated at 2,82,105 standard acres. Accepting this estimate, many members pleaded that the date for the retro-active commencement of the Act should be pushed as far back as 1955 so that undesirable transfers of land in the interim could be avoided or nullified. The Government stipulated that the Act was to begin from 1960. This concession in the matter of the date of commencement had its effect on the implementation of the Act as can be seen presently. Eleven

years after the introduction of the Act, only 38,043 ordinary acres have been notified as surplus, out of which redistribution work on an extent of 6,972 acres was held up by stay orders or injunctions. In 114 acres, standing crops had to be harvested before the redistribution could be effected. Excluding the area covered by the above two items, an extent of only 28,104 acres was actually taken possession of by the Government. Out of this only 20,977 acres were assigned to those persons found suitable by the Authorized Officers. The break-up particulars are set forth in the following table :

**TABLE X—Notified Surplus Area under Ceiling Law
as on July 1, 1972.**

Extent taken possession of	... 28,104 acres
Covered by stay after taking possession	... 1,694 acres
Extent covered by pending notices	... 4,491 acres
Net extent available for assignment	... 21,919 acres
Extent assigned	... 20,977 acres
Extent yet to be assigned	... 942 acres

Source : *Land Reforms Progress Report 1972, Board of Revenue.*

IV(a). 3. (i) Between the extent of land taken over and the extent assigned to new owners, there is a gap of 25.4 per cent in distribution. In other words the implementation of the ceiling Act of 1961 as on 1972, had resulted in the distribution of only 74.6 per cent of the lands taken possession of by the State. In fact only 20,977 acres have been redistributed and this, apart from the land that the State could not take possession of but which in their view came under the purview of the ceiling law, should be compared to the surplus of 21,82,105 standard acres as estimated by the State Government and to the surplus of 38,043 acres as notified in 1972.

TABLE XI—Stages in Ceiling Enforcement.

1. Surplus to ceiling as estimated by Government	... 2,182,105 standard acres
2. Actually taken possession of by the State	... 28,104 acres
3. Extent under dispute in courts	... 6,972 acres
4. Actually distributed by the Government to landless	... 20,977 acres

Source : *Assembly Debates; Vol. XXXI and Land Reforms Progress Report, 1972, Board of Revenue.*

IV(a).3. (ii) Even between the notified surplus and that actually distributed, there is a gap of nearly 45 per cent. About 25 per cent of the lands taken possession of are yet to be assigned to landless persons. This shortfall should be seen in relation to the number of cases disposed of by the land board.

Out of the 2,652 cases identified as being in excess of the ceiling area, draft statements* specifying the extent of the surplus were sent in 2,306 cases. The remaining cases were in the following stages as on August, 1972.

TABLE XII

Cases covered by stay	.... 38
Kept in abeyance	....191
Enquiry pending	....117
Total	346

Source : *Land Reforms Progress Report 1972, Board of Revenue.*

SLOW IMPLEMENTATION

IV(a).3. (iii) While the gross coverage appears to be large, over 13 per cent of the cases are still being examined and a

* Draft statements contained in notifications are sent to individual land-owners affected by the Ceiling Law of 1961,

decision is yet to be taken about them. The total number of cases, viz., 2652 where the holding is in excess of the ceiling area, is small compared to the number of persons who possessed 30 standard acres and more as furnished to the legislature in 1960. In all 9,671 cases of persons had been notified as those in possession of land above the ceiling limit, while by 1972 the number notified had decreased to 2,652 out of which draft statements were prepared only in 2,306 cases. Out of these 2,306 cases, final statements* with a view to taking possession of the surplus land by the Government had been got ready in 1,654 cases. The break-up for the remaining cases is as follows :

TABLE XIII—Progress in Ceiling Surplus Acquisition.

Dropped after enquiry	...	...	327 cases
Covered by stay	...	...	117 cases
Kept in abeyance	...	...	19 cases
Draft statements to be published	...	...	36 cases
Awaiting expiry of time limit for preferring objections	...	...	44 cases
Pending enquiry	...	...	109 cases
Total	...	...	652 cases

Source : *Land Reforms Progress Report 1972 ; Board of Revenue.*

IV(a). 3. (iv) (i) Following the preparation of draft statements notifying surplus lands that attracted acquisition proceedings under the new law; (ii) following the examination of objection preferred by those affected by the law; but (iii) before

* Final statements are according to this procedure, issued after any objections raised, by the department on the Draft Statement have been disposed of after due procedure.

the submission of the final statements by the Authorised Officers to the Government for acquisition proceedings, 327 cases were dropped. Since the law came into force with retro-active effect and since notification included cases in which there existed a *prima facie* case for investigation if not official action, it was perhaps inevitable that a good portion of the surplus turned out to be a mythical one. Perhaps a time limit for the official disposal of cases comparable to that for filing of objections by those affected under the ceiling law would both meet the ends of justice and of speedy and concerted agricultural reform.

IV(a).3. (v) The progress in land acquisition made under the Land Ceilings Act of 1970 has not been encouraging. The surplus that the Act is expected to yield finally has not yet been notified. Out of a total of 75,056 cases where holdings were believed to be in excess of the prescribed ceiling, investigations were completed in 43,333 cases and action dropped in 40,683 cases; 2,645* cases have been reverted to the authorised officers for detailed enquiry. The progress made under this Act as on July 1972, in the preparation of draft notification of surplus and the preparation of final statements which marks the beginning of acquisition proceedings, are as under :

TABLE XIV—Progress in Issue of Final Statements.

	Number prepared	Number published	Extent of surplus
1. Draft Statement	503	402	7,333 acres
2. Final Statement	89	27	N. A.

Source : *Land Reforms Progress Report 1972, Board of Revenue.*

IV(a). 3. (vi) Nearly 45·8 per cent of the notified cases were dropped in the event. This is a large number considering the

* Later figures for many of the items are, however, now available; *Vide Tamil Arasu*, P. 11, April 1973. Assuming continuity of these two figures, out of the 2,645 cases reverted to Authorised Officers for further verification, it has been found possible to issue actual notifications only in 1,617 cases, and the "probable extent of surplus" realizable from these has been estimated at 20,471 acres.

extent of the notified surplus so far. Only 7,333 acres have been finally notified as surplus which would presumably be ready for acquisition and this surplus which has crossed the final hurdle has not been acquired. This would suggest that a further reduction in the ceiling limit towards which opinion appears to be veering, if the past is any guide, would meet with the same fate as that of the 1961 ceiling Act. Recently the exemption granted to hill areas from the ceiling law was amended. This is expected to yield a further sizeable surplus. According to the figures furnished by the authorized officers, an extent of 32,670 acres is likely to be declared surplus.

TABLE XV

<i>District</i>	<i>Surplus in acres</i>
North Arcot	7,830
Tiruchirapalli	90
Coimbatore	2,550
Nilgiris	2,000
Tirunelveli	200
Madurai	20,000
Total	32,670

Source : *Land Reforms Progress Report 1972, Board of Revenue.*

IV(a). 3. (vii) The precise results of the amendment can only be judged from the implementation thereof. If all the surplus is taken over as planned for and distributed to landless persons it can make a dent on the landholding pattern in these areas to begin with. The experience of the previous legislation suggests that much less than the estimated surplus can be hoped for.

CONCENTRATION OF HOLDINGS

IV(a). 4. With the above figures, it would be appropriate to consider the landholdings pattern in Tamil Nadu for 1961.

The figures provided by the *Census of India, 1961* reveal clearly that there has been a concentration of holdings in cultivated land. The 1961 Census had expressed the hope that, with the enactment of the ceiling legislation, land concentration would be reduced. The following table illustrates the situation as obtaining in 1961 :

TABLE XVI—**Distribution of Land Holdings 1961.**

<i>Size of holding</i>	<i>Area in percentage</i>	<i>Area in acres</i>	<i>Percentage of Households</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Less than 1 acre	1.62	240867.29	14.80
Up to 2.4 acres	12.38	1840701.85	33.21
Up to 4.9 acres	19.43	2888920.60	25.33
Up to 7.4 acres	16.74	2488961.96	12.52
Up to 9.9 acres	7.94	1180547.07	4.21
Up to 12.4 acres	9.65	1434795.87	3.96
Up to 14.9 acres	3.34	496602.92	1.12
Up to 29.9 acres	16.35	2430975.39	3.51
Up to 49.9 acres	6.79	1009561.03	0.80
50+	5.47	813298.80	0.34
Unspecified	0.29	43118.22	0.20
Total	100.00	14868351.00	100.00

Source: *Census of India, 1961; Vol. IX, Part I A (ii) Madras.*
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IV(a).4.(i) 4.65 per cent of the households in the size-classes above 15 acres together hold 28.61 per cent of the total cultivated land in the State. As against this, 73.34 per cent of the households holding below five acres of land together possess only 33.43 per cent of the total cultivated land. It is apparent from the 1961 Census that concentration in the ownership of cultivated lands surveyed is of a high degree. Not only does the lower group of households possess only about 35 per cent of the lands; their holding sizes are small. The extent of holding by the top bracket and the degree of inequality it implies, and the average for the top bracket in relation to the overall average are all high. The expected surplus, if the ceiling were to be enforced, would be high-even higher than the surplus as estimated in the presentation to the legislature (*vide* Table VIII). It has been noticed previously that the actual surplus distributed so far has been only about 20,000 acres. But this distribution has not seriously altered the holding pattern in lands.

PROTECTION OF TENANCY

IV(a).5. Another issue in land reform is the progress achieved in legislative protection of tenancy and the promotion of the living standards of tenants. The measures were aimed at the prevention of arbitrary and unauthorized evictions of tenants and the fixation of fair rents payable by them. As pointed out earlier, (*vide* Chapter III) the definition of a tenant has been made rigorous, and the registration of tenants has begun. Under certain conditions, eviction petitions were granted and landlords were permitted to resume personal cultivation. At the same time, the tenants dispossessed by this resumption could also appeal to the authorities for the restoration of their tenancy.

TABLE XVII—Applications Filed and Disposed off under the Tenants Protection Act, 1955 as on 30-6-1967.

Sl. No.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Total	By landlords for eviction of tenants	By landlords for resumption of personal cultivation	Total applications filed by landlords	By tenants for Restoration		
1.	Total Applications (2+3+4 below)	18,683	16,428	1,622	18,050	633	
2.	Total Disposed off (5+6 below)	11,513	10,583	560	11,143	370	
3.	(a) Area Involved (acres)	22,596.51	20,344.69	1,658.45	22,003.14	597.37	
	(b) Not Pursued or Withdrawn	5,812	4,563	1,012	5,575	237	
4.	Applications pending Disposal	1,358	1,282	50	1,332	26	
5.	(a) Unfavourably Disposed off	8,221	7,418	506	7,924	297	
	(b) Area Involved (acres) in 5 above	15,031.37	13,548.35	923.44	14,571.79	459.58	
6.	(a) Evicted, Resumed or Restored	3,192	3,165	154	3,319	73	
	(b) Area Involved (acres)	7,365.14	6,696.34	735.01	7,431.35	133.79	

Source: K. S. Sonachalam, Land Reforms in Tamil Nadu.

EVICTION OF TENANTS AND RESUMPTION BY LANDLORDS

IV(a).6. In all, 3,165 tenants were evicted as on 1967 and 154 landlords were allowed to resume the cultivation of their own land. 73 tenants were restored to their former lands. Although the gross coverage of cases disposed of appears to be substantial, 38 per cent of the cases had remained undisposed of during the 12 years 1955 to 1967. Among these, 5,812 cases were withdrawn and many cases settled outside court. The extent of the area involved in the case of evicted tenants and the resumption by landlords add up to about 7,400 acres. The restored tenancy covered only about 135 acres of land. Out of 18,050 applications filed by landlords, 16,428 applications sought leave to evict tenants while only 1,622 applications were for the resumption of cultivation. The districtwise figures become more revealing.

TABLE XVIII—(Districtwise) Applications by Landlords for Eviction, 1967.

District	Total filed	Total evicted	Extent involved (acres)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
STATE	16,428	3,165	6,691.14
Chingleput	536	49	225.87
South Arcot	836	105	201.32
North Arcot	53	7	36.15
Salem	374	73	285.47
Dharmapuri	38	4	26.25
Coimbatore	1,282	68	365.74
Tiruchirapalli	2,375	1,276	2,498.41
Thanjavur	8,461	1,271	2,548.68
Madurai	780	82	171.42
Ramanathapuram	587	59	227.33
Tirunelveli	922	171	104.50

Source : K. S. Sonachalam, *Land Reforms in Tamil Nadu*.

IV(a).6. Out of all the applications filed, Thanjavur ranks highest accounting for 47 per cent of the applications. 80 per cent of the tenants, on whom eviction orders were passed on the basis of landlords' applications, come from Tiruchirapalli and Thanjavur, which has the largest proportion of tenant households (33 per cent of all the cultivating households of Thanjavur) in 1961. The extent of area involved in the evictions was therefore, highest in Thanjavur, accounting for about 2,550 acres. Coimbatore and Ramanathapuram occupy the first two places in respect of number of landlords allowed to resume cultivation, while Coimbatore and Thanjavur occupy the first two places in respect of number of applications for resumption by landlords for personal cultivation. The case of Thanjavur is explained by the fact that it has a large number of tenants and that cultivation in the district is clearly more profitable than in any other district. In the case of Coimbatore many landlords took back their lands from their tenants for commercial purposes. This is also evidenced by the fact that the majority of the available tractors in the State are being used in Coimbatore. The districtwise figures of landlords who resumed cultivation are as follows :

TABLE XIX—**Resumption for Personal Cultivation : Districtwise Details, 1967**

District	Total Filed	Allowed to Resume	Extent Allowed (acres)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
STATE	1,622	154	735.01
Chingleput	36	9	28.03
South Arcot	15	2	6.51
North Arcot	94	18	77.36
Salem	6	—	—
Coimbatore	740	58	344.84
Tiruchirapalli	35	3	2.18
Thanjavur	420	28	166.66
Madurai	29	1	1.53
Ramanathapuram	236	35	107.90
Tirunelveli	10	—	—

Source : K. S. Sonachalam , *Land Reforms in Tamil Nadu*, Table 3.37.

IV(a).6.(i) The total number of tenants who applied for restoration of their former leaseholds from which they were alienated was 633 for the entire State, of which only 73 were restored. The number of such applications for resumption of tenancy is low considering the number of persons who had been evicted. As against this number of applicants who actually had their leaseholds restored to them, the low figure of tenants resorting to court action for the same purpose is significant. The districtwise figures for the number of applicants from among the dispossessed tenants are as follows :

TABLE XX—Applications for Restoration of Tenancy, 1967.

District	Total filed	Number Restored	Extent Involved (acres)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
STATE	633	73	133.79
Chingleput	45	10	4.60
South Arcot	60	7	9.07
North Arcot	1	—	—
Salem	5	1	2.44
Coimbatore	70	7	3.00
Tiruchirapalli	57	1	0.40
Thanjavur	190	18	59.64
Madurai	159	24	38.93
Ramanathapuram	30	3	14.00
Tirunelveli	16	2	1.51

Source : *K. S. Sonachalam, Land Reforms in Tamil Nadu Table 3.38.*

A RECORD OF TENANCY RIGHTS

IV(a).7. As pointed out earlier, 80 per cent (refer Table XVII) of the total number of tenants evicted belong to Tiruchirapalli and Thanjavur whereas only 26 persons were

restored to their tenancy. Only one person was restored to his leasehold as against 57 persons who applied for such restoration from Tiruchirapalli. In all, 1,276 persons have been evicted in that district. This low proportion of restored tenancy to total number of applications by those evicted from the leasehold and seeking resumption holds true for all the districts. Likewise the number of tenants seeking court action has been very small. By inference, tenants are unable effectively to derive the benefits conferred on them by the Act because of the hold of the landlords on the land and much of their powers for arbitrary eviction remain unextinguished in practice. A high percentage of oral leases, settlements out of court, compromise and even withdrawal of the application filed in court in many cases account for the inability of tenants to avail themselves of the due process of law. An Act to ensure the registration of tenancy under the new law was expected to solve the problem. At first, this register was sought to be introduced only in Thanjavur, Tiruchirapalli and Madurai, but it has now been extended to the whole State by the 1972 amending law. The following table presents the progress achieved in the drawing up of a register of tenants for each district bringing up the figures to April 1973.

TABLE XXI—Progress of Tenancy Registration.

District	Number as on	
	31.8.1972	April 1973
	I	II
1. Thanjavur	1,22,177	1,24,393
2. Tiruchirapalli	57,827	57,909
3. Madurai	35,871	35,880
4. Chingleput	5,015	11,738
5. North Arcot	24,696	31,559
6. South Arcot	7,695	11,626
7. Salem	5,410	8,883
8. Dharmapuri	3,452	8,804

9. Coimbatore	...	12,506	12,574
10. Nilgiris	....	222	1,189
11. Ramanathapuram	....	7,894	15,146
12. Tirunelveli	...	31,333	64,891
13. Kanyakumari	....	3,374	3,891

Note : Districts 4-12 in the above table evidence a high rate of progress in the registration of tenants but this is to be attributed really to the fact cited above that registration was begun later in these places. Column II setting forth the situation as in April 1973 was a subsequent addition to the original table, effected when later figures became available and after the analysis of the figures that follow had been formulated. The substance of the following analysis which relates to the performance in the first three districts, remains in our belief unaffected however.

Source: *Record of Tenants: Land Reforms Progress Report: Col: I Tamil Arasu April 1973, Col, II. Cencos of India, 1971.*

IV(a)7.(i) The Tamil Nadu record of Tenancy Rights Act has been in force since 1969 and, the Act was introduced in the first instance in Thanjavur, Tiruchirapalli and Madurai. Only in Thanjavur has the registration of tenants been made on any significant scale. It has been argued in criticism of this legislation that the number of tenants registered in Thanjavur, the first among the districts to commence registry operation, account for only 40 percent of the total number of its tenants which is not a very impressive figure, taking into account that the object of the legislation is to protect tenants as a class as distinguished from land owners.

SMALL FARMERS

IV(a).8. Of the 8,41,830 landholders (pattadars) in Tirunelveli district, the small farmers, in wet and dry areas taken together form 12.2 per cent of the total, the number of small farmers being 84,388 in the dry areas and 18,085 in the wet areas. Of the total area of 19,61,618 acres available for-

cultivation, the area held by small farmers is 3,42,730 acres of dry and 40,080 acres of wet land forming 19.3 per cent of the total cropped area (17.3 per cent in dry and 2.0 percent in wet). of these 3,42,730 acres in dry and 40,080 acres of wet lands in Tirunelveli, the Small Farmers Development Agency Scheme sought to cover 2,32,679 acres of dry and 8,843 acres of wet lands. The total number of small farmers to be covered are 59,169 in dry areas and 4,160 in wet areas respectively. As on August 1972 only 16,135 small farmers had been identified in this district and a sum of Rs. 1.6 crores for four years had been earmarked to be spent on amelioration of and improvement of the farm economies of small farmers, who will have been identified by then. In Madurai district it was estimated that 1,40,211 small farmers cultivating a total of 4,99,914 acres would come under the purview of Small Farmers' Scheme. The objective was to confer scheme benefits on 50,000 of these small farmers. Only 15,722 small farmers, had however, been identified in this district as on August 1972. In South Arcot district, it was estimated that the occupation of 1.13 lakhs small farmers could be made viable and as per the desiderata of the scheme 50,000 small farmers could be helped. Only 11,977 small farmers, had however been identified. Lack of participative enthusiasm on the part of the farmers and rather an unimaginative attempt at implementation by the administration can be construed as the main factors responsible for the mal-development. However, these Agencies have been in existence for only three years now which is a short period for judging their performance.

EVALUATION OF CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

IV(a).9. *Land Colonisation Societies*: Of the 56 Land Colonisation Societies formed for the benefit of Harijans, only five have been shown as working profitably, the remaining working at a loss. The lands assigned to these societies are mostly barren or virgin lands which require heavy amounts of investment for reclamation and in certain cases, the soils are found to be rocky and alkaline in composition. A little below three-fourths of the lands have been reclaimed and about the same portion has been brought under cultivation. Financial assis-

9. Coimbatore	...	12,506	12,574
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tance to the tune of Rs. 19.93 lakhs (utilised Rs 14.18 lakhs) as loan and Rs. 16.09 lakhs (utilised Rs. 11.50 lakhs) as subsidy was sanctioned for reclamation, the digging of wells, the purchase of draught cattle, agricultural implements, etc. These societies have a paid-up share capital of Rs. 0.37 lakhs. The produce for 1971-1972 harvested by these societies during 1971-72 was valued at Rs. 14.43 lakhs. In view of increase in the cost of living and increases in the cost of labour, of materials, the quantum of assistance sanctioned to these societies, whose members are landless Harijans, was found to be inadequate resulting in unfinished programmes. This in turn affected the income from the lands and the members could not repay the loans obtained from the societies. This default led to the discontinuance of further financial assistance with result that members' arrears to the Government and the refinancing co-operative central banks mounted in turn.

IV (a).9.(i) Of the six Land Colonisation Societies formed for the benefit of ex-servicemen, three societies worked at a profit; two worked at a loss, and the remaining one society just about broke even. To these societies, Government have assigned 3,635.33 acres of virgin and cultivable government wasteland, out of which 2750.65 acres have been reclaimed and of the latter, 2740.85 acres brought under cultivation. The societies were given Rs. 2,000 as loan and Rs. 3.66 lakhs as subsidy and a special post-war Reconstruction Loan of Rs. 1.27 lakhs for capital works, and the entire amount was utilised. The value of produce harvested during 1971-72 in these societies was Rs. 12.32 lakhs.

IV (a).9.(ii) Of the other 25 Land Colonisation Societies of non-Harijan backward groups which were assigned an area of 9011.56 acres of land, (out of which 7,345 acres have been brought under cultivation) only five have shown a profit so far. Apart from their own share-capital of Rs. 1.67 lakhs, they received Rs. 5.72 lakhs as a loan from the Government and Rs. 3.38 lakhs as an outright grant. The total value of produce harvested during 1971-72 was Rs. 12.32 lakhs.

IV.(a)10. *Joint Farming Societies*: Fifteen societies functioned under joint farming arrangements with 518 members and a paid-

up share capital of Rs.23,965 of the pooled individual holdings totalling 1,887 acres of land, only 220 acres had been brought under cultivation. They received Rs. 4.20 lakhs as loan and Rs. 1.17 lakhs as subsidy from the Government. District Co-operative Central Banks also advanced specific loan on Government guarantee. The societies, which have outstanding debts payable to the Government of Rs.2.41 lakhs, were able to reap a harvest of Rs.0.51 lakhs only in 1971-72. Understandably, all these societies are working at a loss.

IV(a).11. *Tenant Farming Societies* : The Tenant Farming Societies in the State numbering 63 had 4,021 members with a paid-up capital of Rs. 87,659. 9,043 acres land been leased to them by the Devasthanams, and these have been sub-let to the members for cultivation. Out of the 9,043 acres so leased, 8,176 acres have been taken up for cultivation. Apart from Government loans to the tune of Rs. 3.60 lakhs and subsidies of Rs. 2.05 lakhs, the societies also borrow their short-term requirements of funds from the District Co-operative Central Banks. A sum of Rs. 627.09 lakhs was due from the members to the societies as arrears in rents with the result that the societies owed a sum of Rs. 23.70 lakhs to the Devasthanams. The value of produce harvested during 1971-72 amounted to Rs. 31.90 lakhs. Twenty three societies worked profitably and 34 societies incurred losses, six of the societies worked without profit or loss.

IV(a).12. *Collective Farming Societies* : In the entire State, only three societies worked under Collective farming methods over an area of 444 acres and all of them are working at a loss. The three societies had 136 members with a paid-up share-capital of Rs. 1,990. The societies received from the Government Rs. 0.57 lakhs as loans and Rs. 0.11 lakhs as subsidies. They were in arrears to the Government to the tune of Rs. 0.27 lakhs on other accounts.

IV(a) 12 (i) The performance of the Co-operative Farming Societies in this State was reviewed by the State Co-operative Farming Board at its meeting held in June 1965. The Board recommended that the Co-operative Registrar might take steps

to wind up the affairs of these societies which could not function successfully and that no fresh targets needed to be fixed for the formation of joint or collective farming societies. Official evaluation has, however, not analysed the problem in its entirety. Admittedly not many of the societies worked successfully. But failure has been due to lack of participative enthusiasm and administrative failure. To consolidate scattered blocks of lands and to reclaim large tracts of waste and fallow lands, such societies would after all be the most appropriate bodies. They were called into being avowedly to help the landless tenants and the small farmers, but have not produced a sense of security among their members. Again the number of persons involved in these societies are only a fraction of the total number of tenants and agricultural labourers in the State. Many of the farming societies, it would appear, were formed only to evade the ceiling law and consist of absentee owners and hired labourers who lack an incentive to live up to the ideals of the co-operative movement. The 1961 Ceiling Law had exempted lands under temples, religious institutions and co-operative trusts from the purview of its operations. The lands allotted by the Government to genuine societies were rocky and alkaline and to reclaim these lands often entailed enormous amounts of investment not fully met by Government loans sanctioned for the purpose. It would be folly to visit the failures of an administration circumscribed by want of funds, proper professional advice and absence of enthusiasm on the co-operative movement in the State whose task it is to mitigate the ills of landless labour and unprotected tenants.

AGRICULTURAL WAGES

IV(a.)13. Agricultural wages have been revised as per the Tamil Nadu Agricultural Workers, Minimum Wages Act of 1969 and the law was enacted in pursuance of the recommendation of the one-man Commission. Under the law, men will be paid a wage of Rs.3 per day during the period of cultivation. If the land is under paddy, the landowners have the option to pay either Rs. 3 per day or 6 litres of paddy plus Rs. 1.25 in cash per day. The corresponding figures for women are Rs. 1.75 or 5 litres of paddy plus Rs. 0.25

per day. Harvest wages continue unchanged from a previous law which fixed them in kind at six litres of paddy for every 55 litres of harvested paddy. The 1969 Act was applicable only to six taluks of Tanjore district and was to remain in force only till August 4, 1972. When the law came up for renewal, the Assembly put the Tamil Nadu Agricultural Labourers' Fair Wages Act (1972) as amended permanently on the Statute-Book. The Act will probably be extended gradually to the rest of the State. Subsequent to bi-partisan or all-party support to this reform extended in a private meeting with the Minister of Agriculture on August 13, 1972, the wages were further increased as finally set forth in Table XXII. Piece-meal rates for different kinds of work as stipulated by the law are given below :

**TABLE XXII—Minimum Piece-meal Rates for
Agricultural Labourers.**

<i>Operation</i>	<i>Minimum Rates</i>	<i>Whether men or women</i>
1. Ploughing	Rs. 3 to 5 per day	Generally men are employed
2. Sowing	Rs. 1.50 to 1.75 per day	Generally females and children are employed
3. For hand weeding (paddy)	Rs. 1.50 to 1.75 per day	Females are generally employed
4. Manuring	Rs. 1.50 to 1.75 per day	Generally men are employed

Source : *Board of Revenue Documents, 1971.*

Apart from these, the wage rates vary according to the conditions in the districts. The wage rates vary seasonally. The rates prevailing in Thanjavur district have been increased after August 13, 1972, following a resolution adopted at the

meeting of all-party representatives, land owners and agriculturists which has resulted in the following schedule :

**TABLE XXIII—Enhanced Wages in Thanjavur District—
August 1972.**

<i>Men</i>	
For all kinds of agricultural work during cultivation	Either 6 litres of paddy plus Rs. 1.50 per day or Rs. 3.70 only
<i>Women</i>	
For all kinds of agricultural work during cultivation	Either 5 litres of paddy plus Rs. 0.50 or Rs. 2.25 per day

Source : *Tamil Arasu, April 1973*

Thus agricultural wages have increased over the period 1961-1972 (refer Chapter III. Agricultural Wages Act). However, this increase, if multiplied by the 90 per cent price increase during the same period, would in real wage terms prove illusory.

CONCLUSIONS: PART A

IV(a).14. The following tentative conclusions emerge from the foregoing examination of land reform measures :

1. To determine the equitability of the distribution of agricultural holdings, at least two comparable figures are necessary, one relating to a date prior to the reform. There are, however, no figures available for land holdings after 1961.

2. Many of the measures have not been implemented to the extent possible due to judicial stay orders obtained by aggrieved landowners and due to inherent administrative delays.

The surplus land distribution and tenant protection measures are cases in point.

3. As the Small Farmers' Development Agencies operate only in three districts and as these agencies have been in existence only for a period of three years, an effective interpretation of their efforts does not as yet seem practicable.

4. It was noted above that the wages of agricultural labourers had increased by 1972, but only in terms of money wages.

5. There has been a general increase in the production of agricultural goods. The following table presents the percentage increase achieved in the case of certain commodities :

TABLE XXIV—Increase in Crop Output of 14 Commodities

<i>Crop</i>	<i>Percentage Increase 1960-71</i>
1. Rice ...	26.0
2. Pulses ...	14.8
3. Coffee ...	24.9
4. Rubber	78.5
5. Fruits and vegetables	46.4
6. Sugarcane ...	87.0
7. Turmeric ...	41.9
8. Cholam	7.3
9. Ragi	6.1
10. Korra ...	16.1
11. Varagu	29.3
12. Groundnut	12.9
13. Cotton	8.7
14. Tobacco	8.9

Source : *Unpublished Report on "Agriculture in Tamil Nadu"* prepared for the Church of South India.

IV(a).14.(i) From the above table, it is evident that almost all the agricultural commodities have registered increases in production. How far can this increased production be ascribed to changes in land systems and to the agrarian reform measures? The production increases were certainly due to a number of factors, namely, favourable monsoon conditions, increases in cultivated area, the use of HYV seeds, and the increased use of the new technology generally. At the same time, the effect of the change in land systems, in increasing agricultural production cannot be overlooked. It is not possible to isolate and quantify the relation between the production increase and land reform measures in any precise manner.

PART B: EVALUATIVE MODELS

IV(b).1. *First Methodology*: On the basis of the data presented earlier, the following three methodologies are used in an attempt empirically to evaluate the performance of land reform measures. According to the first method, land-holding figures for 1961 are used as the base. It is assumed that the surplus land could come only from those who held lands above 50 acres. The second assumption is that all the surplus lands are distributed among those who held below 50 acres and the landless. With the cultivated areas of 1961 and 1971 as the denominators, the following ratios are obtained.

$$(a) \frac{\text{Land holdings below 50 acres}}{\text{Cultivated area 1961}} = 94.51 \text{ per cent as against}$$

$$\frac{\text{Land holdings below 50 acres} + \text{estimated surplus}}{\text{Cultivated area 1971}} = 96.42 \text{ per cent}$$

IV b.I.(i) For purposes of this analysis, the estimated surplus submitted by the Government to the legislature (refer Table VIII) has been taken as having been derived from those who held lands above 50 acres. Now, assuming that this entire surplus has been distributed among those who held lands below 50 acres, a test is made as to whether this would have altered the distribution pattern of land-holdings significantly. The test showed that, if the estimated surplus was

distributed, the land-holding pattern would have significantly changed for the better. Since the estimated surplus has not been distributed and the actual surplus that has been distributed is only 20,277 acres, a second ratio is considered.

$$(b) \frac{\text{Land holdings below 50 acres}}{\text{Cultivated area 1961}} = 94.41 \text{ per cent as against}$$

$$\frac{\text{Land holdings below 50 acres} + \text{actual distributed surplus}}{\text{Cultivated area 1961}} = 94.65 \text{ per cent.}$$

The difference between the two ratios is not significant. This means that, with the cultivated area of 1961 as the base, the actually distributed surplus has not caused any significant alterations in the distribution pattern of land-holdings.

IV(b) 1. (ii) With the base for distribution changed to the cultivated area in 1972, the change in ratios is tested.

$$(c) \frac{\text{Land holdings below 50 acres}}{\text{Cultivated area 1961}} = 94.51 \text{ per cent as against}$$

$$\frac{\text{Land holdings below 50 acres} + \text{estimated surplus}}{\text{Cultivated area 1970}} = 92.32 \text{ per cent.}$$

The proportion has decreased noticeably. This would show that there has been a deterioration in holdings-distribution. Since the base, namely, the cultivated area has increased from 1,48,68,351 acres in 1961 to 1,54,82,563.20 acres in 1970 the resulting ratio is a reduced figure. The increase in cultivated area is due to the extension of the cultivated area (following measures to bring waste land and forest land under the plough and to bring new areas under irrigation) and lands redistributed. If these increases are added on to the numerator in the ratio, the resultant would be the same as in (a) above. Since the actually distributed surplus is different from the estimated surplus, the following ratio is found for the base (1970 cultivated area). It must be added, however, that the two ratios together measure only the distributional efficiency, *given the ceiling limit*. But the efficiency of any redistributive measure would depend

not only on how the surplus is mopped up but how it is distributed, in what brackets, etc. consistent with the other objectives of land reform such as increased land revenue and better productivity.

$$(d) \frac{\text{Land holdings below 50 acres}}{\text{Cultivated area 1961}} = 94.51 \text{ per cent as against}$$

$$\frac{\text{Land holdings below 59 acres + actually distributed surplus}}{\text{Cultivated area 1970}} = 90.64 \text{ per cent.}$$

IV(b) 1. (iii) The proportion has decreased even more, meaning that the actually distributed surplus had had no effect in altering the distribution pattern even with the cultivated area in 1970 as the base, making due allowance for the increase in cultivated area. In fact, if the increase in cultivated area in 1970, which is due to inclusion of wasteland, fallow lands and other reclaimed lands for cultivation, is added on to the numerator the resulting proportion would show the same result as that of (b) above. Whether the base is the 1961 cultivated area or the 1970 area, the surplus distributed so far has not altered the holding pattern of land-holdings to a noticeable extent.

IV(b) 2. *Second Methodology*: The second methodology is adopted from a similar study on Land Reforms conducted for the Union Planning Commission. The *patta* distribution of the top brackets of revenue assessment is analysed and if a reduction in these holdings is found, it can be concluded that the distribution in land-holdings has been on a large scale or at least that there has been a reduction in the concentration of holdings. The following tables present data pertaining to the holders of single *pattas*, joint *pattas*, the number of shareholders holding joint *pattas*, area of holdings and classification of wet and dry acres for those in the assessment bracket from over Rs.100 to over Rs. 1,000, for the years 1954-55, 1965-66 and 1969-70. An Appendix to the Chapter has been provided containing information with regard to district-wise holdings of all *pattas* and their value in terms of the revenue assessment to which they are liable. This analysis will show, whether or not there has been a reduction in the concentration of holdings.

TABLE XXV—**Patta Distribution: 1954-55, 1965-66, 1969-70.**

	1954-55	1965-66	1969-70
1. Total <i>pattas</i>	41,52,396	61,03,716	62,39,235
1(a). Single <i>pattas</i> ...	22,75,253	34,56,111	37,21,311
1(b). Joint <i>pattas</i>	18,77,143	26,47,605	25,17,924
1(c). Joint <i>pattas</i> -share- holders ...	67,03,181	70,91,013	64,94,839
2. Total wet area	26,30,757	35,09,411	39,95,971
2(a). Wet land held by single <i>pattadars</i> ...	17,31,809	23,06,189	28,01,378
2(b). Wet land held jointly ...	8,98,948	12,03,222	11,94,593
3. Total dry area	1,06,08,106	1,37,59,287	1,34,51,265
3(a). Dry land held by single <i>pattadars</i> ...	51,85,474	71,69,539	75,05,534
3(b). Dry land held jointly ...	54,22,632	65,89,748	59,45,731

Source : K. S. Sonachalam, *Land Reforms in Tamil Nadu and Jamabandhi Returns*, Board of Revenue.

TABLE XXVI (a)—**Acreage (wet land) owned by Pattadars.**

1954-55 ...	26,30,757
1965-66 ...	35,09,411
1969-70 ...	39,95,971
Increase (+)	
1954-55 - 1965-66 ...	8,78,654
Increase (+)	
1954-55 - 1969-70 ...	13,65,214

(Increase in 1969-70 more than in 1965-66)

TABLE XXVI(b)—Acreage (dry land) owned by Pattadars.

1954-55	....	1,06,08,106
1965-66	....	1,37,59,287
1969-70	....	1,34,51,265
Increase (+)		
1954-55 — 1965-66	....	31,51,181
Increase (+)		
1954-55 — 1969-70	...	28,43,159
(Increase in 1969-70 less than 1965-66 — A net decrease from 1966-1970).		

Source: Tables XXVI(a) and XXVI(b)—K.S. Sonachalam, *Land Reforms in Tamil Nadu* and *Jamabandhi Returns*, Board of Revenue.

Note: The figures bearing on the above argument exclude those for Tiruchirapalli district alone (among the 14 districts), which were unavailable for that year (1969-70). Data for Tiruchirapalli would undoubtedly complete the picture but will in no way affect the conclusions derived therefrom.

IV(b)2.(i) The above figures are compared with the figures taken from the top brackets of revenue assessment.

The figures in Table XXVIII show that there has been a steady increase in the number of joint *pattas*. In each size-class of the top-brackets of revenue assessment, there took place an accession of numbers of joint *pattas* in the top-brackets to the extent of 180.30 per cent as on 1969-70 simultaneously with a reduction in the total of joint *pattas* after 1966. This set of figures is liable to the interpretation—which in fact has been put on it—that the concentration of lands with and the circumvention of the ceiling limit by a few persons is covered by *benami* transactions.

This view would receive further support when the figures for the number of shareholders of joint *pattas* are looked into.

IV(b)2.(ii) It is seen that there has been a 21.44 per cent increase in the number of single *pattas* in the top brackets between 1954-55 and 1969-70. (Table XXVII). There has been a sizeable decrease in the topmost assessment brackets, which may mean either of the following: (1) there has taken place a redistribution from these size-classes; (2) there has been a sizeable number of *benami* transactions. The second interpretation seems possible in view of the fact that there has been a 29.89 per cent increase and 13.32 per cent increase respectively in the size-classes Rs. 100-250 and Rs. 250-500. This conclusion receives further support from Table XXVIII.

Note: *The figure (Table XXVII) appears to have been erroneously added up to 20,530 in the original. This has been corrected to 20,580 in column 2 of total. Again in column 7—2.4 has been corrected to + 2.4.

TABLE XXVII—Joint Pattas in Top Brackets

Source: K. S. Srinivasan, 'Land Reforms in Tamil Nadu'

Year	1954-55	1969-70
Total	30,023	50,280
Rs. 200-1,000	1,031	1,693
Rs. 50-200	3,400	3,222
Rs. 100-500	12,082	13,152
Over Rs. 1,000	13,510	12,113
Total	20,023	20,580
Number of <i>benamis</i>	2.4	2.4

TABLE XXVIII—Single Pattas in Top Brackets

Source: K. S. Srinivasan, 'Land Reforms in Tamil Nadu'

Year	1954-55	1969-70
Total	4,075	9,736
Rs. 200-1,000	1,031	1,693
Rs. 50-200	3,400	3,222
Rs. 100-500	12,082	13,152
Over Rs. 1,000	13,510	12,113
Total	20,023	20,580
Number of <i>benamis</i>	2.4	2.4

TABLE XXVII—Single Pattas in Top-Assessment Brackets : 1954-70.

	Number of pattas				Percentage to total number of pattas				Percentage increase from 1954-55 to 1965-66 and 1969-70
	1954-55	1965-66	1969-70	1954-70	1954-55	1965-66	1969-70	1965-66		1969-70
Rs. 100-250	15,065	17,125	19,568	0.66	0.66	0.49	0.53	+13.7	+29.89
Rs. 250-500	3,460	2,555	3,921	0.15	0.15	0.07	0.11	-26.1	+13.32
Rs. 500-1,000	1,031	683	673	0.04	0.04	0.019	0.081	-36.8	-34.72
Over Rs. 1,000	496	217	191	0.02	0.02	0.006	0.005	-56.2	-61.48
Total	20,052	20,580	24,353	0.87	0.87	0.55	0.065	+2.4*	+21.44

Source: K. S. Sonachalam, *Land Reforms in Tamil Nadu* and *Jamabandi Returns*, Board of Revenue.

TABLE XXVIII—Joint Pattas in Top-Assessment Brackets : 1954-70.

	Number of pattas		Percentage to total number of pattas			Percentage increase from 1954-55 to		
	54-55	65-66	69-70	54-55	65-66	69-70	1965-66	1969-70
Rs. 100-250	5,212	8,187	10,372	0.25	0.30	0.41	+57.2	+99.00
Rs. 250-500	988	1,278	1,438	0.25	0.10	0.33	+29.3	+45.55
Rs. 500-1000	395	200	3,687				-49.4	+833.42
Over Rs.1000	80	71	3,213				-11.2	+3,916.25
Total	6,675	9,736	18,710	0.50	0.40	0.74	+45.08	+180.30

Source: K. S. Sonachalam, *Land Reforms in Tamil Nadu and Jamabandhi Returns*, Board of Revenue.

TABLE XXIX—Number of Shareholders holding
Joint Pattas.

	Number of Shareholders			Percentage increase from 1954-55 to	
	1954-55	1965-66	1969-70	1965-66	1969-70
Rs. 100-250	26,408	36,736	36,904	+ 39.1	+ 39.75
Rs. 250-500	5,157	5,702	7,255	+ 10.5	+ 40.68
Rs. 500-1,000	1,393	1,050	995	- 32.7	- 28.57
Over Rs. 1,000	704	413	404	- 41.6	- 42.61
Total	33,662	43,901	45,558	+ 30.4	+ 35.56

Source: K. S. Sonachalam, *Land Reforms in Tamil Nadu and Jamabandhi Returns*, Board of Revenue.

IV (b) 2. (iii) When the number of joint *pattas* has increased in the size-classes Rs. 500-1,000 and over Rs. 1,000, the number of shareholders has decreased for the same classes. This may be interpreted as due to consolidation of holding, while the increase in the number of shareholders in the other two size-classes represent *benami* transactions. The total number of shareholders has actually decreased from 67,03,181 in 1954-55 to 64,94,839 in 1969-70 (see Table XXV), while in 1965-66 the figure has been 70,91,013. This disproves the contention of an earlier study that an increase by 1966 of the number of shareholders points to a wider distribution of holdings. On the other hand, both in single *pattas* and in joint *pattas*, there has taken place a sizeable increase in the top-bracket holdings. This conclusion is further strengthened by the data regarding the area under these size-classes. In wet land, the area under single *pattas* has registered a fall while the area of wet lands under joint *pattas* has increased. The figures point to a similar development in dry land. The possibility that the concentration of land above ceiling limits is achieved by *benami* transactions gains further plausibility in the light of the following:

TABLE XXX(a)—Number of Single Pattadars Holding Wet Land : 1954-70.

	A C R E S				Percentage to total	Percentage increase from 1954-55 to
	1954-55	1965-66	1969-70	1951-55			1965-66	1969-70
Rs. 100-250	2,09,117	2,22,505	2,16,650	12.0	9.6	7.7 + 6.4 + 3.6
Rs. 250-500	95,226	82,832	83,065	5.5	3.5	3.0 -12.9 -12.8
Rs. 500-1,000	72,508	43,291	44,412	4.4	1.9	1.6 -40.3 -38.75
Over Rs. 1,000	70,590	37,688	37,217	4.2	1.3	1.3 -16.6 -47.3
Total	4,47,441	3,86,316	3,81,344	26.1	16.3	13.6 -13.6 -14.8

TABLE XXX(b)—Number of Joint Pattadars Holding Wet Land from 1954-70

TABLE XXX(b)—Number of Joint Pattadars Holding Wet Land 1954-70.

	A C R E S						Percentage increase from 1954-55 to	
	1954-55	1965-66	1969-70	1954-55	1965-66	1969-70		1965-66	1969-70
Rs. 100-250	61,336	86,083	93,489	6.7	7.1	7.8	+40.3	+52.42
Rs. 250-500	28,628	41,529	37,518	3.1	3.4	3.1	+45.1	+31.05
Rs. 500-1,000	17,355	15,504	17,379	1.9	1.3	1.5	-10.7	+ 0.14
Over Rs. 1,000	10,368	6,210	4,418	1.7	0.9	0.4	-40.1	-57.39
Total	1,17,687	1,49,326	1,52,804	13.4	12.9	12.8	+26.9	+29.8

TABLE XXX(c)—Number of Single Pattadars Holding Dry Land 1954-70.

	A C R E S							Percentage to total	Percentage increase from 1954-55 to	
	1954-55	1965-66	1959-70	1954-55	1965-66	1969-70	1965-66			1969-70
P s. 100-250	2,60,289	2,41,304	2,61,018	5.0	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	- 7.3	+ 0.3
R s. 250-500	90,113	78,577	84,027	1.7	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.2	-12.8	- 6.8
R s. 500-1,000	75,806	53,607	65,899	1.5	0.7	0.7	0.9	0.9	-32.0	-13.1
Over R s. 1,000	53,686	43,778	47,464	1.3	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	-18.4	-11.6
Total	4,79,894	4,17,266	4,58,408	9.5	6.7	6.7	6.2	6.2	-13.0	- 4.5

IV(b) 2. (iv) In the above categories, it can be seen that though under certain categories of size-classes, there has been a reduction in the area of wet and dry acreage held by *pattadars* between 1954-55 and 1969-70, an increase in the acreage was witnessed after 1966. There has been a 29.8 per cent increase in the area under wet lands of joint *patta*-holders and 24.0 per cent increase in the area under dry lands held by joint *patta*-holders. The area under wet lands shows a decreased percentage for single *patta*-holders, but in certain categories, an increasing trend has been found after 1966. A similar trend is evidenced in the case of dry areas held by single *patta*-holders. All these further strengthen the possibility that there have been many *benami* transactions and that the concentration in agricultural land-holdings has not decreased.

IV(b) 3. *Third Methodology*: The third methodology seeks to compare the labourers per unit of cultivated area in 1961 to that in 1971 and this ratio in turn with that of cultivators per unit cultivated area for the same two years. The provisional figures of the 1971 Census defines a worker afresh as one who is employed for the major portion of the season. This change in definition should have brought about a decrease in the number of agricultural labourers. The total number of agricultural labourers is divided by the total cultivated area so that the number of labourers per unit of cultivated area is established as a ratio for both the years 1961 and 1971. This ratio is neutral as to the differences in definition contained in the two censuses. The actual figures of the number of cultivators and agricultural labourers as well as cultivated area by district for the years 1961 and 1971 is appended at the end of the chapter. Here district-wise figures of labourers per unit of cultivated area and cultivators per unit cultivated area, are provided for purposes of comparison. It can be seen from the tables below that the ratio of agricultural labourers to total cultivated area has increased in almost all the districts and the State between 1961 and 1971. On the other hand the ratio of cultivators to the total cultivated area has decreased in almost all the districts. There are exceptions to this increase but they can be explained by conditions peculiar to the districts concerned.

**TABLE XXXI—Labourers Per Unit Cultivated Area,
(in percentages) 1961 and 1971.**

	1961	1971
TAMIL NADU ...	17.98	20.55
Chingleput	21.09	34.31
North Arcot ...	18.70	30.70
South Arcot ...	28.05	29.26
Salem	11.53	23.25
Coimbatore ...	14.20	29.07
Nilgiris ...	13.74	7.14
Madurai	19.56	32.49
Tiruchirapalli	13.71	18.70
Thanjavur	29.53	35.56
Tirunelveli	14.65	27.64
Ramanathapuram ...	10.81	17.28
Kanyakumari	14.68	60.24

Source : Constructed from the *Census of India* 1961 and *Provisional Figures of Census of India* 1971, Cultivated area, from *Season and Crop Reports*, Director of Statistics, Madras.

Note: The 1971 figure in Col. II of the above table for Salem includes that for Dharmapuri, which was formed by bifurcation after 1961. This has been done in order to make two figures comparable. For the same reason, there is no separate figure for Dharmapuri.

IV(b) 3. (i) It is noticed from the above table that the ratio has increased from 1961 to 1971 except in the case of Nilgiris. The high ratio for Kanyakumari is explained by the fact that in that district, four crops are raised in a year and hence more labourers are employed. A comparison of the 1961 and 1971 figures for the ratio of labourers per unit of cultivated area and cultivators per unit of cultivated area shows that the percent-

tage increase of labourers per unit of cultivated area (2.57 in row 1, Table XXXI) is less than the percentage decrease in the ratio of cultivators in unit area (13.42 in row 1, Table XXXII). Two explanations can be offered for this trend. (1) Due to increases in the cultivated area, more labourers might have been employed. (2) Number of cultivators might have been dispossessed of their lands under the impetus of market forces thanks to the tendency towards the growing economic concentration in the ownership of land, the latter hypothesis would provide the better explanation. It is reinforced if the global figures for Tamil Nadu in the first row of tables XXXI and XXXII are read together. There has also been some eviction of tenants as already seen (vide Table XVI).

TABLE XXXII—Cultivators Per Unit of Cultivated Area: 1961 & 1971.

	1961	1971
....	(percentages)	(percentages)
TAMIL NADU	42.02	28.6
Chingleput	40.34	25.4
North Arcot	57.90	37.6
South Arcot	49.11	33.7
Salem	50.02	36.7
Coimbatore	28.50	21.9
Tiruchirapalli	46.97	32.7
Thanjavur	32.94	24.7
Madurai	39.08	27.5
Ramanathapuram	41.72	24.6
Tirunelveli	33.60	22.8
Nilgiris	25.74	4.7
Kanyakumari	34.69	27.3

Source: *Census of India, 1961; Provisional tables, Census of India 1971; Season and Crop Reports, 1961-62, 1969-70; Director of Statistics, Madras.*

Note: The 1971 figure in Col. II of the above table for Salem includes that for Dharmapuri, which was formed by bifurcation after 1961 so as to make the two figures comparable. For the same reason there is no separate figure for Dharmapuri.

CONCLUSIONS : PART B

IV(b) 4. The general conclusions of the analysis :

1. There is not much evidence to show that land reform measures have brought about any clearly envisaged degree of equality in the distribution pattern of landholdings or to show that the tendency towards concentration in landholdings, to which all capital is naturally prone, has been arrested to any measurable extent.
2. There is more than a distinct possibility that the concentration in land-holdings has grown apace in the top brackets of the revenue assessment in spite of the ceiling law. The manner of evasion has been encompassed in large measure through *benami* transactions.
3. It is possible that some cultivators have actually been dispossessed of their lands, even if not as a direct consequence of the ceiling measures but in many cases in spite of reform laws, and have become ordinary labourers and their general status has suffered a decline.
4. It is also unlikely that many small farmers have been made viable as a result of the Small Farmers' Development Agency during the three years it has been in existence.
5. A marked disinclination can be inferred on the part of tenants to avail themselves of the legal safeguards potentially provided by the Tenancy Register and the welfare possibilities of the Small Farmers' Development Agency have remained unrealized for want of any marked enthusiasm for the new measure among farmers. This clearly points, first, to an inability on the part of the administration to meet the challenge posed, by a high value implicit in the developmental reform in relation to their hierarchy of usual regulative functions and secondly, to a failure on their part to generate the necessary participative enthusiasm among the farmers coming under the purview of the measures.

APPENDIX IV(1)

Pattas Liabie to Revenue Assessment of One Rupee and Less : 1969-70.

JOINT PATTAS

SINGLE PATTAS

DISTRICT	Number of pattas (2)	Dry (acres) (3)	Wet (acres) (4)	Assessment (Rs.) (5)	Number of pattas (6)	Number of share-holders (7)	Dry (Acres) (8)	Wet (Acres) (9)	Assessment (Rs.) (10)
Chingleput	1,15,894	44,718	29,404	1,14,668	65,248	98,936	24,463	18,085	78,411
North Arcot	99,747	51,662	11,025	1,57,514	68,892	1,87,658	31,554	7,325	87,627
Salem	41,959	54,821	5,194	40,333	43,479	95,850	28,741	4,432	38,589
South Arcot	3,16,129	73,340	13,466	2,17,024	2,47,595	6,43,422	75,062	7,668	1,89,623

(Appendix IV(1) Contd.)

Thanjavur	2,16,609	35,573	14,150	1,11,687	1,16,606	3,45,431	22,201	7,363	82,180
Tiruchirapalli	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Madurai	92,637	61,390	2,879	73,821	75,252	1,56,364	33,617	4,286	52,252
Ramanathapuram	1,75,642	1,92,306	44,603	4,32,516	N.A.	N.A.	1,87,183	39,714	4,79,372
Tirunelveli	1,24,359	74,535	6,731	1,19,413	85,588	2,30,560	1,55,391	6,459	60,732
Coimbatore	16,104	12,437	189	8,735	13,250	40,765	11,869	683	10,992
Dharmapuri	29,216	30,466	1,496	28,626	25,123	61,258	26,900	1,548	26,379
Nilgiris	3,797	3,120	31	2,143	8,294	49,883	10,093	1	5,070
Total	12,32,093	6,34,368	1,29,168	13,06,480	7,49,327	19,10,127	6,07,074	97,563	11,11,227

Source: *Jamabandhi Returns*, Board of Revenue.

APPENDIX IV(2)

Pattas Liable to Revenue Assessment Between Re. 1 and Rs. 10 : 1969-70

SINGLE PATTAS : JOINT PATTAS

DISTRICT	Number of pattas	Dry (Acres)	Wet (Acres)	Assessment (Rs.)	Number of pattas	Number of shareholders	Dry (Acres)	Wet (Acres)	Assessment (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Chingleput	1,97,113	1,41,318	1,04,107	5,20,072	86,459	1,32,815	83,200	66,573	3,10,392
North Arcot	1,82,872	2,93,250	55,382	6,82,877	1,30,191	3,07,465	27,095	41,841	6,00,103
Salem	1,21,597	3,16,671	10,516	5,66,284	9,36,162	19,093	3,35,540	11,401	5,20,845
South Arcot	3,33,387	3,35,329	58,446	8,30,357	1,98,233	3,76,934	2,51,793	32,400	5,68,170

LAND REFORM IN TAMIL NADU

(Appendix IV(2) Contd.)									
Thanjavur	1,81,056	1,10,668	93,505	7,65,887	1,22,522	3,28,526	62,125	41,060	4,25,338
Tiruchinapalli	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Madurai	1,82,465	3,54,444	96,126	6,21,018	1,43,024	3,72,617	3,29,507	29,191	6,27,200
Ramanathapuram	2,46,573	3,96,614	87,261	8,41,604	1,26,154	2,90,644	1,69,134	43,380	3,79,931
Tirunelveli	1,57,030	3,25,460	25,077	4,59,707	1,19,340	3,35,748	29,278	20,649	3,42,221
Coimbatore	77,865	3,93,560	2,760	3,32,406	1,43,374	5,14,295	5,94,123	7,121	7,04,783
Dharmapuri	73,471	2,70,203	11,323	2,92,751	70,557	1,73,076	3,02,806	13,334	3,16,401
Nilgiris	5,097	13,131	639	18,390	8,468	87,067	41,298	259	25,139
Total	17,58,526	29,50,638	4,85,542	59,31,353	20,84,484	29,38,280	24,69,899	3,07,209	48,20,523

Source : Jamabandhi Returns ; Board of Revenue.

(Appendix IV(3) Contd.)

Thanjavur	97,215	1,45,708	1,72,877	15,26,496	48,398	1,29,304	49,235	78,406	6,79,625
Tiruchirapalli	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Madurai	50,510	1,97,911	48,093	5,19,567	46,150	1,16,113	1,92,397	22,324	4,27,793
Rair anathapuram	61,084	2,31,570	81,032	8,05,793	24,075	1,16,738	82,067	44,976	2,84,573
Tirunelveli	35,524	1,79,570	25,356	4,70,550	24,360	66,775	1,11,459	18,280	2,05,258
Coimbatore	23,016	3,27,680	9,427	3,83,815	52,552	2,08,514	6,05,870	13,703	7,65,406
Dharmapuri	13,615	1,40,960	12,356	1,74,272	14,944	44,090	50,875	10,730	2,18,426
Nilgiris	539	5,476	576	7,676	1,428	15,903	23,989	1,409	19,283
Total	5,11,397	17,85,000	5,77,938	61,80,205	3,76,631	10,70,551	15,71,505	3,32,072	39,79,641

Source : Jamabandhi Returns, Board of Revenue.

APPENDIX IV(4)

Pattas Liable to Revenue Assessment Between Rs.30 and Re. 50 : 1969-70

DISTRICT	SINGLE PATTAS					JOINT PATTAS				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Number of pattas	Dry (Acres)	Wet (Acres)	Assessment (Rs.)	Number of pattas	Number of shareholders	Dry (Acres)	Wet (Acres)	Assessment (Rs.)	
Chingleput	21,456	51,980	53,201	3,17,522	13,147	13,910	35,388	31,775	2,48,656	
North Arcot	28,895	79,147	31,960	3,19,230	26,107	51,893	66,744	17,239	1,88,876	
Salem	3,795	40,053	4,912	1,42,452	3,557	9,249	38,803	4,142	1,09,287	
South Arcot	12,003	70,514	45,456	3,15,644	4,993	17,017	45,251	20,468	1,90,114	

(Appendix IV(4) Contd.)

Thanjavur	29,730	65,549	1,00,906	9,48,928	16,520	47,929	37,268	45,514	4,52,658
Tiruchirapalli	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Madurai	13,544	74,689	20,656	2,94,145	13,803	22,295	47,820	19,064	2,11,257
Ramanathapuram	8,015	69,782	32,974	2,30,765	5,004	13,476	44,759	16,535	1,34,702
Tirunelveli	6,210	65,345	12,178	1,71,450	5,157	19,318	40,495	8,032	1,16,446
Coimbatore	6,045	1,19,142	6,939	1,97,342	8,814	26,130	1,46,204	11,239	3,17,422
Dharmapuri	2,212	53,974	4,196	93,077	1,767	5,514	42,955	3,624	69,798
Nilgiris	142	3,445	570	5,116	237	2,331	5,958	979	8,569
Total	1,32,047	6,93,620	3,13,948	31,35,671	99,206	2,29,062	5,51,645	1,78,611	20,47,779

Source: *Jamabandhi Returns*, Board of Revenue.

APPENDIX IV(5)

Pattas Liabie to Revenue Assessment Between Rs. 50 and Rs. 100 : 1969--70.

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DISTRICT	SINGLE PATTAS					JOINT PATTAS				
	Number of pattas	Dry (Acres)	Wet (Acres)	Assessment (Rs.)	Number of pattas	Number of shareholders	Dry (Acres)	Wet (Acres)	Assessment (Rs.)	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	
Chingleput	9,858	35,957	36,429	2,00,169	5,642	5,260	13,464	14,695	1,13,604	
North Arcot	11,297	42,020	24,720	2,34,020	2,954	8,567	20,675	8,573	81,088	
Salem	1,183	29,466	4,666	89,329	1,018	3,151	16,748	2,947	97,785	
South Arcot	5,329	41,620	41,457	3,82,886	1,437	12,344	21,965	12,168	1,05,808	

(Appendix IV(5) Conid.)

Thanjavur	19,175	49,295	96,065	9,76,213	8,895	29,365	38,321	37,589	4,68,253
Tiruchirapalli	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Madurai	4,622	54,031	21,093	2,67,875	3,193	9,643	49,517	17,607	1,58,573
Ramanathapuram	3,678	48,063	31,852	2,01,654	2,416	8,327	22,108	13,914	89,843
Tirunelveli	2,739	47,433	10,253	1,47,856	2,791	6,189	30,965	5,670	86,552
Coimbatre	3,731	79,947	7,879	1,88,630	3,268	10,714	62,113	10,314	1,77,340
Dharmapuri	993	47,225	3,217	64,671	474	1,722	14,881	2,117	32,035
Nilgiris	96	3,425	554	5,059	124	979	7,246	739	8,159
Total	62,695	4,78,482	2,78,185	26,68,362	32,212	96,261	2,98,003	1,26,333	14,18,744

Source: *Jamabandi Returns*, Board of Revenue.

APPENDIX IV(6)

Pattas Liable to Revenue Assessment Between Rs. 100 and Rs. 250 : 1969-70.

JOINT PATTAS

SINGLE PATTAS

DISTRICT	Number of pattas	Dry (acres)	Wet (acres)	Assessment (Rs.)	Number of pattas	Number of share-holders	Dry (Acres)	Wet (Acres)	Assessment (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Ching'eput	2,282	16,690	22,261	1,40,107	2,387	1,900	67,140	9,400	60,961
North Arcot	2,125	26,823	16,683	1,46,810	1,886	1,724	65,983	8,349	14,877
Salem	144	4,609	1,274	21,249	204	591	8,812	1,159	26,231
South Arcot	1,784	31,367	35,121	2,34,100	523	2,230	18,536	6,934	93,388

(Appendix IV (6) Contd.)

Thanjavur	8,875	35,948	1,03,397	9,93,413	2,320	19,035	21,269	30,202	3,04,921
Tiruchirapalli	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Madurai	1,852	29,016	12,501	22,304	946	2,721	24,086	18,003	1,68,436
Ramanathapuram	639	30,527	9,496	87,732	583	2,845	13,876	9,907	63,972
Tirunelveli	1,008	23,540	8,497	1,00,661	442	2,140	19,738	4,330	48,167
Coimbatore	720	45,709	6,210	99,204	931	2,813	29,535	3,915	1,00,537
Dharmapuri	76	5,068	764	18,232	80	346	1,561	885	14,948
Nilgiris	63	11,721	446	10,948	70	559	8,079	405	10,480
Total	19,568	2,61,018	2,16,650	20,74,877	10,372	36,904	2,18,615	93,489	10,40,578

Source : Jamabandhi Returns, Board of Revenue.

APPENDIX IV(7)

Pattas Liable to Revenue Assessment between Rs. 250 and Rs. 500 : 1969-70.

DISTRICT	SINGLE PATTAS					JOINT PATTAS				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Number of pattas	Dry (Acres)	Wet (Acres)	Assessment (Rs.)	Number of pattas	Number of share-holders	Dry (Acres)	Wet (Acres)	Assessment (Rs.)	
Chingleput	774	4,294	5,101	41,392	328	192	3,415	3,816	26,269	
North Arcot	246	2,070	2,720	22,575	128	332	556	1,217	7,364	
Salem	26	2,730	533	8,386	14	40	2,280	140	6,106	
South Arcot	248	13,513	9,940	93,768	119	492	7,124	7,910	41,950	

(Appendix IV(7) Contd.)

Thanjavur	1,605	15,242	51,233	4,52,799	539	3,233	8,397	14,771	1,38,730
Tiruchirapalli	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Madurai	145	8,142	6,095	72,809	58	163	3,346	4,591	51,110
Ramanathapuram	58	3,093	1,875	16,904	48	1,738	724	1,872	10,834
Tirunelveli	671	9,014	4,108	55,454	98	585	7,851	1,436	18,844
Coimbatore	104	15,470	1,217	32,540	70	210	7,139	1,414	26,712
Dharmapuri	5	673	182	1,729	9	19	692	267	3,044
Nilgiris	39	9,786	61	12,736	27	251	24,884	84	8,510
Total	3,921	84,027	83,065	8,11,092	1,438	7,255	66,408	37,518	3,39,473

Source : *Jamabandhi Returns*, Board of Revenue.

APPENDIX IV(8)

Pattas Liable to Revenue Assessment Between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1000: 1959-70.

DISTRICT	SINGLE PATTAS				JOINT PATTAS				Wet Assessment (Rs.)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)		(9)
	Number of pattas	Dry (Acres)	Wet (Acres)	Assessment (Rs.)	Number of pattas	Number of shareholders	Dry (Acres)	Wet (Acres)	Assessment (Rs.)
Chingleput	6	916	843	20,640	13	53	613	792	6,195
North Arcot	17	608	940	10,740	6	70	353	138	1,653
Salem	4	317	193	2,898	2	15	1,218	Nil	1,453
South Arcot	58	3,657	6,519	50,027	12	71	1,779	1,242	8,534

LAND REFORM IN TAMIL NADU

(Appendix IV(8) Contd.)

Thanjavur	429	4,903	27,462	2,12,362	89	573	3,234	10,344	1,01,997
Tiruchirapalli	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Madurai	45	4,635	3,986	33,230	21	38	2,914	3,012	25,434
Ramanathapuram	8	13,076	988	5,637	2	14	313	197	1,526
Tirunelveli	31	11,958	1,951	28,863	3,514	47	2,629	1,359	8,579
Coimbatore	44	8,230	494	25,913	11	27	2,264	295	6,395
Dharmapuri	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Nilgiris	31	17,599	1,036	29,473	17	87	9,417	Nil	11,659
Total	673	65,899	44,412	4,19,783	3,687	995	24,734	17,379	1,73,425

Source: *Jamabandhi Returns*, Board of Revenue.

APPENDIX IV(9)

Pattas Liabie to Revenue Assessment Over Rs. 1,000.

SINGLE PATTAS JOINT PATTAS

DISTRICT	Number of pattas	Dry (Acres)	Wet (Acres)	Asses- ment (Rs.)	Number of pattas	Number of share- holders	Dry (Acres)	Wet (Acres)	Asses- ment (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Chingleput	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
North Arcot	3	8,988	130	18,137	4	46	7,480	504	9,964
Salem	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
South Arcot	7	3,781	973	11,201	1	2	375	87	1,270

(Appendix IV(9) Contd.)

Thanjavur	118	3,266	32,534	2,81,810	19	250	1,722	3,600	37,089
Tiruchirapalli	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Madurai	6	12,761	971	10,869	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Ramana thapuram	2	215	392	2,295	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Tirunelveli	10	4,778	1,723	16,708	3,152	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Coimbatore	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	8	21	6,750	212	10,350
Dharmapuri	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Nilgiris	16	13,413	494	23,523	9	34	15,460	15	18,445
Free Holding	29	262	N.A.	N.A.	20	51	361	N.A.	N.A.
Total	191	47,464	37,217	3,64,543	3,213	404	32,148	4,418	77,118

Source : Jamabandhi Returns, Board of Revenue.

APPENDIX IV(10)

Cultivators and Agricultural Labourers in Tamil Nadu : 1961.

STATE/DISTRICT	CULTIVATORS			AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
TAMIL NADU	62,47,978	40,75,154	21,72,824	26,73,243	13,61,247	13,11,996
Chingleput	3,22,288	2,42,354	79,934	2,32,559	1,24,637	1,07,922
North Arcot	7,40,684	4,82,192	2,58,492	2,39,171	1,02,333	1,36,838
South Arcot	6,78,594	4,87,813	1,90,781	3,87,560	1,98,508	1,89,052
Salem	10,47,500	6,35,762	4,11,738	2,43,962	1,24,137	1,19,825

(Appendix IV(10) Contd.)

Coimbatore	5,01,381	3,38,085	1,63,296	2,49,691	1,42,463	1,07,228
Nilgiris	31,072	16,498	14,574	16,580	8,739	7,841
Madurai	5,37,834	3,51,558	1,86,276	2,69,141	1,38,047	1,31,094
Tiruchirapalli	8,37,408	5,08,341	3,29,067	2,44,518	1,14,544	1,29,974
Thanjavur	4,78,667	3,47,861	1,30,806	4,29,035	2,38,572	1,90,463
Tirunelveli	4,05,172	2,58,684	1,46,488	1,76,619	79,106	97,513
Ramanathapuram	5,97,227	3,40,779	2,56,448	1,54,691	67,794	86,897
Kanyakumari	70,151	65,227	4,924	29,716	22,367	7,349

Source : *Census of India*, Volume IX, 1961; Madras.

APPENDIX IV(11)

Cultivators and Agricultural Labourers in Tamil Nadu : 1971.

STATE, DISTRICT	CULTIVATORS			AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
TAMIL NADU	44,20,636	38,58,453	5,62,183	41,80,835	26,13,374	15,67,461
Chingleput	2,23,449	2,06,106	17,343	3,02,404	2,01,843	1,00,561
North Arcot	4,98,657	4,52,160	46,497	4,00,777	2,27,382	1,73,395
South Arcot	5,13,410	4,78,443	34,967	4,46,411	3,00,880	1,45,531
Saïem	3,92,480	3,27,609	64,871	3,09,523	1,87,096	1,22,427

(Appendix IV(11) Contd.)

Dharmapuri	3,44,995	3,00,212	44,783	1,57,811	1,00,360	57,451
Coimbatore	3,94,208	3,31,063	63,145	5,20,987	3,05,396	2,15,591
Nilgiris	6,319	5,106	1,213	9,641	5,702	3,939
Madurai	3,96,641	3,31,529	65,112	4,68,844	2,81,520	1,87,324
Tiruchirapalli	6,12,725	5,19,521	93,204	3,50,442	1,97,902	1,52,540
Thanjavur	3,58,832	3,32,924	25,908	5,17,063	3,66,451	1,50,612
Tirunelveli	2,65,625	2,23,067	42,558	3,22,562	1,82,362	1,40,200
Ramanathapuram	3,58,117	2,96,277	61,840	2,52,700	1,44,001	1,08,699
Kanyakumari	55,178	54,436	742	1,21,670	1,12,479	9,191

Source : *Census of India*; Provisional Figures 1971; Tamil Nadu.

CHAPTER V

RECOMMENDATIONS

V.1. *The Welfare Criterion* : Agrarian reform could be founded upon and tested by the welfare criterion. Rational decision-making in agrarian reform must rest on whether or not the existing land tenure system is capable of yielding a welfare maximum. In a welfare-orientation, a larger number of people will benefit through a rise in the basic level of living through income distribution than will suffer an income loss. In economic terms, this means that the anticipatory demand of former tenants is converted into effective demand. To demonstrate this point, an example is examined where the tenant's leisure is represented by Z and his income is equal to Y. The income term (Y) represents the monetised value of the farm produce. The tenant's utility function, U_1 may be depicted as :

$$U_1 = F(Y, Z) \quad \dots\dots(1)$$

V.1. (i) The tenant will allocate his time between leisure and work, so that the rate of substitution of work for leisure will equal the rate of return on labour. Effort will be expended on self-farming and on cultivation for a wage on the farm of another. The income of the tenant is then represented by the expression :

$$Y = p(1-\alpha) F(N_1, L) + W(N-N_1) \quad \dots\dots(2)$$

where p = price of produce from self-farming ; α = percentage required as rent payment; N = total labour output; N_1 = labour expended on self-farming; L = land rented for self-cultivation; W = wage rate for hired labour.

V.1. (ii) Under theoretically optimized conditions, a tenant would be expected to allocate his labour between self-farming

and working for a wage income so that the value of the marginal product from self-cultivation is equal to the wage rate he received for the labour he sells, which may be expressed as follows :

$$p(1-\alpha) F_1 - W = 0 \quad \dots(3)$$

V. 1. (iii) In the subsistence agricultural conditions, such as those that obtain in India, however, the choice between wage labour and tenancy can be said to be governed by an ordinal preference function. The landless labour is lowest on the scale; he finds no security for himself or his family in this form of work organisation. They are strictly "price-takers", working whenever and wherever possible. The landless labourers' desire is to have a home of his own and cultivate his own land whether as a share-cropper or as a freeholder. In an ascending scale of preferences the share-cropper would like to become an owner-cultivator. The following ranking of desirability can be discerned: wage piece labour, share cropping and self-cultivation of owned land. If this scale of values holds good, the tenant will not view piece labour for a wage as a desirable choice in preference to self-farming; and therefore, the labour input of his own farm becomes technologically fixed. A subsistence agrarian economy does not possess inter-regional labour mobility, which tends to strengthen the assumption of a technologically fixed input under conditions of self-cultivation labour *vis-a-vis* hired labour. When the tenant's principal contribution of labour is invested in his own plot of land, the decision confronting the tenant is primarily one of allocating his time between leisure and labour.

V. 1. (iv) Allocation of leisure and labour would tend, then, to vary according to the security of tenure and the tenant's share in the income from the produce. Labour intensity will increase as the tenant's share in the final produce increases. This stems from the hypothesis that the tenant holds back a certain amount of his productive effort in any arrangement that does not offer him the maximum of security; and once he has been given security of tenure or a title to the land, he acquires a stake and is encouraged to put forth his

best. He expends his energy unreservedly without holding back any portion of it resulting in more intensive farming and a higher level of output.

V. 2. *Land for Scheduled Castes*: Against this background of working assumptions, certain problems of agrarian reform naturally acquire relevance and come up for consideration. The agrarian reform measures have not taken into account the special rights of Scheduled Castes which have been guaranteed in the Constitution. As per the 1961 Census, the average holding of a scheduled caste farmer in both the categories of land "owned or held from Government" and land "held from private persons against payment in money, kind or share", in the State, is 2.53 acres and 2.02 acres respectively as against the corresponding figures of 5.02 acres and 3.09 acres for non-scheduled caste farmers. As much as 89.34 per cent of the scheduled caste household in the State cultivate less than five acres each as against a corresponding figure of 70.35 per cent of non-scheduled caste households farming the same average; 42.14 per cent of scheduled caste households and 31.75 per cent of non-scheduled caste households cultivate areas ranging between 1.0 and 2.49 acres. The percentage of scheduled caste households cultivating less than an acre is more than twice that of non-scheduled caste households (being 26.80 per cent and 12.58 per cent respectively), while, for the unit of cultivation ranging between 5.0 and 7.4 acres, scheduled caste households are only half as numerous (at 6.62 per cent and 13.71 per cent respectively). The percentage of scheduled caste households possessing tenancy rights is more than double that of the same number of non-scheduled castes (20.86 per cent and 9.21 per cent respectively). In the matter of rights of land over 7.5 acres in extent, the proportion of scheduled to higher castes is as 1:6. The pattern for the State in its entirety of land holdings by the scheduled castes in relation to in-groups socially deemed as such if not legally, is typified in all the districts except Kanyakumari in fair measure. In that district, the percentage of non-scheduled caste households cultivating less than one acre is more than that of scheduled caste households at 60.57 per cent and 58.58 per cent respectively. However, for the State as a whole, the size of an average hol-

TABLE XXXIII—Percentage Distribution of Scheduled Caste and Non—Scheduled Caste Households Engaged in Cultivation in Rural Areas Only in Tamil Nadu, 1961.

(Based on a 20 per cent sample)

Code*	No. of cultivating households	SCHEDULED CASTES											Total of columns 3-12		
		(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)			
1. (63.47)	26.80 (69.28)	Less than 1 acre	1.0—2.4 acres	2.5—4.9 acres	5.0—7.4 acres	7.5—9.9 acres	10.2—12.4 acres	12.5—14.9 acres	15.0—29.9 acres	30.0—49.9 acres	50+ acres	0.04	100		
2. (20.86)	29.05 (24.81)	Less than 1 acre	1.0—2.4 acres	2.5—4.9 acres	5.0—7.4 acres	7.5—9.9 acres	10.2—12.4 acres	12.5—14.9 acres	15.0—29.9 acres	30.0—49.9 acres	50+ acres	0.10 (79.45)	0.02 (4.11)	0.02 (13.04)	100

3.	(15.67)	9.21 (5.91)	36.02 (13.47)	34.76 (24.22)	12.25 (27.62)	3.96 (34.71)	1.91 (26.30)	0.75 (40.52)	1.02 (27.56)	0.08 (16.44)	0.04 (26.09)	100
Total	(100.00)	24.51 (100.00)	42.05 (100.00)	22.56 (100.00)	6.97 (100.00)	1.80 (100.00)	1.14 (100.00)	0.29 (100.00)	0.58 (100.00)	0.08 (100.00)	0.02 (100.00)	100

NON — SCHEDULED CASTES

1.	(78.46)	12.53 (76.55)	31.75 (78.76)	26.02 (78.21)	13.71 (78.90)	4.55 (76.06)	4.69 (82.09)	1.16 (71.95)	4.17 (80.92)	0.96 (83.24)	0.41 (84.92)	100
2.	(9.21)	24.95 (17.83)	40.47 (11.80)	19.53 (6.90)	8.23 (5.57)	2.12 (4.17)	2.20 (4.52)	0.53 (3.87)	1.51 (3.44)	0.34 (3.40)	0.12 (3.11)	100
3.	(12.33)	5.87 (5.62)	24.17 (9.44)	31.47 (14.89)	17.15 (15.53)	7.52 (19.77)	4.86 (13.39)	2.48 (24.18)	5.12 (15.64)	1.00 (13.36)	0.36 (11.97)	100
Total	(100.00)	12.89 (100.00)	31.61 (100.00)	26.10 (100.00)	13.63 (100.00)	4.70 (100.00)	4.48 (100.00)	1.27 (100.00)	4.04 (100.00)	0.91 (100.00)	0.37 (100.00)	100

Source : *Census of India*, Volume IX, Part V-A(ii), Madras, 1961.

Code : 1. Owned or held from Government.

2. Held from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

3. Partly held from Government and partly from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

Note : Figures within brackets are column percentages.

ding by a scheduled caste farmer is smaller than that for the higher castes so called; the percentage of scheduled caste households cultivating areas less than five acres is more than that of non-scheduled castes and the percentage of scheduled caste households invested with tenancy rights is higher than that of non-scheduled castes.

These points are brought out in Tables XXXIII and XXXIV :

TABLE XXXIV—Scheduled Castes : Ownership and Tenancy.

No.	Category of Households	Scheduled Non-scheduled Caste Caste (Average unit cultivated in acres)	
1.	Owned or held from Government ...	2.53	5.02
2.	Held from private persons for payment in money, kind or share	2.02	3.09
3.	Partly held from Government and partly from private persons for payment in money, kind or share	3.60	5.94
4.	Total	2.60	4.95

Source: *Census of India*, Volume IX, Part V-A (ii), Madras 1961.

Note: Unspecified areas are not included.

V.2. (i) The figures are explicit and the picture becomes much more revealing when actual values are considered. For the State as a whole only 995 scheduled caste households hold

land between 7.5 and 9.9 acres, 720 scheduled caste households holding between 10.0 and 12.4 acres; 151 of them fall in the size-class of 12.5 to 14.9 acres, 376 households hold between 30 and 49.9 acres and a more 14 households possess anything above 50 acres; all these size-classes come under the category of "Land owned or held from Government". The corresponding figures for this category among non-scheduled caste households are, respectively, 18,733, 19,289, 4,783, 17,157, 3,967 and 1,639. For the district-wise distribution in this category and the categories "held from private persons and institutions for payment in money, kind or share", and those "partly held from private persons and partly held from Government," relevant data are appended at the end of this chapter. Against this, it should also be noted that as per the 1961 Census, 12,96,556 persons of the scheduled caste community were agricultural labourers forming 48.5 per cent of the total agricultural labourers in the State. Again, out of the total population of the State in the rural areas, 20.82 per cent belonged to the scheduled caste communities. Out of the total scheduled caste population, 84.75 per cent lived in the rural areas in 1961. The proportion has slightly decreased in 1971 to 82.70 per cent. The corresponding figures for non-scheduled caste communities are 70.80 per cent and 66.95 per cent in 1961 and 1971 respectively. By virtue of constitutional directives actively fulfilled by the State and Central Governments, (unlike other directive principles, such as prohibition), this sector of social amelioration has received continuous support from all parties elected to power either at the Centre or the States. From a survey of the land-ownership conditions in the State, however, it is clear that special policies favouring scheduled castes as a group should be continued for a long time to come. That is to say, they have not been as successful as one would have expected in the circumstances. If, in spite of this, the status and position of scheduled caste members had not registered any perceptible improvement even by 1971, special conditions such as the foregoing will have to be worked into the agrarian reform measures, particularly into the model for the distribution of surplus land. The linearity of reforms, investment and strategy as correlated to production and pro-

ductivity, which which a survey of this kind may be legitimately concerned, are ruled out in any foreseeable future for a special case such as this. The first recommendation is thus that the needs of the scheduled castes should receive priority in the redistribution of land, rendered by surplus from the ceiling law.

V.3. *Economic Holding*: A land holding should have operative efficiency and should be able to provide the farming family with its needs and over and above that; with a marketable surplus. Traditionally, the family farm has been associated with subsistence farming rather than with production for a market. According to the Famine Commission Reports, subsistence farming meant much more than uneconomic farming. It meant that the small farmer reacted to a rise in prices with a contraction of output and to a fall in prices by an enlargement of output so as to stabilize his income according to minimum needs. Only a holding, which simultaneously fulfils the criteria of operational efficiency and a marketable surplus can be deemed to be an economic holding. This study assumes that for a family of five persons together with systematic marketing facilities, 2.5 acres of wet land, with HYV seeds, fertilizers and associated inputs of water can be taken as satisfying the minimum requirements of an economic holding. In the case of dry land an area of 7.5 acres would correspond and answer to this description. This would in addition just about meet the minimum acreage requirements of contemporary dry farming technology, as set forth in the Institute's publication, *Economics of Dry Farming in Tamil Nadu*. This argument is further strengthened by the findings of Mr. Prem S.Sharma in his "Estimation of Marketable Surplus of Foodgrains by Size-classes of Holdings in Rural Cultivating Households—A Physical Approach."* With a slight modification of the data, a case is presented here so as to show that 2.5 acres of wet land and 7.5 acres of dry land can be taken as economic holdings. Allowance should be made in these calculations for inter-district variations in productivity arising from rainfall, climate, fertility, traditions of thrift and skill, etc.

* *Agricultural Situation in India*: August 1972; Vol. XXVII, No. 5 Pages 327-334.

TABLE XXXV—Marketable Surplus for Household by Size-Class.

Size-class of holding (In acres)	Net production (tons)	Consumption (tons)	Surplus/Deficit (tons)	Percentage of Surplus/Deficit to Total Net production	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
				(6)	
Less than one acre	111.1	266.4	-155.3	-5.7	-139.8
1.0 — 2.49	712.7	644.6	68.1	2.5	9.6
2.50 — 4.99	1,127.7	551.9	575.8	21.1	51.1
5.00 — 7.49	1,468.2	334.4	1,133.8	41.6	77.2
7.50 — 9.99	359.7	121.0	238.7	8.7	66.4
10.00 — 12.49	283.6	109.9	173.7	6.4	61.2

(Table XXXV Contd.)

12.50--14.99	105.3	33.2	72.1	2.6	68.5
15.00--29.99	395.0	108.0	287.0	10.5	72.7
30.00--49.99	181.2	26.0	155.2	5.7	85.7
50 and above	176.0	10.6	165.4	6.1	94.0
Unspecified	17.1	4.4	12.7	0.5	74.3
Total	4,937.6	2,210.4	2,727.2	100.0	55.2

Source : *Agricultural Situation in India*, August 1972; Vol. XXVII, No. 5.

V.3. (i) Table XXXV presents the distribution of absolute levels of net production, consumption and marketable surplus of foodgrains as between cultivating households in the rural areas along with percentages of marketable surplus to total and net production by size-classes of holdings in Tamil Nadu.

V.3. (ii) The Table shows that bulk of the net production is accounted for by the size-classes 2.5 to 4.99 acres and 5.0 to 7.49 acres. The percentage of surplus to total production is the highest in these two categories, while the percentage of surplus to net production is comparable to magnitudes for larger size holdings. For the size-classes of 2.5 to 4.99 acres and 5.0 to 7.49 acres, the percentage of surplus to net production are 51.1 per cent and 77.2 per cent respectively. For the categories, 30.0 to 49.99 acres and 50 and above acres, the relative percentages are 85.7 per cent and 94.0 per cent respectively. This suggests that a farm size need not be all that large to qualify as an economic holding. For the size-class 2.5 to 4.99 acres, allowance should be made for the special problem of dry areas, as the size of an optimum unit would be determined by the vital water source, arid zone culture technologies or special farming technologies adapted to the needs of rainfed areas as distinct from irrigated areas. (Research of the last kind has not yet seriously been undertaken in Tamil Nadu.) In spite of this, this class shows a high percentage of surplus due to the action of efficient farm-size of both wet and dry lands, although a distinction must be made between dry land in wet areas and vast expanses of dry areas calling for separate and extensive treatment. In the latter case, the question would be whether the cost of a unit of input of irrigation would be worth while at current yield rates and the welfare value of employment provided in backward areas. It is also clear from the table that size-classes consisting of less than an acre of land and that between 1.00 and 2.49 acres are inefficient farm sizes. The size-class, less than one acre, actually shows a deficit due to self-consumption, while the size-class 1.00-2.49 acres shows a slender surplus. This surplus can be termed as "distress surplus" necessitated by the basic cash obligations of the agricultural producer and is not genuine in that production

does not truly exceed either desired levels of consumption or those that can be legitimated by objective norms. Thus the second recommendation is that 2.5 acres of wet land and 7.5 acres of dry land in irrigated areas would prove to be the minimum necessary for an efficient or economic holding. As for dry areas, further data based on experience of the new technology in semi-arid zones where farming is dependant on low rainfall is required and a survey is therefore recommended in order to determine the optimum size of the farm.

CEILING PRESCRIPTION

V.4. In Tamil Nadu the legal ceiling for land holdings has been fixed at 15 standard acres. In 1961 this ceiling was 30 standard acres. The retrospective effect of these acts did not extend for more than two years into the past. This made possible all kinds of *benami* transactions by those who were able to anticipate and evade relevant provisions of the law in actual working. The result of these, as noted earlier, was that surplus lands were not available to the extent required for any effective re-distribution of holdings, and it has not been possible in the sequel to effect significant alterations in the land-holding patterns.

V.4. (i) To begin with, the Government may enact legislation promulgating an Ordinance of a land ceiling of 10 standard acres for a household of five persons. An Ordinance is preferred to an enactment in the legislature to which this measure would be returned anyway after the statutory six months. The principles underlying the Act have been endorsed by the legislature, and any extended discussion afresh might defeat the purpose of the Ordinance, the condition for the success of which is a quick and fair enforcement. Allowing lands for additional members of a household of more than five, the overall maximum holding of a household should be fixed at 25 standard acres.¹ The Ordinance may take effect retrospectively from 1965. That is to say, any transactions in land ownership after April 1, 1965, which are in contravention of

1. This has since been fixed by the 1972 amending law at 30 standard acres, thus reducing the ceiling limit from the previous figure of 40 standard acres.

the intentions of the law, should be deemed void and subjected to the purview of the law through administrative action. The year 1965 emerged as a crucial year from the analysis in Chapter IV when there took place an increase in the number of *pattas* in the higher brackets of revenue assessment (in both single and joint *pattas* after 1966). Such a downward revision of the ceiling law will result in 28,11,890 acres (based on the 1961 Census figures with allowance being made for already distributed surplus lands) of additional land being available for re-distribution.¹ A third recommendation is thus the prescription of a 10-standard acre ceiling in the amending law, which will apply and will have retro-active effect from 1965.

SUPPORTING LAWS

V.5. Other problems calling for special treatment arise from the State's experience of the implementation of agrarian reform measures. As was pointed out in Chapter IV, lands declared surplus under the ceiling law have turned out to be much less than that expected at the time the measure was mooted in 1960. These lands when distributed to the landless would make small farms which may not be economically viable. At any rate, the time taken to vindicate the measures might extend well beyond the period of the Perspective Plan. The spatial distribution of these surplus lands may also preclude effective cultivation. In course of time, these small holdings may become further fragmented given the laws of inheritance. Alongside of fragmentation, which grows apace with each generation, is the fact that not all the heirs of a legatee settle down to the cultivation of their attenuated patrimony. Frequent transactions involving the transfer of land ownership greatly detract from the economic consequence of any agrarian reform. Added to this is the problem of those, who sub-let their tenancy rights and swell the number of absentee landlords within a generation. Modern scientific and technical equipment and farm practices tend to lose much of their value with the diminishing size of farms that become both

1. This may be a high estimate of the surplus available from the enforcement of the ceiling law. It might be recalled that the 1961 estimate of ceiling surplus fell far short of the notified area, although the many exemptions that were granted in the law have since been withdrawn.

fragmented and unviable. The result would not only be a fall in agricultural production, but the climate of opinion in which corrective legislation can upgrade the quality of rural life through larger production and greater equity would be greatly vitiated at the outset. In trying to replace one form of ownership, conditions may be created where one class of ineffective land owners are set up in the stead of another. The net result would be the same situation of low levels of production and productivity in agriculture unless of course other corrective reform measures are taken in concert. The low quantum of land surplus realised under the ceiling law points to the need for further legislation to consolidate the gains, such as they are, of redistribution. These further laws must moreover follow quickly in the wake of the ceiling law. They should endeavour to rectify and redress the rural economic and social situation as a single whole. State action should endeavour above all to instil the lost spirit of the community into the farming village.

V.5. (i) For instance, not even 40 per cent of all the tenants in a district have been registered under the Tenancy Law. The minimum condition of the success of the Tenancy Law is 100 per cent registration—no less. Oral tenancies and tenancies which serve to conceal *benami* ownership exist even after the coming into force of the law. These render the Fair Rent Act unworkable in practice over any wide extent of the tenant population. Again, *Adangal*, an exhaustive register containing authentic particulars, about all the land in the village such as ownership and tenancy, rent and revenue, required by the Board of Revenue regulations has not been updated for the purpose of proper external verification. A welcome step has been taken in the creation of written records through the issue of *patta* registers to each landowner beginning with the Paramakudi taluk of Ramanathapuram district. This recording of ownership and tenancy particulars should be ensured along with enforcement of the Fair Rent Act. The question of ensuring a stable real wage for agricultural labour through the vicissitudes of an internally unstable relative price structure, has not been attempted so far. There have been increases in money wages as pointed out earlier, but conclusive proof to show that real farm wages have increased⁴ is lacking. Legisla-

tion is needed for effectively ensuring a minimum and fair farm wage with suitable districtwise differentials but extending all over the State. While working towards an enforceable minimum wage for the State as a whole, the minimum figure for the district will take into account the crops grown, the availability of irrigation on State and private accounts, the extent of landless unemployed and the quantum of producers' surplus generally. Here again the beginning that has been made in taluks of Thanjavur district is modest and workable, and, should, as conditions permit, be extended to cover other districts as well. As pointed out above, any ban on absentee landlordism should secure the real objective of increasing production and reasonable continuity of tenure on the one hand and an extended productive function on the other. Corresponding to minimum rations of essential wage goods at stable prices to the urban under-privileged (to be extended also to the rural poor) a scheme for the distribution of essential inputs and goods that enter into the every day cost of living and production for small and marginal farmers is concurrently necessary. This would, of course, come about as part of the planning process in the course of the Perspective Plan period rather than as agricultural reform. There is a difference here. The cost of agriculture reform, with which the Union Planning Commission has been latterly concerned and which could conceivably be a deterrent in individual districts, would not be added to by this measure; rather will it form part of the outlay on agriculture. Further more the rural-urban terms of trade need to be continually watched and this perennial disadvantage offset, because prices of rural produce rise less fast and discontinuously than the prices of manufactured products. The fourth recommendation, therefore, is that the ceiling law should be supported and followed up by either fresh legislation or reactivation of existing legislation to prevent absentee landlordism, *benami* transactions, abuse of tenancy rights, fall in real wages and cost escalation of small farming together with the enforcement of fair rents.

PROCEDURES

V.6. There is also the related issue of the procedure for the distribution of the surplus. The collection of the

enforceable surplus is governed by a procedure set forth in the law itself. The whole exercise of estimating the surplus and enforcing the ceiling has been dominated by revenue procedures, though the issues involved have a much wider socio-economic impact. This would explain the slow rate of implementation referred to earlier. Unless the State Government simply and clearly enunciates the objectives and strategy underlying its approach to land legislation as a whole, and unless it is able to secure a consensus for this approach and create an enthusiasm for the new tasks that such legislation would entail not only among those who would be affected by the legislation but among those who form or elicit and provide leadership to bodies of opinion, its purposes would be defeated. The objectives and strategy ought to include first, a wider ownership of land which would make for greater equity and for a fair share in the endowments of the State; secondly, reinforcing the progress towards vesting and confining ownership and cultivation rights and experience in the same hands for long enough so that a dent can be made simultaneously on the inequality and production problems; thirdly, preventing concentration of holdings and effecting consolidation of fragmented lands; fourthly, securing these objectives consistently with the preservation of an optimum technical area that does not reduce the input-potential to levels below those prescribed for the Green Revolution. To ensure speedy, rigorous and understanding execution of the ceiling legislation and related statutory provisions, it would be necessary first to consolidate into a single omnibus Act all the separate and scattered legislative reform provisions. On this basis, an integrated programme should be launched to train the Authorised Officers continuously both in the changing context of agrarian reform and in the means of speedy execution. All those involved in land reform should also be provided with basic training in the role of agriculture in a planned economy and its changing potential for development. In order to ensure effective execution with as few escape hatches as possible would be necessary to keep land records continuously updated and for annual records to be sent both to revenue and planning authorities in the district and the State. This may enable the State and district authorities to establish for each Panchayat or Panchyat Union a system of annual or

bi-annual targets for land distribution. To counter the inordinate delays in execution resulting from the time taken in the disposal of appellate cases in civil courts, a specially constituted high-power land tribunal, for each district could be established. It could include retired High-Court judges, local panchayat leaders and revenue department representatives. These tribunals should be final courts of appeal and should be required to deliver judgement within a specified time limit (say six months), as the labour dispute courts are required. The fifth recommendation is that, on the basis of clarified objectives and strategy and their knowledgeable acceptance by the people concerned, the procedures for land distribution be revised to ensure effective execution.

AN ECONOMIC MODEL FOR REFORM

V.7. An optimum technical area should be consistent with a minimum working cost of an approved technology and package of inputs, while yielding a minimum marketable surplus or without diminishing existing surpluses. Both to determine this and the ideal ceiling for the law and to evolve a method of distributing the surplus realised from the above measure (ceiling prescription) a tentative economic model may be suggested. An economic model is one which furnishes a viable economic area and satisfies several conditions, namely, optimisation of production, equity, land revenue, rural employment, avoidance of concentration, monetisation of the rural economy, maximisation of marketable surplus and increasing incomes and living standards. A technical model in contrast will yield the figure for any given minimum unit below which it would be uneconomical to proceed for any given soil, climate, crop and technology of cultivation. The technical model if there were no economies of scale would be a straight line parallel to the X-axis suggesting that infinite small division of land was possible with the conventional techniques of ploughing, sowing and harvesting (Technically, plantation crops generally and many cash crops like cotton and sugarcane fare better in large areas. Water intensive paddy is feasible in compact farms but the Japanese technology of cultivation calls for a slightly higher minimum area—the average viable unit in wet area would be smaller than that of dry lands of the same area and many times smaller

than the minimum feasible unit that can be achieved in arid zone technology). A statistical model is a third frame which serves to measure the degree of equity achieved with any given ceiling. (This model was used in Chapter IV, PART B.) In elaborating the current model it becomes necessary to apply the economic constraints which obtain in real life situations.

V.7. (i) The object of any time bound land reform measures cannot be to give all the landless in the rural areas just any holding whatever, either in the immediate or near future. As a less extreme course, the State might seek to relieve landlessness in the rural areas under two sets of conditions, that operate simultaneously and critically, that is to say, welfare and equity on the one hand and production and productivity on the other. Even from welfare considerations there is a point in the size of the redistributed land beyond which subjective satisfaction and equity may suffer a relative decline. To meet the current situation in the State where the ceiling of 15 standard acres obtains and mutually to reconcile the welfare and productivity criteria, the economic model mentioned above has to be a total one. This total model must be articulated in situations varying in feasibility and ceiling limits from one to fifteen acres in this State and then to larger areas which apply in other States. Above fifteen acres there are really two alternative courses of action open to State Governments. As the Raj Committee on Agricultural taxation has recommended, it is possible to obtain for State Governments the same results for productivity, employment and equity by progressive and direct taxation on agricultural incomes as through land distribution measures. Most State Governments have accepted ceiling limits between 10 and 18 standard acres and the Raj Committee also notes that the revenue potential of the brackets just below 10 acres is still far from negligible for any projected income-tax measures. In the language of the model, therefore, both courses in egalitarian reforms, that is, redistribution or progressive taxation are open to State authority. Down the descending order, similarly, any welfare maximisation exercise will come up against the technical minimum and an associated input-potential constraint. Here again a freedom of choice exists; wider distribution of progres-

sively decreasing plots of land or pooling of these individual resources in joint or co-operative farming. It was noted earlier that the joint or co-operative farms have not in Tamil Nadu, at any rate, in its context of economic development, provided as ideal a solution as one might have imagined them to be. On the other hand, the examples of Taiwan¹ (44.5 per cent increase in production) and Soviet Russia² (about 60 per cent increase) would lend support to these forms of joint or collective farm organisation. The two politically disparate case studies referred to support a mode of organisation, namely, joint farming, rather than any political system. An ideal solution for rural landlessness would then consist in organising model or demonstration farms of about 5,000 acres in extent where initially multiplication of approved HYV seeds, extension work to spread the fruits of research of the ICAR, State Departments and Universities; instruction and demonstrations for research and graduate level students as well as out-of-school level vocational students can be undertaken. A 10,000-acre farm is to be set up at Chengam, North Arcot district, out of which 2,000 acres have already been acquired and for which labour saving machinery has been ordered. Successful large-scale dry farming operations are already in progress there. Farms such as these can provide employment the year round to landless labour and small and marginal farmers with less than a specified holding. Laboratory Green Revolution techniques need to be vindicated in pilot studies and prototype trials where the technical as well as economic feasibility of a new invention or technology can and will be demonstrated. Model farms are ideal centres for collecting local feed-back information and are besides most suited for dissemination of proven know-how. By vesting the model farms with the above economic functions and by sidetracking the organisation problems involved in the successful prosecution of joint farming societies and the counterpart emotional adjustments required by the members, these model farms can be made to serve disparate ends as income and employment as disparate as the extreme ends of a politico-economic spectrum. The farms need not be *a priori*

1. T. R. Smith: *East Asian Agrarian Reform: Japan, Republic of Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines*.

2. *Soviet Financial System*: Peoples Publishing House, Moscow.

ends in themselves but the means to a number of disaggregated practical objectives. For one thing, model farms have a well-founded sanction in the history of Tamil Nadu agriculture and are not much dissimilar from the large, more overtly commercial, State-owned plantations recommended by the Task Force on Forestry of the State Planning Commission. It is because this model aims at tackling the problem of too large and too small units of operation in agriculture it is a total model. In view of the fact that food self-sufficiency is one of the declared objectives of the State Government, the sectoral product and income are important only after the feasible or envisaged optimum distribution of them. In the absence of totally enunciated objectives—as opposed to preambles to reform bills which add up at best to a kind of “piecemeal social engineering” governing the land reform in the State—it would be wise to assume that the objective of any agrarian reform is to ensure equity in land distribution without decreasing production and productivity. A sixth recommendation is that the State Government should develop and apply a working economic model which would be a size norm for each of the crops cultivated in the districts, allowance being made in the size for soil and climate conditions. For instance, an economic dry farming unit in Ramanathapuram district would be much larger than the optimised size unit of a wet land in Thanjavur district and the input potential and marketable surplus that go with it as correlates. The economic model expressed in legislative measures will preclude controversy while providing a minimum of explanation and procedure that are necessary in a participative democracy for obtaining a consensus and to ensure that the law is worked incontrovertibly by a diversity of authorities according to the letter and spirit and in a manner that does not defeat the objectives of the legislation itself.

AGRICULTURAL TAXATION

V.8. To revert to the economic model, one of the objects of agricultural reform must surely be the maximisation of revenue from land. For agriculture, in Tamil Nadu and India, must pay for itself. If extension work based on continuing agricultural research is to go on as indeed it must, the Green Revolution must pay off. A continuing

yield forming a sizeable proportion of the State budget will be the only acceptable proof of the success of agrarian reforms. A wholly welcome consumption would be the contribution made to developmental revenues by viable agriculture which is able substantially to finance its development.

V.8. (i) The Raj Committee has noted two results of the ceiling law as enacted in all the States of the Union. They note that, even for purposes of revenue, a standing body composed of a non-official economist, an official economist with intimate knowledge and experience of revenue administration and the State Director of Agriculture, should go into the objective basis of Agricultural Holdings Tax in all the States and consult the State Government on any departure from the uniformity of the law itself and its working. They have estimated that the Agricultural Holdings Tax on the value of the land above Rs. 5,000 would yield a net revenue of Rs. 150 crores annually in all the States taken together. Tamil Nadu is one of the eight States which has made a firm beginning with the agricultural income-tax. Its income of Rs. 183 lakhs in 1970-71 from that source was the third highest in the country, Kerala and Assam having fared much better. (But then the two States have a predominance of plantations in their agricultural area and organisation.) Even in Tamil Nadu, during 1969-70, direct agricultural taxation formed only 0.67 per cent of agricultural income in the State but 8.92 per cent of the State's tax revenue.

V.8. (ii) The Raj Committee also draws the attention of the Government to the flight of capital from agriculture following the enforcement of the ceiling law in the States. The Committee also emphasises that the revenue-biased measure of productivity of agricultural land—already measured inadequately in ryotwari areas—must be replaced by a more systematic and disaggregated computation of productivity for each homogeneous region and each crop feasible in the agro-climate content; the average will be based on ten-year averages of actual production. It is to prevent tax evasion on these transfers of assessable wealth and income that the Committee has recommended the agricultural income-tax. The 1972-73 Union budget accepts by implication the prescription by the Raj Committee in favour of a combined, if not yet uniform,

levy on incomes deriving from both agricultural and non-agricultural sources. The Committee is also tacitly in agreement with the view asserted independently elsewhere in this Chapter that no single law such as a ceiling on holdings can by itself realise even one of the many longstanding objectives of agrarian reform in India. A whole complement of measures must be employed to realise a plurality of objectives simultaneously for which a coherent pre-mediated agricultural policy is necessary.

V.8. (iii) State Governments are badly in need of fresh sources of revenue to make good their share on the outlay of the Five-Year Plans and hence the imposition of an agricultural holdings tax in the manner of Raj Committee's recommendation should be a State concern. Agrarian reform in this context can be looked upon as a means of enlarging the tax-base in the primary sector and carve out a creative role for it in the developmental process. On these grounds a tax on agricultural income on par with income from other sources would be eminently desirable not merely as a necessary source of revenue. Thus the seventh recommendation of this monograph is that a tax on agricultural holdings, along the lines suggested by the Raj Committee, should be imposed and that this should be levied and collected by the State Government. A further recommendation is that the existing agricultural income-tax must be made progressive and broadbased.

V.9. *Decentralised Execution and Management:* The Community Development Programme, the discontinuance of which has brought about the return to a dispirited *status quo ante*, was a Union Government programme in a subject or aggregation of vitally related subjects, which were of exclusive or concurrent State concern. It sought moreover to set up a development machinery that was parallel to the existing district authority. A further important way in which the Community Development Programme went against the governing principle of Union Government Planning was that it was forced sooner or later to concentrate on contiguous high productivity areas or blocks for intensive development as opposed, for instance, to the principles on which the Finance Commission functions or those by which National Development Council and the Union Planning Commission are actua-

ted in their exercises bearing on inter-State allocations of development funds, project assistance for centrally subsidised programmes and distributions on account of crash programmes on subject which are often State subjects. These facts are not of much significance in themselves as the four Five-Year plans have more or less functioned well and flexibly outside the constitutional division of powers. But the autonomous district plan essayed as a novel feature by the Tamil Nadu Perspective Plan will mean a return to an integrated approach to problems and delivery of goods and services at a single point at the district level which is what the Community Projects sought in the main to achieve. These district plans seek to revitalise economic and community life in the villages and in part to fill the void created by the discontinuance of the Community Project Programmes. Apart from the wholly centrally owned farm in Tamil Nadu, there already exist 55 demonstration and experimentation farms owned by the State Government around which the new State Perspective Plan projects oriented to rural employment and to the needs of small and marginal farmers are to be built. The recommendation does intend that State organisation and initiative should make up for the extra-economic factors that may have played a vital role in the success of large farms in Taiwan or Soviet Russia: the return to rural life by expatriates from urban sophistication with a fund of skills and discipline in the case of Taiwan and the enthusiasm generated by a revolutionary impetus in the case of USSR. It has been argued earlier that land reform is an integrated series of measures and that the ceiling law should be quickly followed up by measures—not only to check evasion of the spirit and objective of the act—but positively to support the continued existence of small farms whose formation it would undoubtedly lead to such as credit facilities for purchase of inputs, advances against crop harvests, transfer of research findings. For instance, a new farmer with 10 acre holdings formed through the division of an estate exceeding, say, 50 acres, will find it easier to obtain term loans for crops, capital improvements as well as working capital, if he could get an under-writing from the Food Corporation of India or State Civil Supplies Corporation to whom his subsequent harvests for many years could be committed. The district plans for Tamil Nadu, which seek to replace the function of the

erstwhile Community Development Programme in its totality, must also endeavour to revive that lost sense of community and participation through social measures and specially devised communication methods such as those now in use for small savings or family planning. The eighth recommendation is thus that the execution of agrarian reforms and the management of enlarged State-owned farms should vest in the district planning authority.

V.10. *Financing the Programme:* The cost of the individual projects of the reform is set forth in a tabular form below. In some cases, the State Government is liable to bear the expenditure and in others such as time-bound crash programmes for small farmers, Central Government is liable on an *ad hoc* basis, outside of the Constitution. Some of the reforms have no financial implications in terms of development outlays but in view of the recommendations, the imposition of Agricultural Holdings Tax, as conceived by the Raj Committee, should be a State concern. It may be necessary to add extra staff to the land revenue department to work the rationalized measures in the spirit of the new developmental function. The cost of this as well as of any additional personnel such as Authorised Officers employed for the enforcement of the ceiling law have been computed as a separate item and is listed in the Table below.

TABLE XXXVI

	(In lakhs of Rupees)
1. Cost of acquisition of land	
2. Additional staff cost	
(i) to enforce acquisition proceedings	
(ii) to establish Land Tribunal	
(iii) to maintain Tenancy Register	
(iv) to impose Agricultural Holdings Tax	
3. Cost of Establishing Model Farms	
(i) Land acquisition/purchase	
(ii) Arranging Irrigation facilities	
(iii) Buying Farm Implements	
4. Community Development Project/District Plans Enforcement Cost	
5. Small Farmers Development Agency Cost	
Total Cost	

APPENDIX V(1)
 Scheduled Caste and Non-Scheduled Caste Households engaged in Cultivation in
 Rural Areas Only (Based on 20% sample) in Tamil Nadu : 1961.

SCHEDULED CASTES

Code*	No. of cultivating households	Less than 1 acre	1.0-2.4 acres	2.5-4.9 acres	5.0-7.4 acres	7.5-9.9 acres	10.0-12.4 acres	12.5-14.9 acres	15.0-29.9 acres	30.0-49.9 acres	50+ acres	Total Cols. in (3)-(12) acres	Unspecified acres (13)	(14)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	
1.	59,071	15,747	24,761	12,039	3,892	995	720	151	376	58	14	58,753	318	
2.	19,413	5,638	8,985	3,813	79	092	62	9	13	3	3	19,409	4	
3.	14,584	1,342	5,251	5,067	1,786	578	279	109	148	12	6	14,578	6	
Total	93,068	22,728	38,997	20,919	6,468	1,665	1,061	269	537	73	23	92,740	328	

(Appendix V(1) Contd.)

NON-SCHEDULED CASTES

1.	412,186	51,759	130,576	107,020	56,392	18,733	19,289	4,783	17,157	3,967	1,639	411,315	871
2.	48,388	12,055	19,555	9,440	3,978	1,026	1,063	257	729	162	60	48,325	63
3.	64,749	3,802	15,650	20,379	11,099	4,871	3,144	1,608	3,316	646	231	64,737	12
Total	525,323	67,616	165,781	136,839	71,469	24,630	23,496	6,648	21,202	4,766	1,930	524,377	946

Source : *Census of India, 1961, Vol IX, (Madras), Part V-A(ii), pp. 98-101 and Part III, pp. 49-51.*

Codes*

- 1. Owned or held from Government.
- 2. Held from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.
- 3. Partly held from Government and partly from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

APPENDIX V(2)
Scheduled Castes and Non-Scheduled Caste Households engaged in Cultivation in Rural Areas Only (Based on 20% sample) in Chingleput District, 1961.

SCHEDULED CASTES

Codes*	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
	No. of cultivating households	Less than 1 acre	1.0-2.4 acres	2.5-4.9 acres	5.0-7.4 acres	7.5-9.9 acres	10.0-12.4 acres	12.5-14.9 acres	15.0-29.9 acres	30.0-49.9 acres	50+ acres	Total of Cols. 3-12 (in acres)	Unspecified acres	
1.	4,577	1,646	1,952	688	159	37	27	5	13	1	1	4,529	48	
2.	2,482	813	1,273	340	48	2	3	—	1	1	—	2,481	1	
3.	2,194	235	901	735	211	64	26	7	13	2	—	2,194	—	
Total	9,253	2,694	4,126	1,763	418	103	56	12	27	4	1	9,204	49	

(Appendix V(2) Contd.)

NON - SCHEDULED CASTES

1.	21,151	3,646	7,963	4,987	2,104	672	727	163	590	155	60	21,067	84
2.	2,660	660	1,417	452	83	17	15	1	8	—	2	2,655	5
3.	5,101	233	1,496	1,835	821	299	152	72	152	31	9	5,100	1
Total	28,912	4,539	10,876	7,274	3,008	988	894	236	750	186	71	28,822	90

Source : *Census of India, 1961, Vol. IX (Madras), Part V-A(ii), pp. 98-101 and Part III, pp. 49-51.*

Codes* : 1. Owned or held from Government.

2. Held from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

3. Partly held from Government and partly from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

APPENDIX V(3)
Scheduled Castes and Non-Scheduled Caste Households engaged in Cultivation in Rural Areas Only (Based on 20% sample) in Coimbatore District, 1951.

Codes*	SCHEDULED CASTES														Total of Cols 3-12 (in acres)	Unspecified acres
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)		
	No. of cultivating households	Less than 1 acre	1.0-2.4 acres	2.5-4.9 acres	5.0-7.4 acres	7.5-9.9 acres	10.0-12.4 acres	12.5-14.9 acres	15.0-29.9 acres	30.0-49.9 acres	50+ acres					
1.	1,470	233	571	389	188	31	20	9	19	2	—	—	1,462	8		
2.	461	60	222	120	38	10	10	—	1	—	—	—	461	—		
3.	135	2	25	57	27	10	6	2	3	4	1	—	135	—		
Total	2,066	295	818	566	253	51	36	12	24	3	—	—	2,058	8		

(Appendix V(3) Contd.)

NON-SCHEDULED CASTES

1.	37,152	1,133	6,917	9,304	6,995	2,939	3,614	818	3,783	1,094	532	37,051	101
2.	4,567	297	1,273	1,274	751	326	341	47	214	35	6	4,564	3
3.	4,600	29	319	989	942	554	484	284	765	182	52	4,600	—
Total	46,319	1,459	8,509	11,567	8,618	3,819	4,439	1,149	4,762	1,311	590	46,215	104

Source : *Census of India, 1961, Vol IX, (Madras) Part V-A(ii), pp. 98-101 and Part III, pp. 49-51.*

Codes* : 1. Owned or held from Government.

2. Held from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

3. Partly held from Government and partly from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

APPENDIX V(4)
Scheduled Castes and Non-Scheduled Caste Households engaged in Cultivation in Rural Areas Only (Based on 20% sample) in Kanyakumari District, 1961.

Codes*	No. of cultivating households	(3)	SCHEDULED CASTES										Total of Cols (13)	Unspecified acres (14)
			(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)			
	Less than 1 acre	1.0-2.4 acres	2.5-4.9 acres	5.0-7.4 acres	7.5-9.9 acres	10.0-12.4 acres	12.5-14.9 acres	15.0-29.9 acres	30.0-49.9 acres	50+ acres				
1.	169	99	47	18	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	169	—	
2.	248	131	100	15	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	248	—	
3.	75	24	31	16	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	75	—	
Total	492	254	178	49	5	3	2	1	—	—	—	495	—	

(Appendix V(4) Contd.)

NON-SCHEDULED CASTES

1.	8,942	5,416	2,369	741	239	47	60	19	38	9	4	8,942	—
2.	1,694	1,103	471	88	22	6	2	1	10	—	—	1,694	—
3.	3,342	1,254	1,253	559	170	38	28	15	18	7	—	3,342	—
Total	13,978	7,773	4,093	1,388	431	91	90	35	57	16	4	13,978	—

Source: *Census of India, 1961, Vol. IX, (Madras), Part V-A(ii), pp. 98-101 and Part III, pp. 49-51.*

Codes* : 1. Owned or held from Government.

2. Held from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

3. Partly held from Government and partly from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

APPENDIX V(5)
Scheduled Castes and Non-Scheduled Caste Households engaged in Cultivation in Rural Areas Only (Based on 20% sample) in Madurai District, 1961.

SCHEDULED CASTES

Codes*	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
	No. of cultivating households	Less than 1 acre	1.0-2.4 acres	2.5-4.9 acres	5.0-7.4 acres	7.5-9.9 acres	10.0-12.4 acres	12.5-14.9 acres	15.0-29.9 acres	30.0-49.9 acres	50+ acres	Total of Cols. 3-12 (in acres)	Unspecified acres	
1.	4,468	1,063	1,904	968	300	72	57	210	36	5	—	4,415	53	
2.	1,059	273	565	177	33	5	4	1	—	—	1	1,059	—	
3.	667	37	197	262	97	37	18	8	10	—	—	666	1	
Total	6,194	1,373	2,666	1,407	430	114	79	19	46	5	1	6,140	54	

(Appendix V(5) Contd.)

NON-SCHEDULED CASTES

1.	37,512	4,125	12,724	9,616	5,051	1,596	1,781	354	1,597	378	153	37,375	137
2.	3,750	673	1,714	833	298	69	99	7	46	7	3	3,749	1
3.	5,452	150	1,109	1,811	1,068	463	329	146	314	39	31	5,450	2
Total	46,714	4,948	15,547	12,260	6,417	2,128	2,209	507	1,957	424	177	46,574	140

Source: *Census of India, 1961, Volume IX, (Madras), Part V-A(ii), pp. 98-101 and Part III, pp. 49-51.*

Codes* : 1. Owned or held from Government.

2. Held from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

3. Partly held from Government and partly from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

APPENDIX V(6)
Scheduled Castes and Non-Scheduled Caste Households engaged in Cultivation in Rural Areas Only (Based on 20% sample) in Nigiris District, 1961.

SCHEDULED CASTES

Codes*	No. of cultivating households	Less than 1 acre	1.0-2.4 acres	2.5-4.9 acres	5.0-7.4 acres	7.5-9.9 acres	10.0-12.4 acres	12.5-14.9 acres	15.0-29.9 acres	30.0-49.9 acres	50+ acres	Total of Col. 3-12 (in acres)	Unspecified acres
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
1.	33	9	17	4	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	33	—
2.	18	10	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18	—
3.	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Total	52	19	26	4	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	52	—

(Appendix V(6) Contd.)

NON-SCHEDULED CASTES

1.	2,420	251	985	641	303	77	80	11	57	9	6	2,420	—
2.	205	38	100	41	12	4	5	2	3	—	—	205	—
3.	111	6	27	42	19	8	1	3	3	1	1	111	—
Total	2,736	295	1,112	724	334	89	86	16	63	10	7	2,736	—

Source: *Census of India, 1961, Vol. IX, (Madras), Part V-A (ii), pp. 98-101 and Part III, pp. 49-51.*

Codes* : (1) Owned or held from Government.

(2) Held from private persons for payment in money, kind or sh.re.

(3) Partly held from Government and partly from private persons for payment in money, kind or share

APPENDIX A(6)

APPENDIX V(7)
Scheduled Castes and Non-Scheduled Caste Households engaged in Cultivation in Rural Areas Only (Based on 20% sample) in North Arcot District, 1961.

SCHEDULED CASTES

Codes*	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
No. of cultivating households			Less than 1 acre	1.0-2.4 acres	2.5-4.9 acres	5.0-7.4 acres	7.5-9.9 acres	10.0-12.4 acres	12.5-14.9 acres	15.0-29.9 acres	30.0-49.9 acres	50+ acres	Total of Cols. 3-12 (in acres)	Unspecified acres
1.	7,871	1,948	3,613	1,674	444	81	60	7	33	1	2	7,863	8	
2.	1,175	302	664	172	32	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	1,175	—
3.	1,568	112	582	613	186	41	20	7	5	2	—	—	1,568	—
Total	10,614	2,362	4,859	2,459	662	126	81	14	38	3	2	2	10,606	8

(Appendix V(7) Contd.)

NON-SCHEDULED CASTES

1.	46,421	5,797	17,676	12,897	5,566	1,546	1,374	359	945	165	53	46,378	43
2.	3,109	589	1,730	569	161	18	23	7	19	1	—	3,107	2
3.	5,454	212	1,667	2,063	861	299	164	75	96	12	4	5,453	1
Total	54,984	6,598	21,073	15,529	6,588	1,863	1,561	441	1,050	178	57	54,938	46

Source : *Census of India, 1961, Vol. IX, (Madras), Part V-A(ii), pp. 98-101 and Part III, pp. 49-51.*

Codes* : 1. Owned or held from Government.
 2. Held from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.
 3. Partly held from Government and partly from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

APPENDIX V(8)
Scheduled Castes and Non-Scheduled Caste Households engaged in Cultivation in Rural Areas Only (Based on 20% sample) in Ramanathapuram District, 1961.

Codes*	No. of cultivating households	SCHEDULED CASTES											Total of Cols. 3-12 (in acres)	Unspecified acres
		(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)			(14)
		Less than 1 acre	1.0-2.4 acres	2.5-4.9 acres	5.0-7.4 acres	7.5-9.9 acres	10.0-12.4 acres	12.5-14.9 acres	15.0-29.9 acres	30.0-49.9 acres	50+ acres			
1.	6,131	1,262	2,507	1,371	546	141	139	21	67	14	3	6,071	60	
2.	1,342	371	601	264	85	10	6	3	1	1	—	1,342	—	
3.	1,800	111	522	623	326	102	60	16	37	—	—	1,797	3	
Total	9,273	1,744	3,630	2,258	957	253	205	40	105	15	3	9,210	63	

(Appendix V(8) Contd.)

NON-SCHEDULED CASTES

1.	36,977	4,187	11,919	9,761	4,903	1,622	1,769	424	1,762	357	154	36,858	119
2.	2,765	777	1,144	565	173	53	33	100	90	—	—	2,764	11
3	6,469	214	1,354	1,995	1,229	615	372	191	358	86	23	6,467	2
Total:	46,211	5,178	14,417	12,321	6,305	2,320	2,174	625	2,129	443	177	46,089	122

Source : Census of India, 1961, Volume IX, (Madras), Part V-A(ii), pp. 98-101 and Part III, pp. 49-51.

Code,* : 1. Owned or held from Government.
 2. Held from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.
 3. Partly held from Government and partly from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

APPENDIX V(9)
Scheduled Castes and Non-Scheduled Caste Households engaged in Cultivation in Rural Areas Only (Based on 20% sample) in Saïem District, 1961.

SCHEDULED CASTES

Codes*	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
		No. of cultivating households	Less than 1 acre	1.0-2.4 acres	2.5-4.9 acres	5.0-7.4 acres	7.5-9.9 acres	10.0-12.4 acres	12.5-14.9 acres	15.0-29.9 acres	30.0-49.9 acres	50+ acres	Total of Cols 3-12 (in acres)	Unspecified acres
1.	6,867	812	2,914	2,021	742	176	108	32	46	5	—	—	6,856	11
2.	534	57	283	145	36	8	5	—	—	—	—	—	534	—
3.	508	11	117	182	100	52	25	8	13	—	—	—	508	—
Total	7,909	880	3,314	2,348	878	236	138	40	59	5	—	—	7,898	11

(Appendix V(9) Contd.)

NON-SCHEDULED CASTES

1.	66,643	3,744	19,704	20,717	11,651	3,749	3,272	860	2,364	384	106	66,542	101
2.	3,803	399	1,510	1,210	512	82	56	9	21	2	—	3,801	2
3.	4,914	60	668	1,686	1,214	527	307	142	279	26	3	4,912	2
Total	75,360	4,203	21,882	23,613	13,377	4,349	3,635	1,011	2,664	41.2	109	75,255	105

Source : *Census of India, 1961, Vol. IX, (Madras), Part V-A(ii), pp. 98-101 and Part III, pp. 49-51.*

Codes* : 1. Owned or held from Government.

2. Held from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

3. Partly held from Government and partly from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

VbbENDIX A(10)

APPENDIX V(10)
 Scheduled Castes and Non-Scheduled Caste Households engaged in Cultivation in Rural Areas Only (Based on 20% sample) in South Arcot District, 1961.

SCHEDULED CASTES

Codes*	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
No. of cultivating households			Less than 1 acre	1.0-2.4 acres	2.5-4.9 acres	5.0-7.4 acres	7.5-9.9 acres	10.0-12.4 acres	12.5-14.9 acres	15.0-29.9 acres	30.0-49.9 acres	50+ acres	Total of Cols 3-12 (in acres)	Unspecified acres
1.	10,941	3,807		4,642	1,768	444	136	68	17	25	2	4	10,913	28
2.	2,199	886		1,008	256	34	10	1		2	1	1	2,199	-
3.	2,218	317		900	2,736	669	201	91	26	36	4	5	15,328	30

(Appendix V(10) Contd.)

NON-SCHEDULED CASTES													
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			
1.	48,267	7,597	17,087	12,057	5,479	1,980	1,775	417	1,431	303	119	48,205	62
2.	3,235	1,098	1,550	463	84	8	14	2	9	3	3	3,234	1
3.	6,506	426	2,007	2,140	933	367	211	138	239	28	17	6,506	—
Total	58,008	9,121	20,644	14,660	6,496	2,315	2,000	557	1,679	334	139	57,945	63

Source : Census of India, 1961, Vol. IX, (Madras), Part V-A(ii), pp. 98-101 and Part III, pp. 49-51.

Codes* : 1. Owned or held from Government.

2. Held from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

3. Partly held from Government and partly from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

APPENDIX V(11)
**Scheduled Castes and Non Scheduled Caste Households engaged in Cultivation in
 Rural Areas Only (Based on 20% sample) in Thanjavur District, 1961.**

SCHEDULED CASTES

Codes*	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
	No. of cultivating households	Less than 1 acre	1.0-2.4 acres	2.5-4.9 acres	5.0-7.4 acres	7.5-9.9 acres	10.0-12.4 acres	12.5-14.9 acres	15.0-29.9 acres	30.0-49.9 acres	50+ acres	Total of Cols. 3-12 (in acres)	Unspecified acres	
1.	3,703	1,505	1,496	486	124	26	15	5	11	2	1	3,671	32	
2.	5,040	733	2,077	1,746	417	31	26	3	6	—	1	5,040	—	
3.	1,707	92	487	676	276	95	41	20	19	1	—	1,707	—	
Total	10,450	2,330	4,060	2,908	817	152	82	28	36	3	2	10,418	32	

(Appendix V(11) Contd.)

NON-SCHEDULED CASTES

1.	23,809	3,615	8,851	6,199	2,787	599	691	250	591	148	56	23,787	22
2.	14,518	3,090	5,410	2,925	1,611	380	411	157	348	106	42	14,480	38
3.	9,409	304	1,940	3,042	1,850	808	542	266	506	95	53	9,406	3
Total	47,736	7,009	16,201	12,166	6,248	1,787	1,644	673	1,445	349	151	47,673	63

Source : *Census of India, 1961, Vol IX, (Madras), Part V-A(ii), pp. 98-101 and Part III, pp. 49-51.*

Codes* : 1. Owned or held from Government.

2. Held from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

3. Partly held from Government and partly from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

APPENDIX V(12)
Scheduled Castes and Non-Scheduled Caste Households engaged in Cultivation in Rural Areas Only (Based on 20% sample) in Tiruchirapalli District, 1961.

SCHEDULED CASTES

Codes*	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
	No. of cultivating households	Less than 1 acre	1.0-2.4 acres	2.5-4.9 acres	5.0-7.4 acres	7.5-9.9 acres	10.0-12.4 acres	12.5-14.9 acres	15.0-29.9 acres	30.0-49.9 acres	50+ acres	Total of Cols 3-12 (in acres)	Unspecified acres	
1.	8,106	2,151	3,569	1,627	476	121	72	9	29	4	2	8,060	46	
2.	2,423	712	1,304	352	45	6	1	1	1	—	—	2,422	1	
3.	2,082	222	861	680	205	70	27	5	9	—	3	2,082	—	
Total	12,611	3,085	5,734	2,659	726	197	100	15	39	4	5	12,564	47	

(Appendix V(12) Contd.)

NON-SCHEDULED CASTES													
1.	53,166	5,634	15,959	14,196	8,108	2,763	2,791	645	2,287	498	183	53,064	102
2.	4,568	1,330	2,111	748	207	49	52	10	48	7	2	4,561	4
3.	8,451	330	2,108	2,901	1,457	647	389	163	362	70	23	8,450	1
Total	66,185	7,294	20,178	17,845	9,772	3,459	3,232	818	2,697	575	208	66,078	107

Source: *Census of India, 1961, Vol. IX, (Madras), Part V-A (ii), pp. 98-101 and Part III, pp. 49-51.*

Codes* : (1) Owned or held from Government.

(2) Held from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

(3) Partly held from Government and partly from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

APPENDIX V(13)
Scheduled Castes and Non-Scheduled Caste Households engaged in Cultivation in Rural Areas Only (Based on 20% sample) in Tirunelveli District, 1961.

SCHEDULED CASTES

Codes *	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
	No. of cultivating households	Less than 1 acre	1.0-2.4 acres	2.5-4.9 acres	5.0-7.4 acres	7.5-9.9 acres	10.0-12.4 acres	12.5-14.9 acres	15.0-29.9 acres	30.0-49.9 acres	50+ acres	Total of Cols. 3-12 (in acres)	Unspecified acres	
1.	4,735	1,212	1,529	1,025	466	172	151	36	97	22	1	4,711	24	
2.	2,432	1,291	880	226	21	6	4	1	1	—	—	2,430	2	
3.	1,629	179	627	511	165	51	34	25	29	5	3	1,629	—	
Total	8,796	2,682	3,036	1,762	652	229	189	62	127	27	4	8,770	26	

(Appendix V(13) Contd.)

NON-SCHEDULED CASTES

1.	29,726	6,614	8,422	5,904	3,276	1,192	1,355	463	1,712	467	213	29,618	108
2.	3,514	2,001	1,125	272	64	14	12	4	13	—	2	3,507	7
3.	4,940	584	1,702	1,316	535	216	165	113	224	60	25	4,940	—
Total	38,180	9,199	11,249	7,492	3,875	1,422	1,532	580	1,949	527	240	38,065	115

Source : *Census of India, 1961*, Vol. IX, (Madras), Part V-A(ii), pp. 98-101 and Part III, pp. 49-51.

Codes* : 1. Owned or held from Government.

2. Held from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

3. Partly held from Government and partly from private persons for payment in money, kind or share.

Cost of Implementing Model Farms
 (1) Land acquisition programme
 00-0
 00-4 FINANCING THE PROGRAMMES (2)

The cost of implementing certain specific recommendations has been outlined below in Table XXXVI. Some of the recommended programmes involve point-payments while the others are recurring in nature. The cost that may be incurred in the implementations of certain of the recommendations would be met by agencies other than the State Government. For example, the expenditure on the working of the Small Farmers' Development Agencies is met by the Central Government through the banking and co-operative institutions. The cost of taking over surplus land above the prescribed ceiling limit would be met by the ultimate users of the land. In fact just after the introduction of 1961 Ceiling law, more than 40 per cent of the total cost of acquisition was covered by actual payments by the tenants, who bought the surplus lands from the Government for personal cultivation. The cost of implementing the district plans has already been incorporated in the Perspective Plan Frame for Tamil Nadu. Hence in the calculation of total cost, only the involvement of additional expenditure that the Government may be called upon to imburse immediately in the implementations of the recommended programme has been included.

TABLE XXXVI — Cost of Implementing the Recommended Programme.

	Rs. in Crores
1. Cost of Acquisition of land	80.40
2. Additional Staff Cost (Yearly)	
(1) to enforce acquisition proceedings	0.10
(2) to establish Land Tribunal	0.30
(3) to maintain tenancy register	0.20
(4) to impose Agricultural Holdings Tax	0.50

3. Cost of Establishing Model Farms

- (1) Land acquisition/purchase 6.00
- (2) Arranging irrigation facilities 4.00
- (3) Buying Farm implements 2.00
- (4) Maintenance of Farm building, Storage, Animal and Cattle-Sheds etc. 2.00

4. Community Development Projects/District Plans Enforcement Cost

- 5. Small Farmers' Development Agencies (Plan period) cost incurred by each agency ... 1.50

Total Cost 16.10

These exclude the expenditure incurred by the existing mode of implementation. The costs are only additional requirements for speedy execution of the project proposals.

TABLE XXXVI - Cost of implementing the Recommended Programme

Rs. in Crores	
1. Cost of Acquisition of land	80.80
2. Additional Staff Cost (Yearly)	
(1) to cater acquisition proceedings	0.40
(2) to establish Land Tribunal	0.30
(3) to maintain tenancy register	0.20
(4) to impose Agricultural Holdings Tax	0.50
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