

RURAL COMMUNITY AND AGRICULTURE IN THE CAUVERY RIVER
BASIN: A CASE STUDY OF THE PERUVALANALLUR VILLAGE OF
THE TIRUCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU, INDIA

PART TWO

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Part One of the same title consisted of the following Chapters: Chapter I Introduction; Chapter II Land-uses and Their Associations; Chapter III Landownership; Chapter IV Occupational Specialization and Labor Organization.*

CHAPTER V

LAND TENURES AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

Land Tenures and Tenant Regulations

There are three types of land tenures currently available in Tamil Nadu; namely, (1) varam (share-cropping tenure), (2) kuttagai (fixed rent tenure), and (3) otti (usufructuary mortgage tenure), although the last form of tenure might not be properly called tenure.¹ Each of the tenures has its own long history,

*Yoshimi Komoguchi, "Rural Community and Agriculture --- ---, Part One", Studies in Socio-cultural Change in Rural Villages in Tiruchirappalli District, Tamil Nadu, India, No. 2, (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa [ISLCAA], March 1981), pp.85-136.

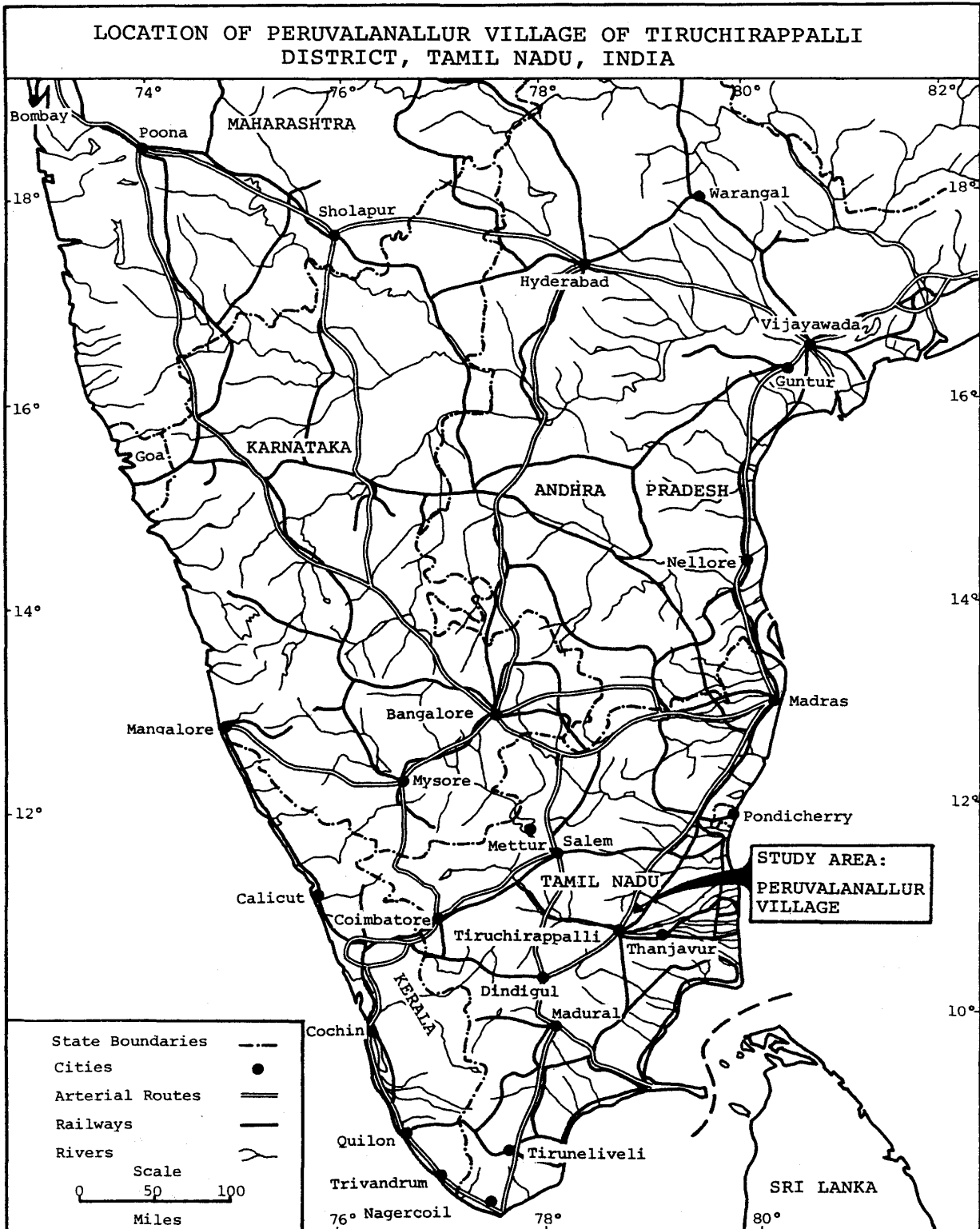


Figure I-1

but may not have had the same system which is presently practiced. When we focus on the current land tenures, it should be noted that the above three types can not be observed to an equal extent in all the villages, taluks, or districts. Rather, it is more common that, among the three types of tenures, only one type or two are dominantly practiced in a given village or area. In fact, in Peruvalanallur, only the kuttagai and otti tenures are observed and dominantly practiced. Before making a detailed discussion on various aspects of the land tenures in the studied village, it might be useful to outline some characteristics of each tenure, and also some of the important tenancy acts and rules which are relevant to the current transactions of land tenures in rural communities.

Types of Land Tenures

Varam is a share-cropping tenancy. It dates back to at least the Chola empire of the ninth to thirteenth centuries and probably long before.² In the present varam system, the amount of rent is determined by the total gross produce in the involved land and share-ratios between the landlord and his tenant. The share-ratios of return between the landlord and his tenant vary greatly depending not only upon the different provisions for irrigation water for the involved lands, but also upon the cost-bearing conditions between the two parties for a variety of agricultural work, fertilizers and pesticides, seeds, operational work on and maintenance of the irrigation facilities such as aetram eiravai (slope-lifting by people), kavalai (skin-bag-lifting by a pair of bullocks), low-lift pump with diesel engine power, and deep tubewell with electric power.

The kuttagai tenure seems to be the most common type of tenure in Tiruchy District. It has a long history, as the term kuttagai was said to be introduced into Thanjavur by the Vijayanagar rulers sometime between the mid-fourteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries.³ Under the current kuttagai system the tenant is supposed to pay a fixed rent in cash or kind to his

landlord and the amount is settled before cultivation (the rent, however, is paid after the harvest), and the tenant has to bear all the cultivation expenses. In the wet villages where different types of paddy (kuruvai, thaladi, and samba), sugarcane, and banana are major crops, the rent is paid in kind for paddy cultivation and in cash for sugarcane and banana cultivation. In the dry villages, cultivable lands are mostly punjais (unirrigated lands) which are used for several types of pulses and millets, groundnuts, chilies, vegetables, etc. The rent for such lands (punjais) is usually paid in cash regardless of the kinds of crops cultivated. Even in the dry villages, there are some pockets of nanjais (wet lands) which are used mostly for paddy cultivation. The rent for such lands is usually paid in kind. However, the landowners in the dry villages usually do not like leasing-out their wet lands under the kuttagai tenure, because these lands are the most productive within the dry environ. They prefer to cultivate these limited wet lands by themselves, if possible. It should be noted that, in many cases in the kuttagai transaction, there is a difference in varying degrees between the fixed amount and the actual amount of payment of rent, since most of the tenants "bargain" with the landowners after the harvest.

The fixed rent per unit of area varies greatly not only within a village but also in the different villages or regions. This is mainly due to the various qualities of the kuttagai lands which provide different land productivities. In the wet villages like Peruvalanallur, the amount of rent is largely determined by the criterion for the "single cropping" and "double cropping" lands. In 1979-80 in Peruvalanallur, the rent per acre for paddy cultivation in the "single cropping" and "double cropping" wet lands was 7.5 bags - 12.0 bags (40%-60% of the gross produce; one bag is about 60 kg.) and 10.5 bags - 15.0 bags (24%-34%) respectively. In the case of sugarcane, the rent per acre was Rs. 600 - Rs. 1,000 (20%-35% of the "net income").

The otti tenure also has a long history, since the term otti appeared in the temple inscriptions in the early fifteenth century.⁴ Under the current otti system, a tenant gets the right of cultivation of land involved by depositing a certain amount of

cash in advance with his landlord. The period of the otti contract is usually for three years. The full right of the land involved is returned to the landowner on the repayment of the deposit without any interest to the tenant. Thus, we can regard the tenant's (creditor's) yearly enjoyment of cultivating the otti land as an "annual interest" on the cash deposit to the landowner (debtor).

Tenancy Regulations

Since the 1950s the legislature has passed several tenancy acts and rules, and their amendments which are aimed mainly at protecting the "cultivating tenant."⁵ Of these acts, the following three Acts are worth mentioning: (1) the Tamil Nadu (Madras) Cultivating Tenants Protection Act, 1955; (2) the Tamil Nadu (Madras) Cultivating Tenants (Payment of Fair Rent) Act, 1956; and (3) the Tamil Nadu Agricultural Lands Records of Tenancy Right Act, 1969 and their Amendments.

The 1955 Act protects the tenants from all kinds of arbitrary evictions, retrospectively from December 1, 1953; but enables the landowners, in deserving cases, to repossess land for personal cultivation. However, only a very few tenant and landowners have resorted to the courts;⁶ the majority of cases have been settled out of court by one way or another. The results were described by Mencher as follows:⁷

"By far the majority of tenants in the village we know simply gave up their tenancies. Some tried to get tenancies from other landlords. Some were even shifted by the same landlord to another plot. Protests were rare."

The 1956 Act attempts to abolish usury and rack-renting. There are three aspects which fix the fair rent: (1) the classification of land into three categories, where, irrigation (its nature and intensity) is the most important criterion; (2) the determination of the normal gross produce for each category; and (3) the fixation of a percentage of the gross produce payable as fair rent for each category of land in which the percentage is

correlated in each case inversely to the irrigation intensity.⁸ This Act fixes fair rent as follows: (i) in the case of wet land, 40 percent of the normal gross produce or its value in money; (ii) in the case of wet land where the irrigation is supplemented by lifting water, 35 percent of the total gross produce or its value in money; and (iii) in the case of any other class of land, 33-1/3 percent of the total gross produce or its value in money. In the case of lands in items (i) and (ii), in which water is lifted by pumpsets installed at the cost of the landowners, the fair rent can be increased to 40 percent. With respect to the above, a great many villagers and scholars express their opinions that the actual rate of rent of the total produce paid by the tenants is much higher than the fixed rate of rent supported by the Act. This may be generally true, but the measurement of the rate of rent should be carefully looked at. In the case of paddy cultivation, for example, the villagers are likely to tell us the "total gross produce" after subtracting some of the paddy which is paid to the hired laborers as their wages.⁹

The 1969 Act was passed with a view toward regulating the working of the other Acts which were intended to protect the tenants. The Act provides for drawing up of a land record of rights which includes such particulars as the survey (or subdivision) number, area, names and addresses of owners and tenants, etc. Special officers are appointed to investigate, verify, and record these tenancy agreements. The implementation of the Act was in two stages: for the districts of Tanjavur, Tiruchy, and Madurai, it went into effect on December 19, 1969; and for the other districts, on September 8, 1971. Thus, the first Gazettes of the Tenancy Registers under the 1969 Act were published in August, 1972; although further applications for the Tenancy Registers are still open to the tenants concerned.

It is a fact that the Gazettes have included only some of the actual cases of the land tenure transactions. The reasons for this have been mainly due to the tenants' innocence, or, because of their passive attitude toward the 1969 Act, they have hesitated to file the applications in the Tenancy Registers. The tenants' attitude itself seems to be related to the speculation

that, even if the application were filed, there would be an unfair rejection of the entry in the Tenancy Registers instigated by the landowners. It is, however, believed that once a tenancy agreement is listed in the Tenancy Registers the landowner practically has to give up the right of cultivation of the land almost "permanently," since the Act protects not only the present tenant but also his heirs. Therefore, the landowners have tried to resist, by all means, entering their land tenures in the Tenancy Registers.

Most of the above passive attitude by the tenants is rooted in their rather recent basic belief that the land is already theirs (and their heirs') to cultivate permanently. Thus, they see no point in going through the complicated rigors of registering the lands they cultivate. This attitude applies only to the kuttagai tenancy in the studied area of the Tiruchy District.

Although quite a few scholars say that the above tenancy acts are not effective, this writer feels that they have neglected to look at the actual influence of these acts. For example, it has been observed in the studied area that most of the kuttagai tenants and landowners know that the tenants have the "permanent" right of cultivation of the lands; the tenants now often feel no need to register those lands; and the landowners, who are short of working members in their own families, are reticent to buy any more land: they prefer to invest their capital in other ways. Thus, it is obvious that the spirit of these acts, if not the actual letter of the acts, is increasingly influential, especially in the wet villages.

The Varam Tenure in Lalgudi Taluk

Although varam is not practiced at all in Peruvallur,¹⁰ it was found in some dry villages in Lalgudi Taluk, including Mahizambadi (#33), Reddimangudi (#35), Neykulam (#89), and Siruganur (#91). Some of the share-ratios between the landlord and his tenant, and their respective cost-bearing conditions

are exemplified as follows¹¹:

- (1) One-third of the gross produce to the landlord and two-thirds to the tenant: In this type, locally called nel-varam or nil-varam,¹² the tenant alone takes care of the cropping and all the cultivating expences. The lands are usually punjais (dry lands) without any irrigation facilities and rain-fed only.
- (2) One-half to the landlord and one-half to the tenant: In this type, locally called alipathi-varam (half-each-varam)¹³, the landlord usually pays only for manure and fertilizers, and the tenant bears all the rest of the cultivating expense. Like in the first case, the lands are usually punjais without any irrigation facilities.
- (3) Two-thirds to the landlord and one-third to the tenant: The lands in this type are nanjais (wet lands) in a dry environ which are irrigated from eris (tanks) and tubewells lifted by diesel engines or electric motors. In this type, the landlord and his tenant bear two-thirds and one-third of the costs for manure and fertilizers and pesticides respectively. Besides, the landlord alone pays for he maintenance charges on the irrigation facilities (such as those for engine oil, electric current, repairing the installed machines, etc.), and cartage; and the tenancy only bears the cost for seeds, operation of the irrigation facilities (usually 3-4 hours per day in the season), and a series of agricultural work.
- (4) Five-sixths to the landlord and one-sixth to the tenant: Like in the third type, the lands are nanjais which are irrigated by kavalais. The landlord and his tenant equally bear the kavalai work and much of the agricultural work. Besides, the landlord alone pays for manure and fertilizers, pesticides, and seeds.
- (5) Seven-eighths to the landlord and one-eighth to the tenant: The physical conditions of the lands are the same as the third and fourth types. The landlord and his tenant equally share the operational work for the irrigation and most of the necessary agricultural work. Besides, the landlord alone pays for manure and fertilizers, pesticides, seeds, cartage, and the maintenance charges on the irrigation facilities.

The land-tax in varam is paid by the landowner in Lalgudi Taluk of Tiruchy District.¹⁴ The above examples of share-ratios reveal a basic principle: The partner who bears the greater cost gets

the greater share of the gross produce, depending, of course, on the physiographic conditions of the varam lands to which the different modes of irrigation are employed.

In recent years in India, especially since the 1960s, the irrigation systems have developed to a great extent, although there are still regional variations. The development of irrigation systems is one of the key factors responsible for the "green revolution." This is true at the Taluk level of Tiruchy District. In the dry villages of Lalgudi Taluk, the energized irrigation method has been emphasized by innovative landowners: (1) Many deep tubewell with electric motors have been installed in new places; (2) Some of the traditional wells¹⁵ have been converted into energized tubewells; and (3) Quite a few low-lift pumps have been introduced replacing the traditional aetram-eravais and kavalais to some extent. In a dry environ the farming of nanjais (wet Lands) with the energized irrigation systems accompanied by modern agricultural inputs provides much higher yields than the punjais (unirrigated dry lands) or nanjais with the traditional irrigation systems, although it require more capital and a larger labor force. In accordance with the rapidly increasing capital-labor trend, careful farm management has become a more important factor in successful farming.

There were various responcees from the varam landowners on the general trend of the "modernization of farming" found in Lalgudi Taluk. Some innovative landowners have even cancelled the varam contracts, and have cultivated the lands under their own management. Some other landowners have converted from the varams to the kuttagais after the installment of oil engines and electric motors.¹⁶ The landowners presently involved in varams are interested, to a varied extent, in the managerial aspects of farming along with bearing more of the costs for modern inputs, so that they can realize a much higher profit per unit of land than simply enjoy less profit under the traditional farming. It should be noted that some of the above landowners have even started the varam contracts after the installment of the energized irrigation facilities in 1970s. Then, there is the crucial question, "What are the reasons for the landowners to keep the

varam contracts?"

The basic reasons are concerned with the availability of the agricultural labor force at two levels; (1) the working member(s) allocated to farming within an individual household, and (2) the wage laborers and pannaiyals (agricultural laborers on a yearly basis) in the villages or regions, although the two components work out in an integrated fashion. The landowners' varied labor situations are primarily responsible for the decision of whether to enter the varam tenure, and the degree of their involvement in the varam farming when the decision is made. As indicated earlier, the "modernization of farming" has induced a great demand on the labor force. However, there is more of a demand in the wet villages than in the dry villages. Moreover, the laborer's wage in the wet villages is at least 1.5 times higher than that in the dry villages. Consequently, a great number of wage laborers in the dry villages move to the wet villages in season, and, by extension, there is a seasonal scarcity of wage laborers in the dry villages. Therefore, the landowners whose farming largely depends upon the outside labor force have to seek some way to secure a year-around stable labor force. One way to solve the problem for such landowners is to choose the varam tenancy by providing some reasonable conditions for their tenants.

As indicated before, the landowners are afraid that their tenants will gain the "permanent right of cultivation" of the leased lands under the 1969 Tenancy Act. In this respect, the landowners generally prefer the varam to the kuttagai, because the varam landowners can defend themselves from the tenants' claims, should they happen, by insisting that the landowners have been managing the farming.

The Land Tenures in the Studied Village

Areas and Households Involved in Land Tenures

The intra- and inter-village transactions of the land

tenures should be discussed in relation to the general landholding pattern of the studied village. As indicated already in the previous section, only the kuttagai and otti tenures are observed and dominantly practiced in Peruvalanallur. Table V-1 shows the basic statistics of the involved areas (with a distinction between wet and dry lands) leased-out and -in under the kuttagai and otti tenures of the Peruvalanallur and the other related villagers. As indicated already in Chapter III, the Peruvalanallur villagers in 1979-80 owned 1,656.63 acres consisting of 681.29 acres (wet: 582.14 acres; dry: 99.15 acres) in Peruvalanallur and 975.34 acres (wet: 279.67 acres; dry: 695.67 acres) in the other villages. Of the total lands, 300.27 acres (wet: 212.84 acres; dry: 87.43 acres) or 18.13 percent were leased-out under the kuttagai (205.24 acres) and the otti (95.03 acres).

The Hindu temples and other religious organizations of Peruvalanallur owned 37.25 acres (wet: 36.28 acres; dry: 0.97 acres) of cultivable lands within the village territory. Besides, some other Hindu temples which belonged to four other villages also owned 9.80 acres of the wet land in Peruvalanallur. Most of these lands were leased-out to the Peruvalanallur tenants under the kuttagai tenancy.




On the other hand, the other villages and town dwellers in 1979-80 owned 188.32 acres (wet and dry lands) in Peruvalanallur. Out of this area, 27.84 acres of wet land were leased-out to the Peruvalanallur tenants under the kuttagai or otti tenancy. Besides, some landowners in the other villages had the kuttagai and otti tenures of 28.19 acres (wet: 27.63 acres; dry: 0.56 acres) with the Peruvalanallur tenants in which the involved lands were located outside Peruvalanallur (but mostly in the nearby villages). Figure V-1 shows the spatial distribution of the kuttagai and otti lands in Peruvalanallur. It should be noted from this figure that a greater part of the total arable land of the village is not cultivated by the landowners but by the tenants either under the kuttagai or otti tenures. Moreover, we should realize that the Peruvalanallur villagers owned more of the leased-out lands outside the village than that within the village (Table V-1).

TABLE V-1

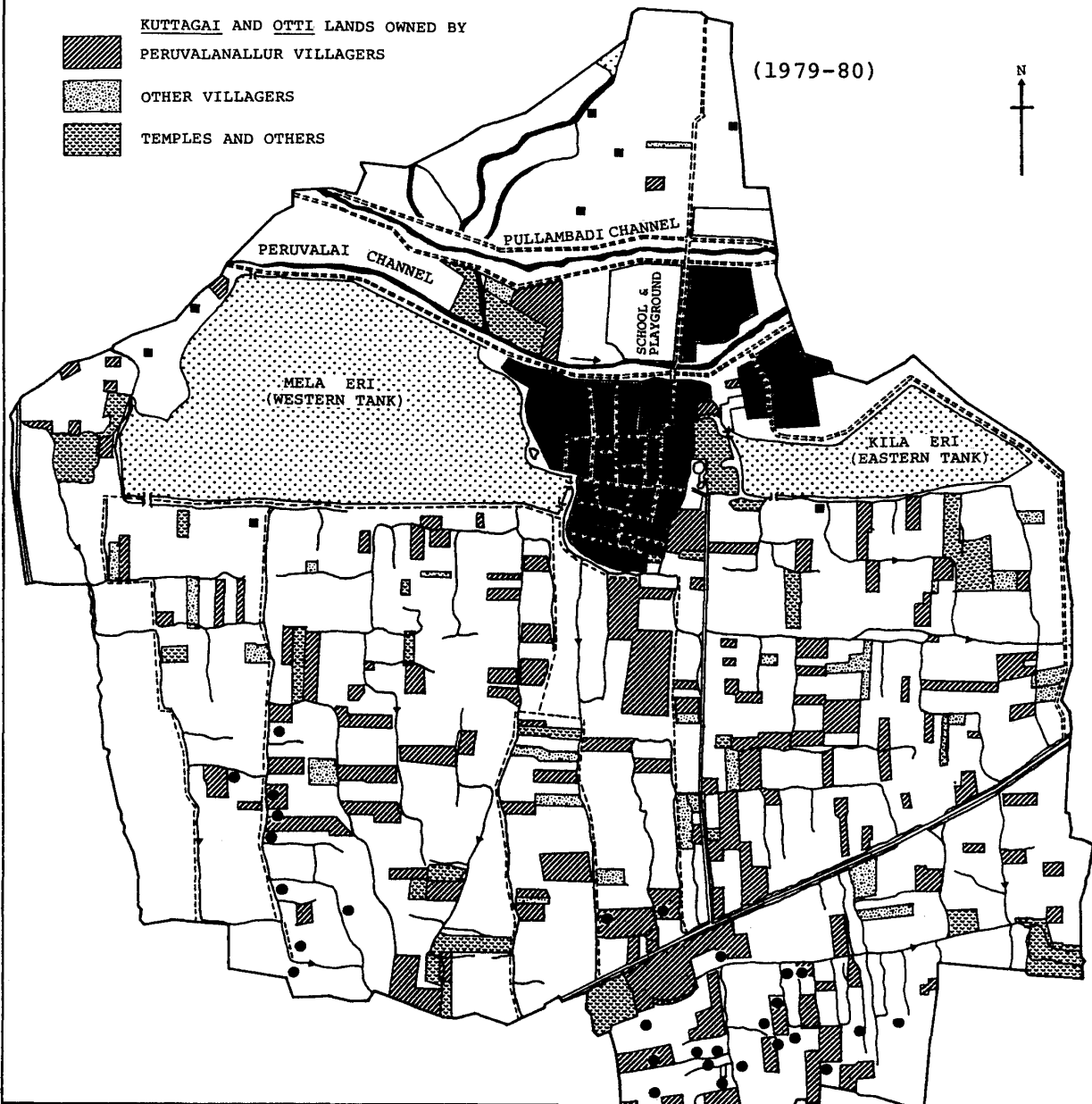
**KUTTAGAI AND OTTI: BASIC STATISTICS OF AREAS LEASED-OUT AND -IN BY PERUVANALLUR VILLAGERS OF
LALGUDI TALUK, TIRUCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU, INDIA (1979-80)**







	(Unit: in Acre)									
	Location of Lands in									
	Peruvalanallur			Other Villages			Total			
	Wet	Dry	Total	Wet	Dry	Total	Wet	Dry	Total	Total
I. Kuttagai										
A. Landowners										
Peruvalanallur:										
1. Villagers	48.31	4.91	53.22	83.73	68.29	152.02	132.04	73.20	205.24	
2. Temples & Others	36.28	0.97	37.25	-	-	-	36.28	0.97	37.25	
3. (1 + 2)	84.59	5.88	90.47	83.73	68.29	152.02	168.32	74.17	242.49	
Other Villages:										
4. Villagers	21.75	-	21.75	22.51	0.06	22.57	44.26	0.06	44.32	
5. Temples	9.80	-	9.80	-	-	-	9.80	-	9.80	
6. (4 + 5)	31.55	-	31.55	22.51	0.06	22.57	54.06	0.06	54.12	
7. (3 + 6)	116.14	5.88	122.02	106.24	68.35	174.59	222.38	74.23	296.61	
B. Tenants										
8. Peru. Villagers	112.20	5.88	118.08	26.70	0.50	27.20	138.90	6.38	145.28	
9. Other Villagers	3.94	-	3.94	79.54	67.85	147.39	83.48	67.85	151.33	
10. (8 + 9)	116.14	5.88	122.02	106.24	68.35	174.59	222.38	74.23	296.61	
II. Otti										
A. Landowners										
11. Peru. Villagers	68.89	0.85	69.74	11.91	13.38	25.29	80.80	14.23	95.03	
12. Other Villagers	6.09	-	6.09	5.12	0.50	5.62	11.21	0.50	11.71	
13. (11 + 12)	74.98	0.85	75.83	17.03	13.88	30.91	92.01	14.73	106.74	
B. Tenants										
14. Peru. Villagers	70.01	0.85	70.86	15.16	5.88	21.04	85.17	6.73	91.90	
15. Other Villagers	4.97	-	4.97	1.87	8.00	9.87	6.84	8.00	14.84	
16. (14 + 15)	74.98	0.85	75.83	17.03	13.88	30.91	92.01	14.73	106.74	
III. Kuttagai and Otti										
17. Areas leased-out by Peruvalanallur Villagers, Temples, and Others:										
(3 + 11)	153.48	6.73	160.21	95.64	81.67	177.31	249.12	88.40	337.52	
18. Areas leased to Peruvalanallur Tenants:										
(8 + 14)	182.21	6.73	188.94	41.86	6.38	48.24	224.07	13.11	237.18	

**KUTTAGAI AND OTTI LANDS IN PERUVALANALLUR VILLAGE OF LALGUDI TALUK,
TIRUCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU, INDIA**

KUTTAGAI AND OTTI LANDS OWNED BY
 PERUVALANALLUR VILLAGERS
 OTHER VILLAGERS
 TEMPLES AND OTHERS

(1979-80)



 HOMESTEAD AND ITS ASSOCIATION	 UNMETALLED ROADS AND PATHWAYS
 METALLED ROAD	 IRRIGATION CANALS
 DEEP TUBEWELL	 SHALLOW TUBEWELL (FILTER POINT)

0 100 200 300 400 500 METERS
SCALE

Figure V-1

TABLE V - 2

KUTTAGAI AND OTTI: PATTERN OF INVOLVEMENT OF HOUSEHOLDS IN
THE LAND TENURES IN PERUVALANALLUR, TIRUCHIRAPPALLI
DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU, INDIA (1979-80)

Types	Sign(I): applicable		Sign(O): not applicable		No. of Households (e)
	Kuttagai		Otti		
	Landowner- side (a)	Tenant- side (b)	Landowner- side(c)	Tenant- side (d)	
1	I	O	O	O	29
2	O	I	O	O	70
3	O	O	I	O	49
4	O	O	O	I	92
5	I	I	O	O	1
6	O	O	I	I	4
7	I	O	I	O	4
8	I	O	O	I	2
9	O	I	I	O	33
10	O	I	O	I	22
11	O	I	I	I	3
12	I	O	I	I	1
Total	(37)	(129)	(94)	(124)	310

- Notes:
1. The figures under (e) column show the total number of households in that type of involvement.
 2. The figures in parentheses show the total number of households under each column.

Next, we are concerned with the degree of the involved households in the land tenures of the studied village. Although 310 households or 35.35 percent of the village total (874 households) in 1979-80 were involved in the two types of the land tenures (the kuttagai and otti), their involvements are very complex as shown in Table V-2. The numbers of households for the kuttagai were 165 households (landowner-side only: 36; tenant-side only: 128; and both sides: 1), and for the otti, 210 households (landowner-side only: 86; tenant-side only: 116; and both sides: 8). Of these households (165 for the kuttagai and 210 for the otti), 65 households were involved in both tenancies.

The Kuttagai

Of the 874 households in Peruvallanallur in 1979-80, 165 households or 18.89 percent of the village total were involved in the kuttagai tenancy of which 37 households were landowners and 129 were tenants, although one household was involved on both sides.¹⁷ Both landowners and tenants of Peruvallanallur had the kuttagai transactions not only with their own villagers but also with the other villagers (Tables V-3 and -4 and Figs. V-2, -3, and -4).

The 37 households leased-out 205.24 acres (wet: 132.04 acres; dry: 73.20 acres) under the kuttagai tenancy or 12.39 percent of the total area (1,656.63 acres) owned by the Peruvallanallur villagers (Table V-3). Of these kuttagai lands, there were 53.22 acres (wet: 48.31 acres; dry: 4.91 acres) distributed within Peruvallanallur and 152.02 acres (wet: 83.73 acres; dry: 68.29 acres) outside the village (Table V-1 and Figs. V-3 and -4). Of these available kuttagai lands leased-out by the Peruvallanallur villagers, the tenants of the same village cultivated 50.63 acres (wet: 45.72 acres; dry: 4.91 acres) located in their own village territory, and 4.63 acres (wet: 4.19 acres; dry: 0.44 acre) in the other villages (Fig. V-4); while the tenants in 19 other villages cultivated the remaining 149.98 acres (wet: 82.13 acres; dry: 67.85 acres) which, except for 2.59 acres of the wet

TABLE V- 3

KUTTAGAI TRANSACTIONS IN PERUVALANALLUR VILLAGE OF LALGUDI TALUK,
TIRUCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU, INDIA (1979-80)

Unit: in Acre

I. Landowner-side				
Castes	No. of Households	Areas leased-out		
		Wet	Dry	Total
Reddiar	16	116.54	57.79	174.33
Udaiyar	6	5.35	3.50	8.85
Gounder	4	0.68	7.50	8.18
Muslim	6	6.45	2.91	9.36
Achari	1	1.00	-	1.00
Mooppanar	1	1.00	-	1.00
Protestant	1	-	1.50	1.50
Hindu Pallan	1	0.42	-	0.42
Domban	1	0.60	-	0.60
	<u>37</u>	<u>132.04</u>	<u>73.20</u>	<u>205.24</u>
Hindu Temples		35.97	-	35.97
Mosque		0.31	-	0.31
Catholic Church		-	0.97	0.97
		<u>36.28</u>	<u>0.97</u>	<u>37.25</u>
Other Villagers		44.26	0.06	44.32
Hindu Temples belonged to Other Villages		9.80	-	9.80
		<u>54.06</u>	<u>0.06</u>	<u>54.12</u>
TOTAL		<u>222.38</u>	<u>74.23</u>	<u>296.61</u>
II. Tenant-side				
Castes	No. of Households	Areas leased-in		
		Wet	Dry	Total
Reddiar	25	43.68	0.50	44.18
Udaiyar	11	12.06	-	12.06
Gounder	9	10.60	2.97	13.57
Muslim	1	2.16	-	2.16
Nadar	1	0.28	-	0.28
Muthuraja	8	12.79	-	12.79
Pariyari	2	0.90	-	0.90
Pandaram	4	2.91	-	2.91
Hindu Pallan	53	41.66	1.94	43.60
Hindu Parayan	1	1.00	-	1.00
Catholic Pallan	7	5.55	-	5.55
Catholic Parayan	7	5.31	0.97	6.28
	<u>129</u>	<u>138.90</u>	<u>6.38</u>	<u>145.28</u>
Other Villagers		<u>83.48</u>	<u>67.85</u>	<u>151.33</u>
TOTAL		<u>222.38</u>	<u>74.23</u>	<u>296.61</u>

TABLE V-4
KUTTAGAI TRANSACTIONS BETWEEN PERUVALANALLUR AND OTHER
VILLAGERS IN LALGUDI TALUK, TIRUCHIRAPPALLI
DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU, INDIA (1979-80)

Unit: in Acre

Village Names of Tanants	Areas leased-in		
	Wet	Dry	Total
Vengangudi (#19)	3.75	-	3.75
Appadurai (#23)	-	3.50	3.50
Esanakkorai (#24)	-	2.00	2.00
Valadi (#26)	2.00	-	2.00
Sirumarudur (#27)	8.61	-	8.61
V. Turaiyur (#28)	23.48	-	23.48
S. Kannanur (#29)	3.87	-	3.87
Marudur (#30)	3.77	-	3.77
R. Valavanur (#31)	13.86	0.95	14.81
Kumulur (#37)	1.15	-	1.15
Sirumayangudi (#62)	3.52	-	3.52
Poovalur (#64)	0.70	-	0.70
Sirudaiyur (#71)	0.65	-	0.65
Thirumangalam (#72)	12.58	-	12.58
Neikuppai (#74)	4.10	-	4.10
Siruganur (#91)	-	54.40	54.40
Outside of Lalgudi Taluk:			
Annamangalam (Perambalur TK.)	-	1.50	1.50
Natthampalayam ()	-	5.50	5.50
Pudukkottai (District Capital)	1.44	-	1.44
Total	83.48	67.85	151.33

Note: 1. Each number in parentheses corresponds to the revenue village number listed in Table I-1.

2. The lands leased-in by the tenants of Sirumayangudi (#62) and Poovalur (#64) belonged to the Hindu temples of Peruvalanallur. Subtracting the temple lands (1.35 acres), the total area leased-out by the Peruvalanallur villagers was 149.98 acres.

TABLE V- 4 (continued)

Unit: in Acre

Village Names of Landowners	Areas leased-out		
	Wet	Dry	Total
Thachankuruchi (#34)	0.74	-	0.74
Reddimangudi (#35)	0.43	-	0.43
Kumulur (#37)	0.28	-	0.28
Peruvalapur (#42)	2.68	0.06	2.74
Kanakkiliyanallur (#43)	2.92	-	2.92
Pullambadi (#45)	1.99	-	1.99
Pallapuram (#63)	0.30	-	0.30
Poovalur (#64)	5.58	-	5.58
Sirudaiyur (#71)	1.68	-	1.68
Perakambi (#86)	1.08	-	1.08
Neykulam (#89)	1.30	-	1.30
Siruganur (#91)	3.97	-	3.97
Garudamangalam (#104)	2.03	-	2.03
Kallakudi (#112)	1.00	-	1.00
Outside of Lalgudi Taluk:			
Kalpadi (Perambalur TK.)	0.74	-	0.74
Thiruvanaikoil (Trichy TK.)	8.03	-	8.03
Tiruchy Town	2.88	-	2.88
Thathaiyankarpet (Musiri TK.)	4.02	-	4.02
Erumaipatti (Namakkal TK., Salem Dt.)	2.16	-	2.16
Neiveli (S. Arcot Dt.)	0.45	-	0.45
	<u>44.26</u>	<u>0.06</u>	<u>44.32</u>
Temples:			
Pullambadi (#45)	1.00	-	1.00
Poovalur (#64)	2.94	-	2.94
Siruganur (#91)	4.38	-	4.38
Uttathur (#116)	1.48	-	1.48
	<u>9.80</u>		<u>9.80</u>
Total	<u>54.06</u>	<u>0.06</u>	<u>54.12</u>

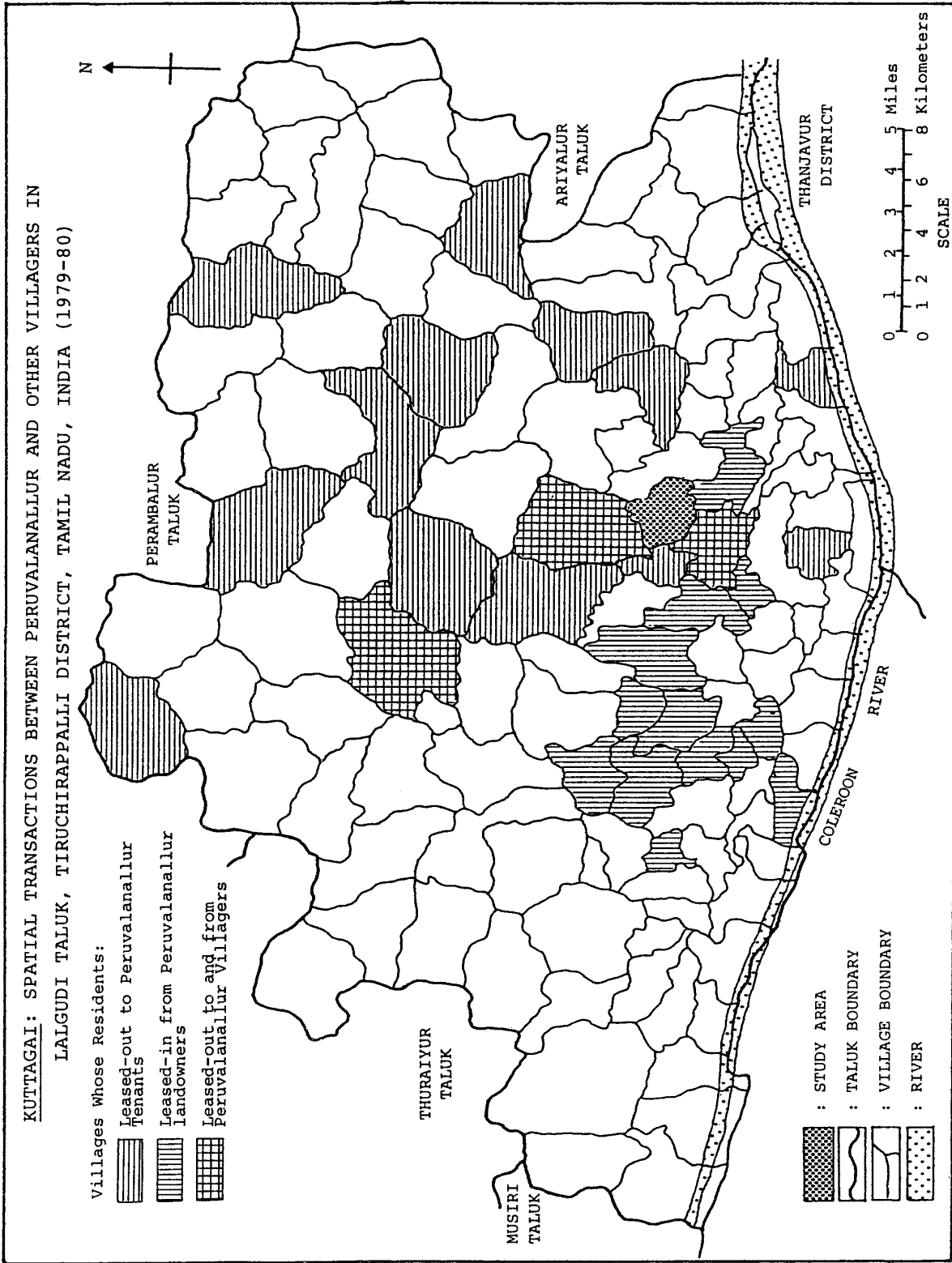





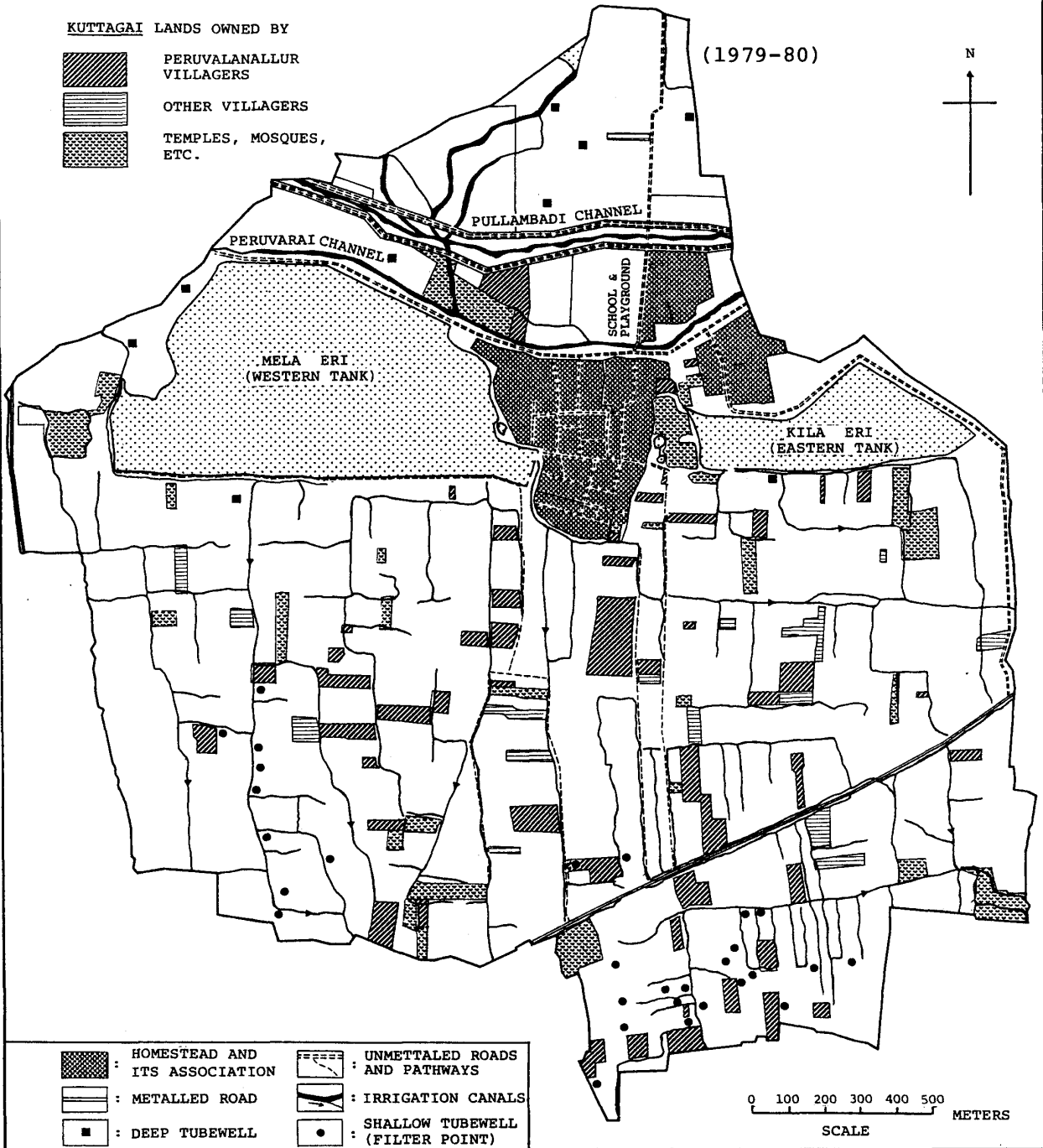
Figure V-2







**KUTTAGAI LANDS IN PERUVALANALLUR VILLAGE OF LALGUDI TALUK,
TIRUCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU, INDIA**

KUTTAGAI LANDS OWNED BY

-  PERUVALANALLUR VILLAGERS
-  OTHER VILLAGERS
-  TEMPLES, MOSQUES, ETC.

(1979-80)



- | | |
|---|---|
|  : HOMESTEAD AND ITS ASSOCIATION |  : UNMETTALED ROADS AND PATHWAYS |
|  : METALLED ROAD |  : IRRIGATION CANALS |
|  : DEEP TUBEWELL |  : SHALLOW TUBEWELL (FILTER POINT) |

0 100 200 300 400 500
SCALE METERS

Figure V- 3

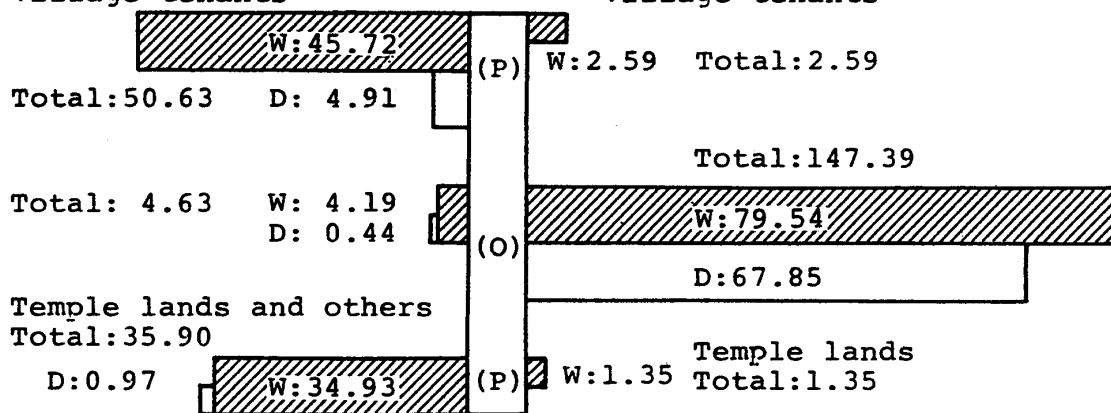
**KUTTAGAI: AREAS LEASED-OUT AND -IN BY PERUVALANALLUR VILLAGERS
OF LALGUDI TALUK, TIRUCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT**

TAMIL NADU, INDIA (1979-80)

(Unit: in Acre)

I. Landowners of Peruvalanallur

A: Areas leased-out to its own village tenants **B: Areas leased-out to other village tenants**



II. Landowners of Other Villages

A: Areas leased-out to Peruvalanallur tenants

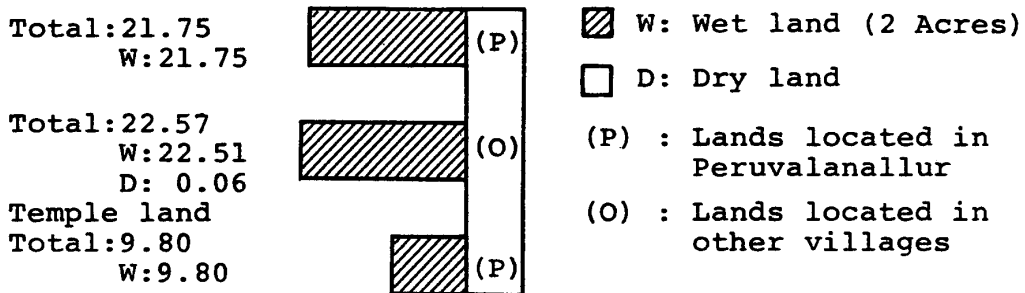


Figure V-4

land in Peruvalanallur, were located in the respective tenants' villages or their nearby villages (Table V-4).

On the other hand, the Peruvalanallur tenants leased-in 44.32 acres (wet: 44.26 acres; dry: 0.06 acre) from landowners who lived in 21 other villages and towns (Table V-4). Of these lands, 21.75 acres (wet land only) were located within Peruvalanallur and 22.57 acres (wet: 22.51 acres; dry: 0.06 acre) were outside the village (Fig. V-4). As indicated already, the arable lands belonging to the Hindu temples and other religious organizations are usually leased-out under the kuttagai. These lands located in Peruvalanallur were mostly cultivated by its own village tenants.

To summarize, 129 tenant households of the studied village in 1979-80 leased-in 145.28 acres (wet: 148.90 acres; dry: 6.38 acres) under the kuttagai not only from the landowners of their own village but also from those in the nearby villages including the Hindu temples and other religious organizations. The intra- and inter- village transactions of the land tenures should be discussed taking into account the conditions from the side of both the landowner and tenant. The spatial distribution of the kuttagai areas in and outside Peruvalanallur and leased-out by the village landowners are primarily related to the fact that the Peruvalanallur villagers own more acreage in the other villages (975.34 acres) than in their own village (681.29 acres); and that the landowners usually try to cultivate the lands located near their homesteads.

It should be noted that the Peruvalanallur tenants have been overwhelmingly interested in cultivating the wet land rather than the dry land, and that the lands were located mostly in and around the village. In this respect, the distance factor and the different productivities or yieldings per unit of area of crops between the wet and dry lands are thought to be responsible. It is generally true that the available kuttagai lands in a given village, regardless of their ownership, were mostly cultivated by the tenants of the same village or by the neighboring villagers. This indicates that the distance factor is important in the practical operation of cultivating kuttagai lands. The fact that

the Peruvallanallur tenants have actually leased-in almost exclusively the wet land can be explained by this distance or locational factor, since the village itself lies on a part of the extensive region of a wet environ. However, the distance factor depends upon some other agricultural conditions in a given village or area.

The yielding of crops per unit of area in the wet land in a wet environ like Peruvallanallur is generally more than three times higher than that in the dry land in a dry environ, although there is a great variation within each of the wet and dry lands in a given environ. Thus, this is another responsible reason why most of the Peruvallanallur tenants desire to cultivate the wet land rather than the dry land whenever possible.

Next we will examine the households involved in the kuttagai tenancy in relation to the caste and size of landholding. The basic statistics of the involved households and areas by caste groups are already shown in Table V-3. More detailed statistics are shown in Figure V-5 in which all the cases of kuttagai transactions between the landowners and tenants are arranged under each caste group. Both Table V-5 and Figure V-6 show the distribution of the involved households and areas by the size of landholding.

Of the 33 caste groups in Peruvallanallur, there were only 16 groups involved in the kuttagai tenancy (landowner-side only: 4 groups; tenant-side only: 7 groups; and both sides: 5 groups). Among the 9 caste groups of the kuttagai landowners, the Reddiars (16 households) leased-out 174.33 acres or 84.94 percent of the total kuttagai lands (205.24 acres) owned by the Peruvallanallur villagers. The other caste groups of the kuttagai landowners who leased-out sizeable areas were the Muslims (9.36 acres), the Udaiyars (8.85 acres), and the Gounders (8.15 acres). Each of the remaining 5 caste groups respectively had one household, and its leased land was a very small area (1.50 acres at most). On the other hand, among the 12 caste groups of the kuttagai tenants, 5 groups (the Reddiars, Udaiyars, Gounders, Muthurajas, and Hindu Pallans) were the most important ones as far as the involved households and their leased areas are concerned.

TABLE V-5

KUTTAGAI: THE INVOLVED HOUSEHOLDS AND AREAS BY SIZE OF LANDHOLDING
IN PERUVALANALLUR VILLAGE, LALGUDI TALUK, TIRUCHIRAPPALLI
DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU, INDIA (1979-80)

I. Landowner-side						(Unit: in Acre)
Categories by Size of Land- holding	No. of House- holds	Wet Land	Dry Land	Total	Area per House- hold	
C-1: landless	-	-	-	-	-	
C-2: under 1 acre	10	5.59	-	5.59	0.56	
C-3: 1-2 acres	7	6.58	1.50	8.08	1.15	
C-4: 2-3 acres	5	6.47	2.00	8.47	1.69	
C-5: 3-5 acres	4	11.40	3.41	14.81	3.70	
C-6: 5-7 acres	1	5.49	-	5.49	5.49	
C-7: 7-10 acres	2	9.68	-	9.68	4.84	
C-8: 10-15 acres	3	2.00	9.00	11.00	3.67	
C-9: 15 & above	5	84.83	57.29	142.12	28.43	
Total	37	132.04	73.20	205.24	5.55	

II. Tenant-side						(Unit: in Acre)
Categories by Size of Land- holding	No. of House- holds	Wet Land	Dry Land	Total	Area per House- hold	
C-1: landless	44	30.28	2.91	33.19	0.75	
C-2: under 1 acre	32	24.28	-	24.28	0.76	
C-3: 1-2 acres	14	19.53	-	19.53	1.40	
C-4: 2-3 acres	9	9.03	0.06	9.15	1.02	
C-5: 3-5 acres	8	14.84	-	14.84	1.86	
C-6: 5-7 acres	6	11.76	0.50	12.26	2.04	
C-7: 7-10 acres	6	12.56	-	12.56	2.09	
C-8: 10-15 acres	4	8.90	2.91	11.81	2.95	
C-9: 15 & above	6	7.66	-	7.66	1.28	
Total	129	138.90	6.38	145.28	1.13	

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG LANDOWNERS AND TENANTS UNDER KUTTAGAI
 BY CASTE IN PERUVALANALLUR VILLAGE, LALGUDI TALUK,
 TIRUCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU, INDIA
 (1979 - 1980)

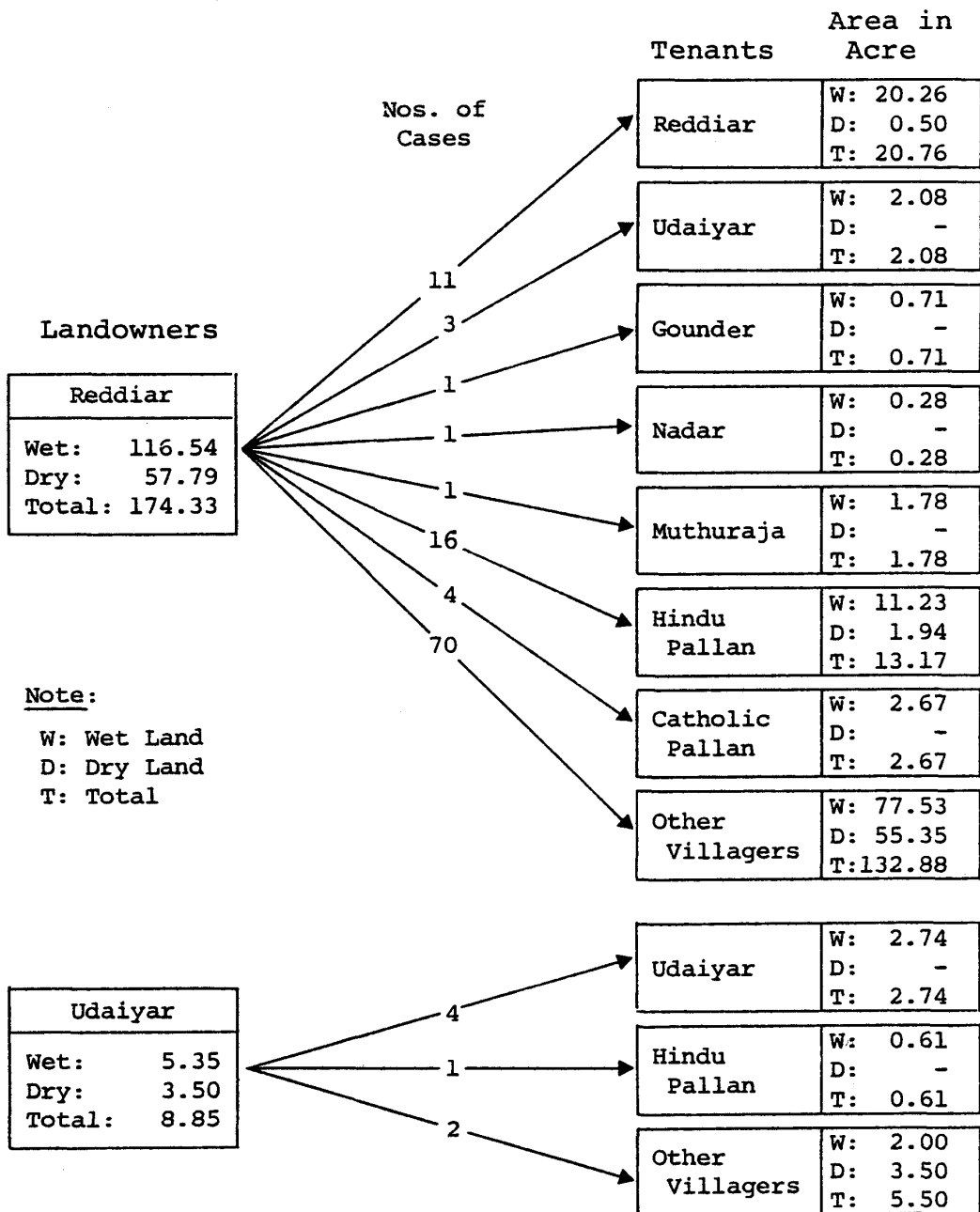


Figure V - 5

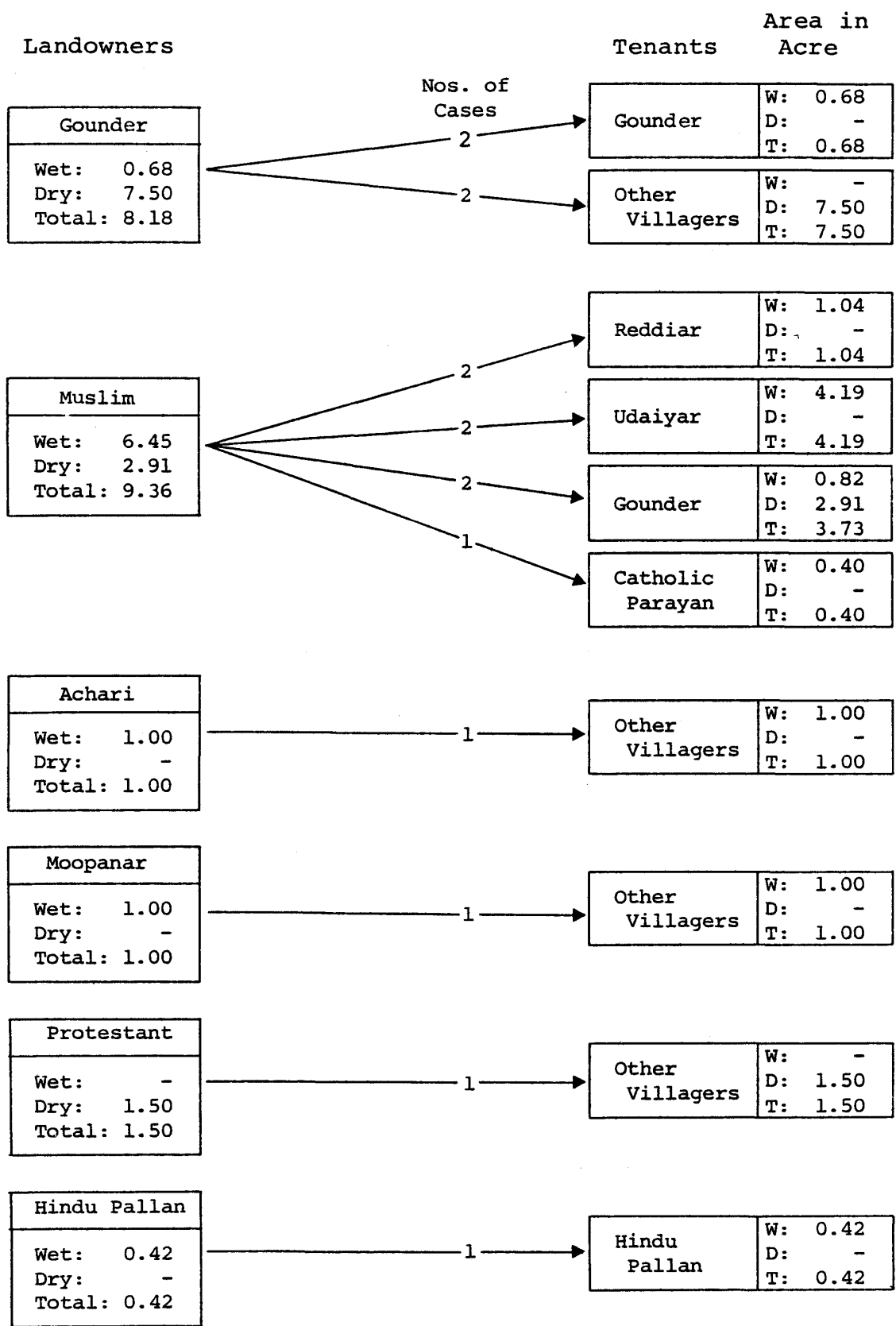


Figure V-5 (continued)

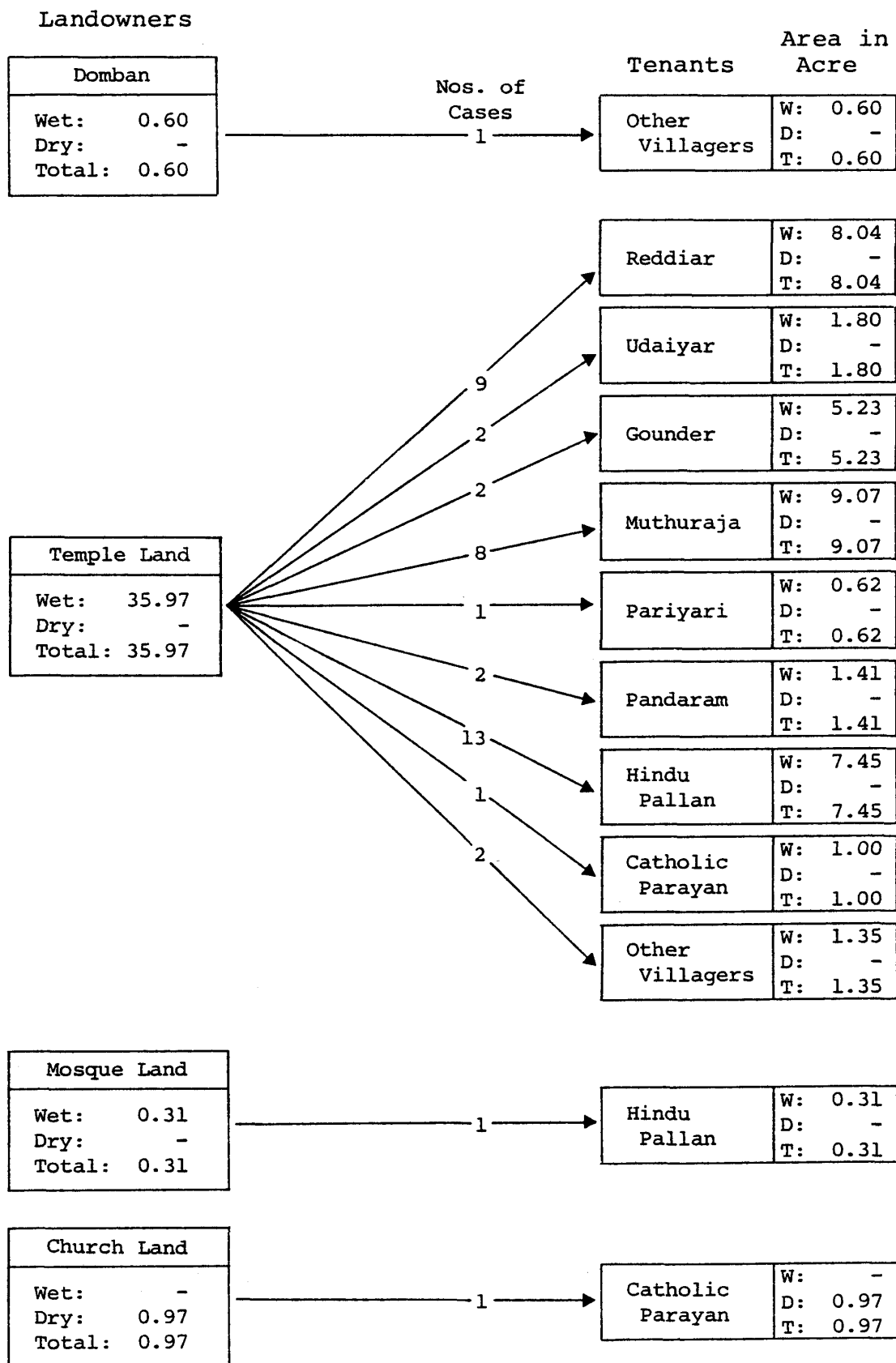


Figure V- 5 (continued)

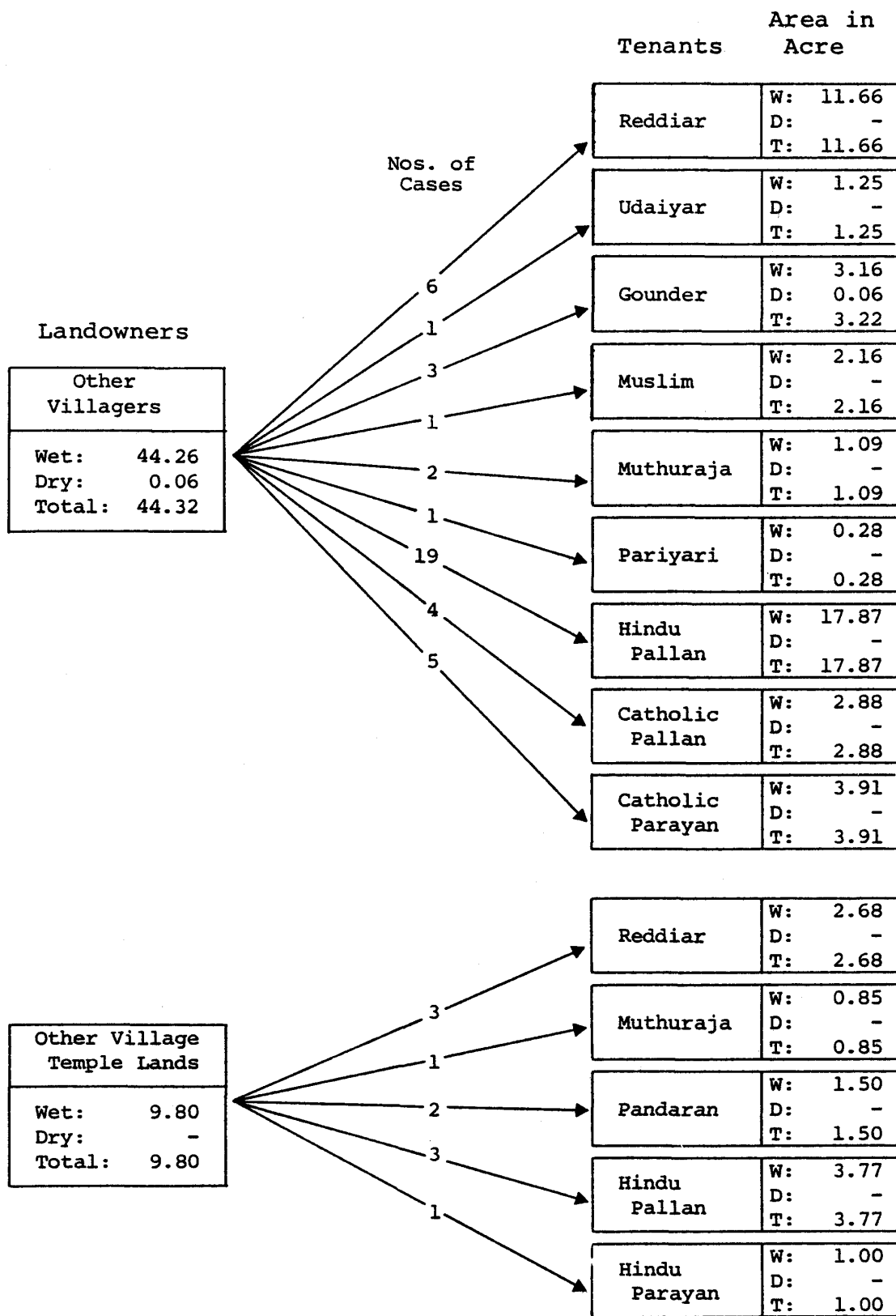


Figure V-5 (continued)

**KUTTAGAI: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS AND
AREAS INVOLVED IN KUTTAGAI BY SIZE OF LANDHOLDING
IN PERUVALANALLUR (1979-80)**

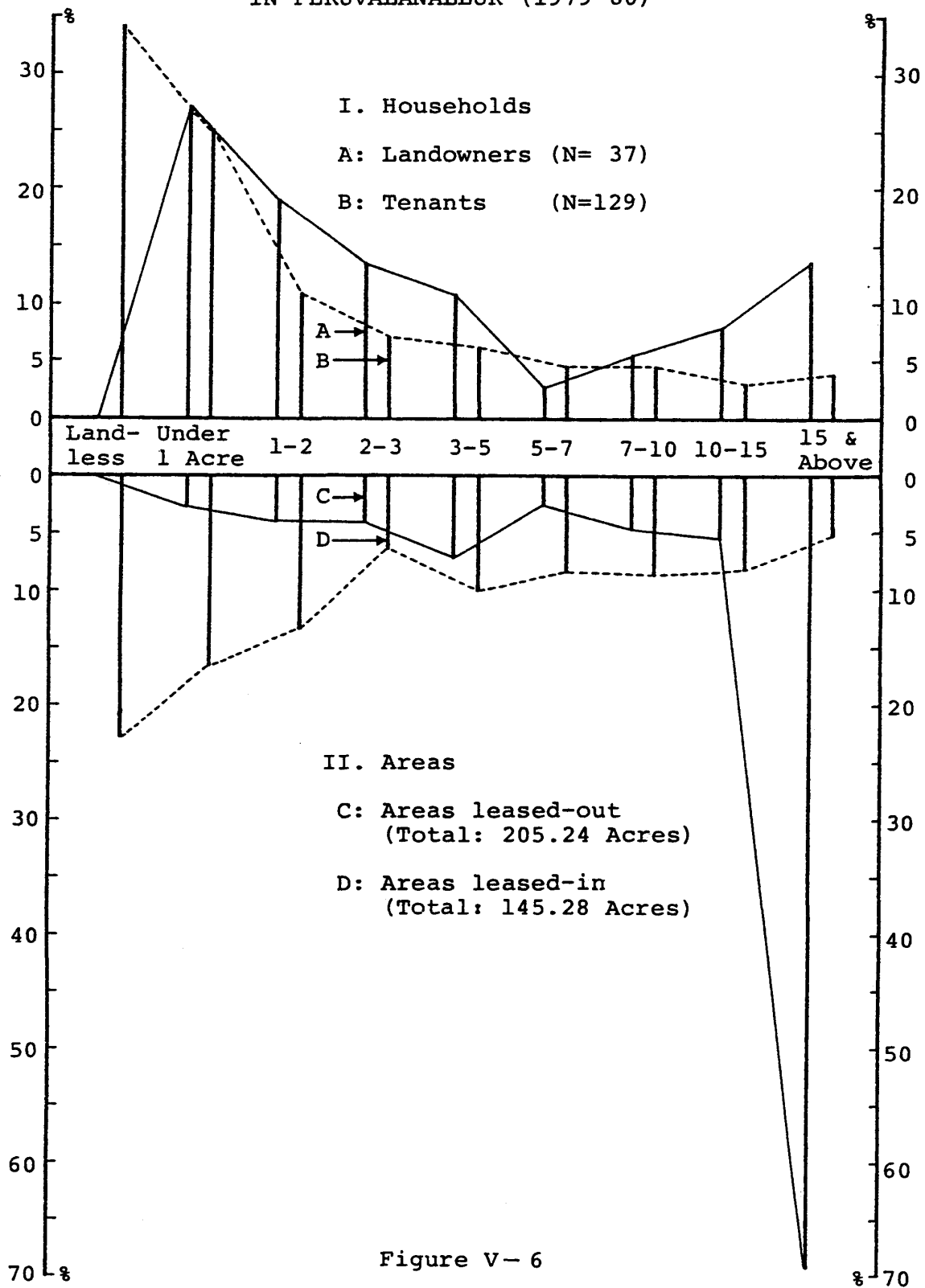


Figure V-6

As far as the number of the involved landowners' households in the kuttagai tenancy is concerned, there was no relation to the size of landholding. Unlike our supposition, there were 17 households belonging to the marginal landholding group (C-2: 10 households; C-3: 7 households). Most of these households leased-out all of their lands¹⁸. However, since their respective sizes of landholding were small by definition, the total leased area and area per household were accordingly small. There is a general trend that the larger landowning households leased-out more area per household (Table V-5). In this respect, however, it should be noted that the largest landowning household (Reddiar) in the studied village alone leased-out as much as 136.41 acres of their land (wet: 81.06 acres; dry: 55.35 acres). More specifically, one household alone leased-out 12.24 acres (wet land only) in 18 different contracts with the Peruvalanallur villagers (who belonged to 7 different caste groups), and 124.17 acres (wet: 68.82 acres; dry: 55.35 acres) in 67 different contracts with the other villagers.¹⁹ This fact is responsible for the extremely high ratio of the leased-out area by the Reddiars in Table V-3 and Figure V-5, and by the highest landowning class (C-9) in Table V-5 and Figure V-6 as well.

As would be expected in the kuttagai tenancy, the landless and marginal landowning households are more involved in the tenancy. Out of the 129 tenants' households in Peruvalanallur, 90 households or 69.77 percent consisted of the landless (44 households) and marginal landowning groups (C-1 and C-2: 46 households), and they together leased-in 77.00 acres or 53.00 percent of the total kuttagai area (145.28 acres) leased-in by the village tenants. It is generally true that the smaller landowning households leased-in the smaller extent of area per household. This is certainly related to the tenants' capability of farm management, as the tenants in the kuttagai tenancy have to meet all the necessary expences for the cultivation, although the marginal farmers usually spend a lesser amount for the modern agricultural inputs per unit of area than the larger landowning farmers. It is also related to the result of the subdivision of the kuttagai lands caused by the "inheritance" practice which is

prevalent among the landless and smaller landowning households.

The kuttagai landlords and tenants have their respective reasons for their involvement in the tenancy. It is generally true that the basic reason for the landlords was the shortage or lack of an agricultural labor force for cultivating the lands by themselves at the time of the contracts. It should be noted, however, that the shortage or lack of the labor force does not necessarily mean that there is no working member(s) within the family, but rather that the families who have working member(s) have them get jobs in the non-agricultural occupations as is indicated in Chapter IV. If the shortage or lack occurs in the larger landowning households (say, owning more than 5 acres of wet land), they can still maintain a better standard of living from the rent alone. However, in the cases of the marginal landowning households (owning less than 2 acres of wet land), their standard of living is generally poor if their income is only from the rent. Regardless of the size of the landownerships, there are some landlords who were aged couples or widows (or widowers) without any sons and daughters. Such landlords are generally in a weak position in relation to their tenants: there were two extreme cases where the landlords had not received any rent from their tenants for a few years.

Table V-6 shows the number of counterparts for each landowner and tenant in the studied village. This table reveals that a landowner has the kuttagai relationship(s) with one or more tenants, and vice versa for a tenant. The dominant cases were singular counterpart relationships on both sides (the landowner and tenant). However, there were two exceptional landowners who had a big number of their counterparts: one is the biggest landowner in Peruvalanallur who had as many as 85 different counterparts (tenants) in and out of the village; and the other is the Hindu temples who had 40 counterparts (Table V-5).

Now, an important question should be asked, "Are there any caste related contracts in the landlord-tenant partnership in the kuttagai tenancy?" Examining each of the contracts, the answer is generally "yes." A landlord usually chooses his tenant(s) either from his own caste or from socio-economically

TABLE V - 6

KUTTAGAI: NUMBER OF COUNTERPARTS FOR EACH LANDOWNER AND TENANT
 IN PERUVANALLUR VILLAGE OF LALGUDI TALUK, TIRUCHIRAPPALLI
 DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU, INDIA (1979-80)

I. Landowner-side		II. Tenant-side	
Number of Counterparts	Number of Cases (Landowners' Households)	Number of Counterparts	Number of Cases (Tenants' Households)
1 tenant	31 (83.79%)	1 landowner	113 (87.60%)
2 tenants	4 (10.81)	2 landowners	15 (11.62)
6 tenants	1 (2.70)	3 landowners	1 (0.78)
85 tenants	1 (2.70)		129 (100.00%)
	37 (100.00%)		

Note: In addition to the above numbers of the kuttagai landowners, Hindu temples and other religious organizations together have a considerable number of the tenant counterparts (see Fig. V - 5).

lower ranking castes compared with his own. Conversely, a tenant, seeks his landlord(s) either from his own caste or from socio-economically higher ranking castes compared with his own (Table V-5). This is certainly related to the barrier of the caste psychology like the one that a Reddiar expressed to the author as follows:

"... although I am landless, I cannot be the tenant for a Harijan landlord. It is impossible for me to be subordinate to any Harijans. If I cultivated the Harijan's land, people would laugh at me."

With regards to the above discussion, the one exception is the Muslims, who do not have such a psychological barrier.

Another important aspect in the landlord-tenant relationship in the kuttagai tenancy is that, in a given contract, the size of the landownership of the landlord is not necessarily larger than that of his tenant. This aspect is hidden in our tables and figures. The implication of this point is that, under such landlord-tenant relationships, the landlord was not necessarily more influential, socio-economically speaking, than his tenant.

With regard to the landlord-tenant relationships in the kuttagai tenancy, it is relevant to raise the question: "How long has the current counterpart (a landlord and his tenant) of the kuttagai contract continued?" Figure V-7 shows the percentage distribution of the number of current contracts by different periods (in years). This figure reveals that the majority of the current kuttagai contracts have been continued for a considerably long period; that is, 80.17 percent of the total contracts have continued for more than 10 years. It should be noted that the Tamil Nadu Agricultural Lands Records of Tenancy Right Act was passed in 1969. We gathered from in and around the studied village that some tenants simply gave up their tenancies; some tried to get tenancies from other landlords; and some were even shifted by the same landlords to another plot. Although we know about these occurrences, we do not know to what extent exactly the above cases actually occurred in relation to the 1969 Act.

Anyhow, the fact that the lower percentage of the recent

PERIOD OF CURRENT KUTTAGAI CONTRACTS IN PERUVALANALLUR,
 LALGUDI TALUK OF TIRUCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT,
 TAMIL NADU, INDIA

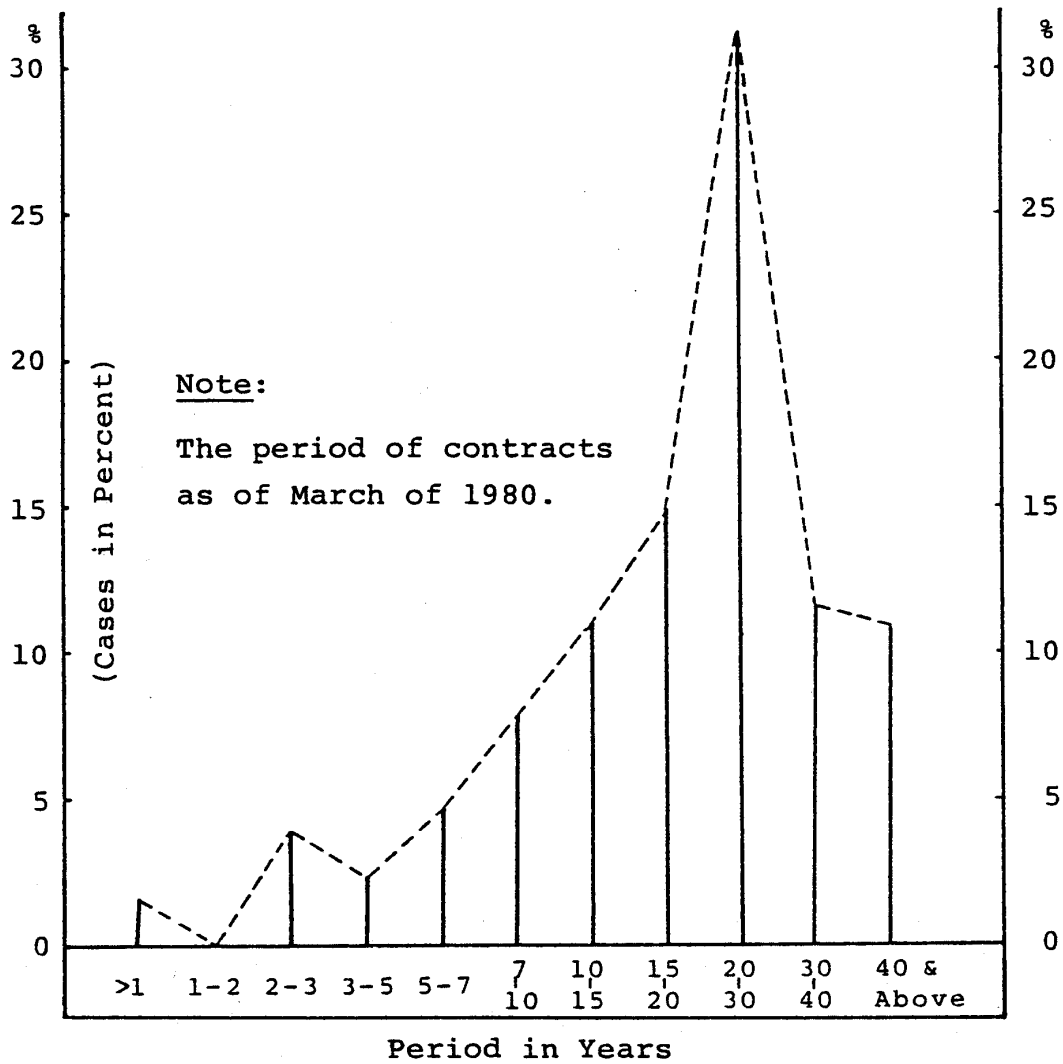


Figure V-7

kuttagai contracts which have started within the last 10 years (based on data as of March 1980) is certainly related to the influence of the 1969 Act. It should be noted that many of the recent contracts were those among close kinship groups.

On the other hand, how should we take into consideration the fact that the greater majority of the counterparts in the current kuttagai contracts has not changed for a long period (in years)? One way to look at this fact is that the landlords might not have been as strict with their tenants as is generally understood, although there have been exceptions. As a customary rule, if there was a bad harvest season, the tenants would pay a lesser amount of the fixed rent to their landlords, although they are still supposed to pay the remaining part of the rent from the next harvest or at least within a year. However, in practice, this rule has rarely been followed. Thus, a more common practice is that, although the tenants usually pay the full amount of the fixed rent in normal years, some concessions are made on the fixed rent in sub-normal years, depending upon the actual amount of the gross produce from the kuttagai lands. Under this practice, the landlords usually do not hastily eject the tenants. Looking at this practice, it should be noted that there are some aspects of share-cropping (varam tenure) within the kuttagai system.

As indicated already in the previous section, once a kuttagai contract is made, there arises the possibility of entering the case in the Tenancy Register. In Peruvalanallur in 1972, the registered areas were 68.67 acres (wet: 61.10 acres; dry: 7.57 acres) for the 100 kuttagai contracts, which included not only the lands owned by its own villagers and the Hindu temples (and other religious bodies), but also the lands owned by the other village residents and the Hindu temples. It should be noted that, of the above registered areas, the lands which belonged to the Hindu temples and other religious bodies in and out of the village occupied a considerable share: 25.68 acres (wet: 18.11 acres; dry: 7.57 acres) in 32 of the contracts. Since we do not have the total leased out area in the village at that time, we cannot get the percentage of the registered leased out

land.

Even if the contracts are not entered in the Tenancy Register, most of the tenants in Peruvalanallur believe that they have the "permanent" right of cultivation of the kuttagai lands, although their landlords apparently do not accept the idea. Anyhow, such tenants' belief itself seems to be an important "property" in the kuttagai for them, besides enjoying the cultivation of the lands involved.

Then, will these landlord-tenant relationships be continued "permanently"? In relation to this question, the facts are that, by 1980 in Peruvalanallur, the number of cases and the extent of areas of the registered kuttagai contracts were reduced to 65 cases and 45.87 acres (wet: 38.30 acres; dry: 7.57 acres), because 14.84 acres (wet land only) in 25 cases had been returned to the landlords mostly with some conditions (receiving some amount of cash money), and the remaining 7.97 acres (wet land only) were purchased by the tenants with the reduced prices. However, the above statistical figures are shown in the most simplified form. The changes in the registered landlord-tenant relationships from 1972 to 1980 were more complicated: (1) Because of the "inheritance" of leased-in land by the original tenant's households, the landlord now, has the kuttagai tenures with an increased number of tenants. In the three original cases, the number of tenants increased from 4 persons in 1972 to 19 persons in 1982; (2) Of the 25 cases of the Peruvalanallur Hindu temples, 6 tenants returned the lands to the temples during the above period and new contracts have been made with some other tenants; (3) In 2 cases, the landlord asked his tenant to change the originally registered field to the other plots; and (4) There were some cases where the registered tenants "sold" the right of cultivation to the other tenants without consulting the landlords, including the Hindu temple.

The Otti

Some characteristics of the otti system have already been

TABLE V-7

OTTI TRANSACTIONS IN PERUVALANALLUR VILLAGE OF LALGUDI TALUK,
TIRUCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU, INDIA

(1979-80)

I. Landowner-side					
Castes	No. of House-Holds	Areas leased-out (in Acre)			"Credit" received (in Rs.)
		Wet	Dry	Total	
Reddiar	31	56.76	1.09	57.85	458,050
Udaiyar	16	7.20	0.90	8.10	50,000
Gounder	9	3.22	8.75	11.97	26,600
Muslim	3	1.62	-	1.62	13,000
Muthuraja	5	2.46	-	2.46	17,500
Vannan	2	2.00	-	2.00	14,000
Pariyari	1	-	0.43	0.43	500
Pandaram	2	0.28	0.50	0.78	2,500
Pallan	18	6.30	0.85	7.15	47,170
Parayan	1	-	0.75	0.75	450
Catholic Pallan	1	0.28	-	0.28	2,500
Catholic Parayan	5	0.68	0.96	1.64	4,000
	94	80.80	14.23	95.03	636,270
Other Villagers	20	11.21	0.50	11.71	78,000
TOTAL	114	92.01	14.73	106.74	714,270

II. Tenant-side					
Castes	No. of House-Holds	Areas leased-in (in Acre)			"Credit" given (in Rs.)
		Wet	Dry	Total	
Reddiar	7	11.52	-	11.52	94,750
Udaiyar	22	14.56	-	14.56	111,250
Gounder	11	9.82	0.88	10.70	78,700
Muslim	2	1.88	-	1.88	23,000
Nadar	3	2.06	-	2.06	19,000
Achari	1	0.40	-	0.40	3,500
Muthuraja	2	2.99	-	2.99	16,500
Naidu	1	0.28	-	0.28	2,000
Mooppanar	1	0.22	-	0.22	2,000
Agampadiar	1	0.39	-	0.39	3,000
Pallan	47	26.87	3.64	30.51	191,370
Parayan	5	2.18	-	2.18	16,500
Catholic Pallan	8	5.42	-	5.42	44,000
Catholic Parayan	13	6.58	2.21	8.79	50,700
	124	85.17	6.73	91.90	656,270
Other Villagers	10	6.84	8.00	14.84	58,000
TOTAL	134	92.01	14.73	106.74	714,270

pointed out in the introductory part to this chapter. Out of the 874 households in Peruvalanallur in 1979-80, 210 households or 24.03 percent were involved in the otti tenancy of which 94 households were landowners (debtors) and 124 were tenants (creditors), although 8 households were involved in both. Like the case of the kuttagai tenancy, both landowners and tenants of Peruvalanallur had the otti transactions not only with their own villagers but also with other villagers (Tables V-7 and -8, and Figs. V-8, -9, and -10).

The 94 households in Peruvalanallur together received Rs. 636,270 of the cash "credits" in exchange for the leasing-out of 95.03 acres (wet: 80.80 acres; dry: 14.23 acres) under the otti which were located not only in Peruvalanallur (69.74 acres) but also in its neighboring villages (25.29 acres). Of these available otti lands leased-out by the Peruvalanallur villagers, the tenants of the same village cultivated 80.19 acres (wet: 73.96 acres; dry: 6.23 acres), and the other village tenants cultivated the remaining 14.84 acres (wet: 6.84 acres; dry: 8.00 acres).

The tenants of Peruvalanallur had also otti tenures with some other village and town dwellers (Table V-8 and Figs. V-8 and -10). These lands were located not only in Peruvalanallur but also in its adjacent villages, and accounted for 6.09 (wet land only) and 5.62 acres (wet: 5.12 acres; dry: 0.50 acre) respectively (Fig. V-10). More specifically, the otti lands leased-out to the Peruvalanallur tenants by the landowners in some distant villages such as Perakambi (#86), Garudamangalam (#104), Siruganur (#91), and Kanakkiliyanallur (#43) listed in Table V-8, were entirely located within Peruvalanallur. Above all, as far as the Peruvalanallur tenants are concerned, they cultivated the lands which were located in a fairly short distance from their own village (mostly within 5 kms, but at most about 8 kms). However, this is not applicable for the otti tenants in the dry villages: they cultivated the otti lands in Peruvalanallur, which were located a long distance from their respective villages (about 18 kms at most). This fact is certainly related to the general agro-economic situations in the dry villages. There were

TABLE V - 8
OTTI TRANSACTIONS BETWEEN PERUVALANALLUR AND OTHER
 VILLAGERS OF LALGUDI TALUK, TIRUCHIRAPPALLI
 DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU, INDIA (1979-80)

I. Other villagers who leased-out to Peruvalanallur residents				
Village Names of Landowners (Debtors)	Areas leased-out (in Acre)			"Credit" received (in Rs.)
	Wet	Dry	Total	
Thachankuruchi (#34)	0.40	-	0.40	3,500
Kumulur (#37)	1.22	0.50	1.72	9,300
Vellanur (#38)	0.75	-	0.75	4,000
Kanakkiliyanallur (#43)	0.37	-	0.37	3,000
Sirumayangudi (#62)	0.90	-	0.90	4,000
Poovalur (#64)	2.00	-	2.00	9,000
Mankkal (#65)	2.77	-	2.77	26,000
Sirudaiyur (#71)	0.62	-	0.62	3,000
Edaiyathumangalam (#81)	0.60	-	0.60	5,000
Perakambi (#86)	0.69	-	0.69	6,000
Siruganur (#91)	0.49	-	0.49	3,000
Garudamangalam (#104)	0.40	-	0.40	2,200
Total	11.21	0.50	11.71	78,000

II. Other villagers who leased-in from Peruvalanallur residents				
Village Names of Tenants (Creditors)	Areas leased-in (in Acre)			"Credit" given (in Rs.)
	Wet	Dry	Total	
Reddimangudi (#35)	0.48	-	0.48	5,000
Kumulur (#37)	3.77	-	3.77	23,000
Sirumayangudi (#62)	1.37	-	1.37	11,000
Sirukalapur (#103)	1.22	-	1.22	14,000
Kottamulanur (Erode Dt.)	-	8.00	8.00	5,000
Total	6.84	8.00	14.84	58,000

Note: Each number in parentheses corresponds to the revenue village number listed in Table I-1.

**OTTI: SPATIAL TRANSACTIONS BETWEEN PERUVANALLUR AND OTHER VILLAGERS IN
LALGUDI TALUK, TIRUCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU, INDIA (1979-80)**

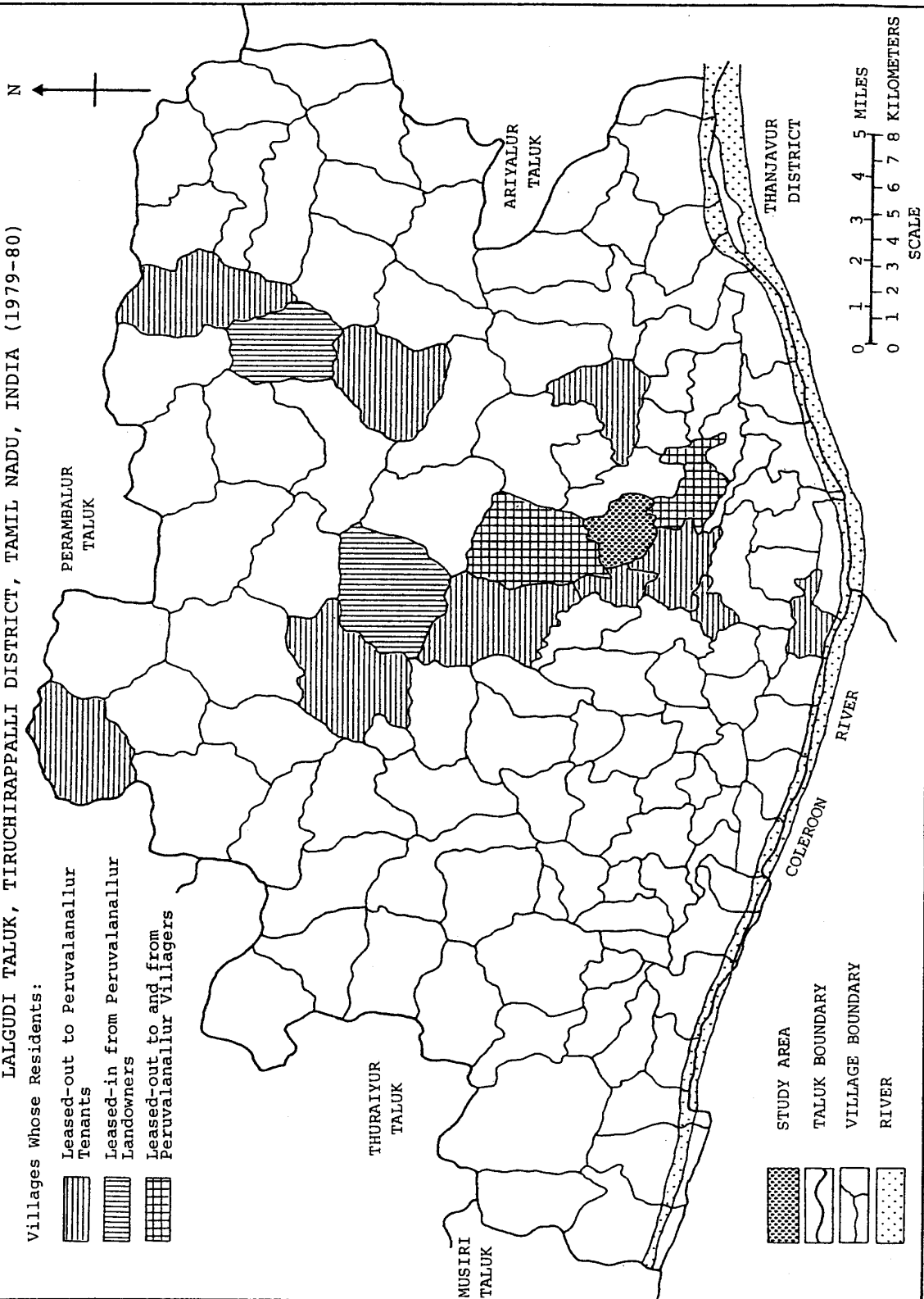


Figure V-8

OTTI LANDS IN PERUVALANALLUR VILLAGE OF LALGUDI TALUK, TIRUCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU, INDIA

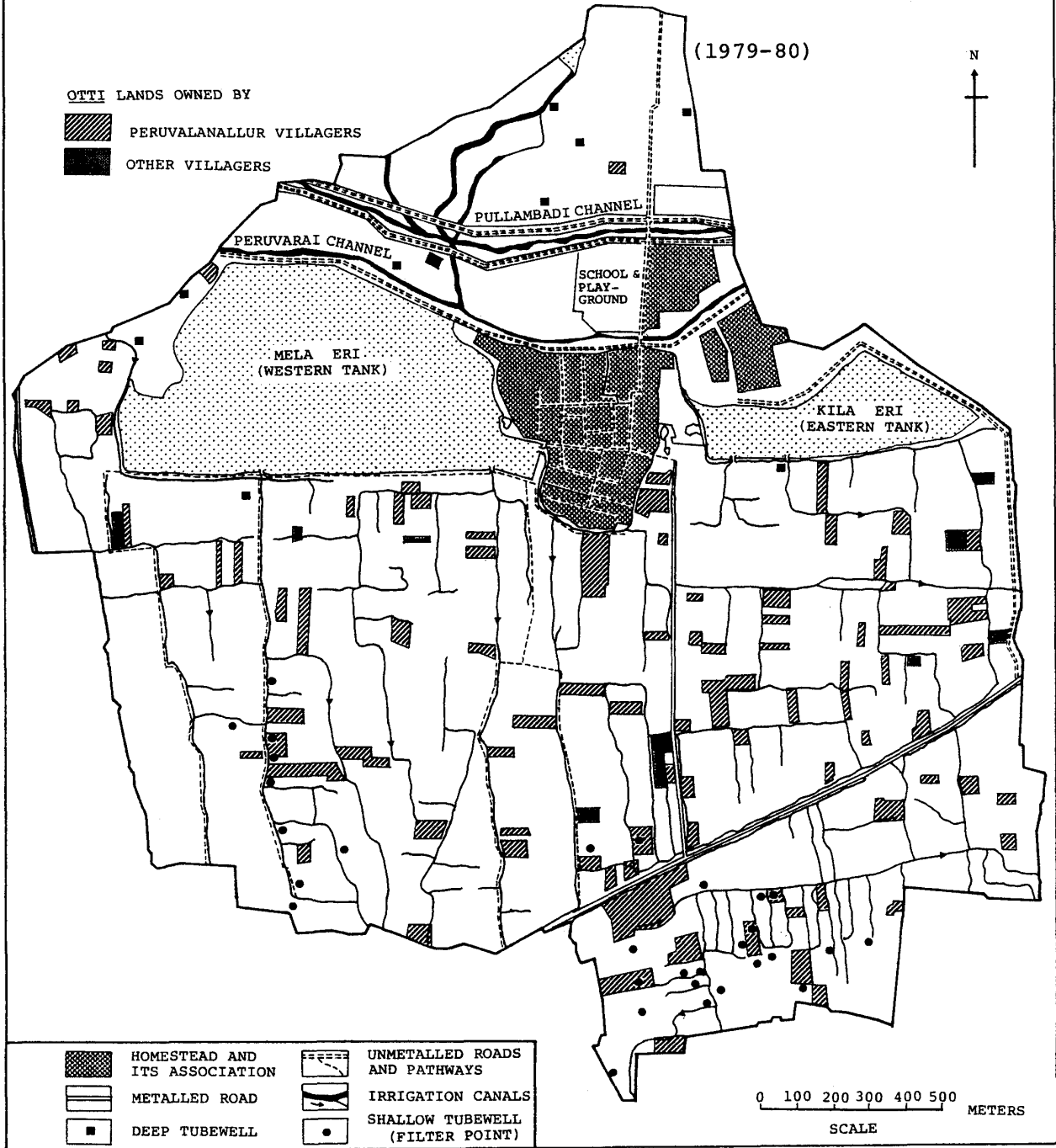


Figure V-9

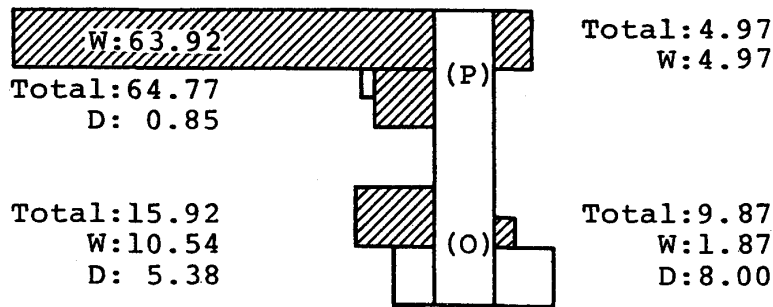
**OTTI: AREAS LEASED-OUT AND -IN BY PERUVALANALLUR VILLAGERS
IN LALGUDI TALUK, TIRUCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT,
TAMIL NADU, INDIA (1979-80)**

(Unit: in Acre)

I. Landowners of Peruvallanallur

A: Areas leased-out to its own village tenants

B: Areas leased-out to other village tenants

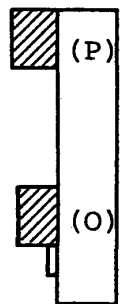


II. Landowners of Other Villages

A: Areas leased-out to Peruvallanallur tenants

Total: 6.09
W: 6.09

Total: 5.62
W: 5.12
D: 0.50



W: Wet land (2 Acres)
D: Dry land
(P) : Lands located in Peruvallanallur
(O) : Lands located in other villages

Figure V-10

fewer chances for profitable agricultural investment in their own villages, and the otti lands themselves were scarcely available in and around their respective villages.

To summarize, the tenants of Peruvalanallur together leased-in 92.40 acres (wet: 85.67 acres; dry: 6.73 acres) of otti lands not only from their own villagers but also from the other village and town dwellers (mostly neighboring villagers), and paid Rs. 656,270 for the right to cultivate the areas involved.

At this stage, some important aspects should be pointed out. First, out of the total area involved in the otti tenure in the studied area in 1979-80, the ratio for wet land was extremely high compared with that for dry land (Tables V-1 and -7, and Figs. V-9 and -10). Even when comparing the otti and kuttagai, it was much higher in the former (86.2%) than in the latter (75.0%). This is certainly related to the fact that the wet lands generally provide a higher land productivity under relatively stable physiographic conditions for cultivation (although there is a great variation within them). Second, unlike the case of the kuttagai tenancy, out of the total otti areas leased-out by the Peruvalanallur landowners, the other village tenants had a very small share compared with that of the Peruvalanallur tenants,²⁰ although the total areas of the kuttagai and otti lands differed greatly (205.24 acres for the kuttagai; 95.03 acres for the otti). Third, the spatial transactions of the otti between Peruvalanallur and the other villagers were very limited in comparison with those of the kuttagai (Figs. V-8 and -10).

As already mentioned, the tenant's profit from cultivating the otti land is regarded as his "interest" on the amount of his cash deposits ("credits") given to the landowner. Thus, it is beneficial for the tenant to pay as little money as possible per unit of area in order to get the "interest" as high as possible, and vice versa for the landowner. There was serious bargaining for the settlement of the amount of "credit" between the landowner and the would-be tenants before the final decision was made. The actual amount of "credits" given by the tenants varied greatly from Rs. 500 to Rs. 11,475 per acre, with Rs. 6,692 being the average. More specifically, the average amount

f "credit" per acre for the wet land was Rs. 7,629 with a range of Rs. 2,500 - Rs. 11,475, while for the dry land it was Rs. 835 with a range of Rs. 500 - Rs. 2,000.

There are some important factors responsible for these variations. For the wet land the amount of "credit" varied largely depending upon whether the land was a "single" or "double" cropping area, and for the dry land whether it was equipped with irrigation facilities or not. Thus, the amount of "credit" for the otti land was settled primarily on the quality of the land involved. It should be noted that data shown in the above Tables and Figures include all the cases involving the current otti tenure by the Peruvallanallur villagers observed during the year of 1979-80, regardless of when the individual contracts were made, and that the amounts of the "credit" were based on the actual payments and/or receipts at the time of each contract. An examination of the amounts of the "credit" for each individual case shows that they were based mostly on 55-65 percent of the market price of the land involved at the time of the contracts, although the market prices themselves have been increasing at a high rate in recent years, especially in the latter half of the 1970s.²¹ As the terms for most of the otti contracts were for at least three years, the amounts of "credit" for the same quality of land per unit of area were assumed to be the highest on the latest contracts. Thus, the time of the contract on the otti tenure is another responsible factor for the variation in the amounts of the "credit" which appear in our statistics.

Let us examine the tenant's profit from cultivating the otti land which can be expressed in terms of "the annual interest" on the amount of his cash deposit given to the landowner. Among the varied qualities of land involved in the otti, we take into account here three typical types of land; (1) dry land, (2) "single" cropping wet land, and (3) "double" cropping wet land. In Chapter II, we have already pointed out some basic characteristics of land-use and crop associations in relation to the physiographic conditions, and tried to figure out yields, costs, and "benefits" of the individual crops (see Table II-3).

On the other hand, the average amount of the "credit" per acre for dry, "single-wet", and "double-wet" land in 1979-80 was Rs. 835, Rs. 3,000, and Rs. 7,000 respectively. Based on these data we can get the "net benefit" in terms of the annual rates of "interest" on the amount of "credit" for the different types of crop associations. It should be noted that all the available types of crop associations in Peruvalanallur were also observed in the otti lands, because the otti lands in the studied village were spatially distributed almost evenly regardless of the different physiographic conditions of cultivation (Fig. V-9). The obtained figures in Table V-9 reveal considerably high rates of annual interest with a range of 29.94 - 54.64 percent. Although these rates can not be claimed to be perfectly accurate,²² they correspond well to the villagers' general understanding that the otti tenants can safely get back one-third of the amount of "credit" given to their landowners in a year. Realizing that the favorable rate of annual interest for rural people deposited in the authorized banks was 10-15 percent, it is true in a sense that the tenants' involvement in the otti tenure can be regarded as a "positive investment."

Like the case of the kuttagai tenure, one of the important issues of the otti tenure is that whether or not there are any relationships between the involved households (as landowner and as tenants) and the particular socio-economic groups in the rural community. In this respect, we will examine the involved households in the otti in relation to the caste and size of the landholding. Table V-10 and Figures V-12 and -13 show the distribution of the involved households, areas, and "credits" in the otti tenancy by the size of the landholding in the studied village. The above Tables and Figures reveal certain characteristics: Out of the 94 total landowners' households in the otti tenancy in Peruvalanallur, 50.00 percent (or 45 households) fall into two categories (C-2: under 1 acre; C-3: 1-2 acres) and they occupied 23.78 percent (or 22.60 acres) of the total area leased out and 20.13 percent (or Rs. 128,020) of the total amount of money deposit received in the studied village. On the other hand, only 23.78 percent (or 10 households) in the largest cate

TABLE V-9

TENANT'S PROFITS IN THE OTTI TENANCY BASED ON THE DIFFERENT
TYPES OF CROP ASSOCIATIONS IN PERUVALANALLUR OF LALGUDI
TALUK, TIRUCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU, INDIA

(1979-80)

Types of Crop Associations	(a) Average "Benefit" per Acre (in Rs.)	(b) Average "Credit" per Acre (in Rs.)	(c) "Net Benefit" [Rates of Interest in % (a) + (b) x 100]
1. Dry Land		835	
Single Cropping Land	250		29.94
2. Single Cropping Wet Land		3,000	
(a) <u>Samba</u> Paddy	960		32.00
(b) <u>Samba</u> - Grams	1,460		48.66
3. Double Cropping Wet Land		7,000	
(a) <u>Kuruvai</u> - <u>Thaladi</u>	2,280		32.57
(b) <u>Kuruvai</u> - <u>Thaladi</u> - Grams	2,780		39.71
(c) Sugarcane	3,325		47.50
(d) Sugarcane - Grams	3,825		54.64

Notes: 1. "Benefit" under (a) column refers to the annual "net benefit" obtained by the ordinary landowners (cf. Table II-3).

2. Under the otti tenancy, the tenant still has to pay the rent as a part of the costs. However, the rent is paid in terms of cash "credit" (deposit) to his landowner. The amount of "credit" per unit of area varies greatly depending upon the quality of land as shown under (b) column.

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG LANDOWNERS AND TENANTS UNDER OTTI
BY CASTE IN PERUVALANALLUR VILLAGE, LALGUDI TALUK,
TIRUCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU, INDIA
(1979-1980)

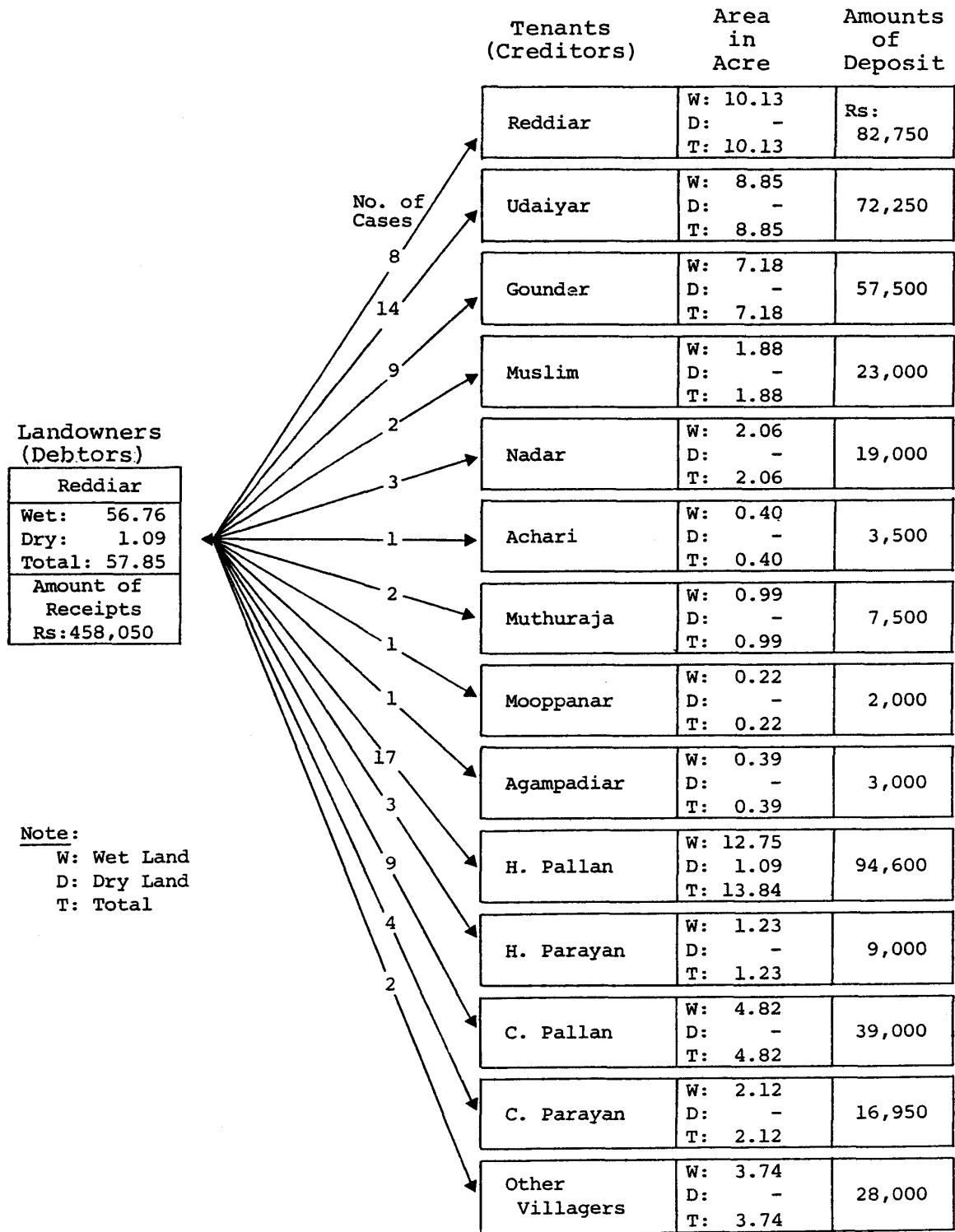


Figure V-11

OTTI

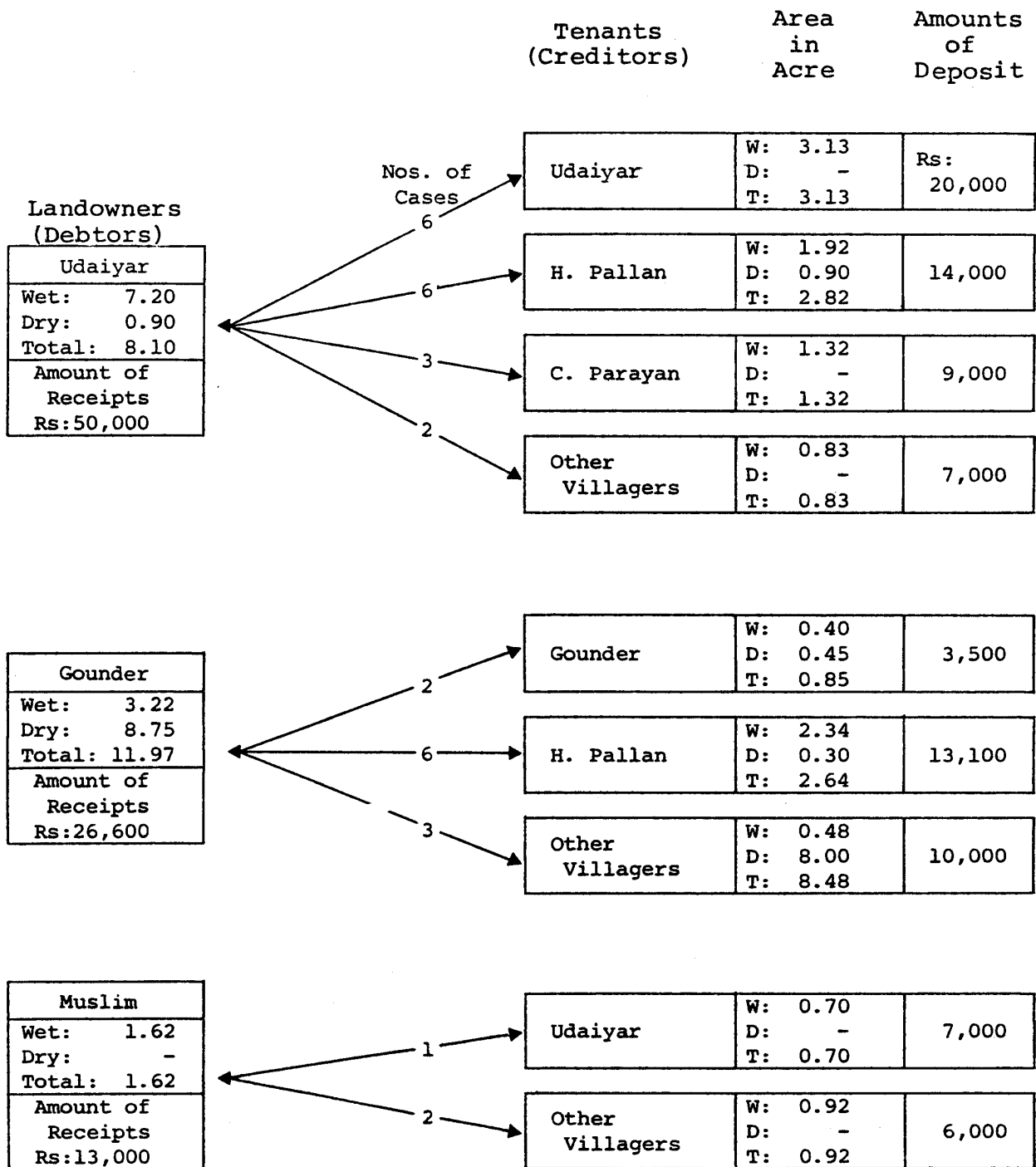


Figure V-11 (continued)

OTTI

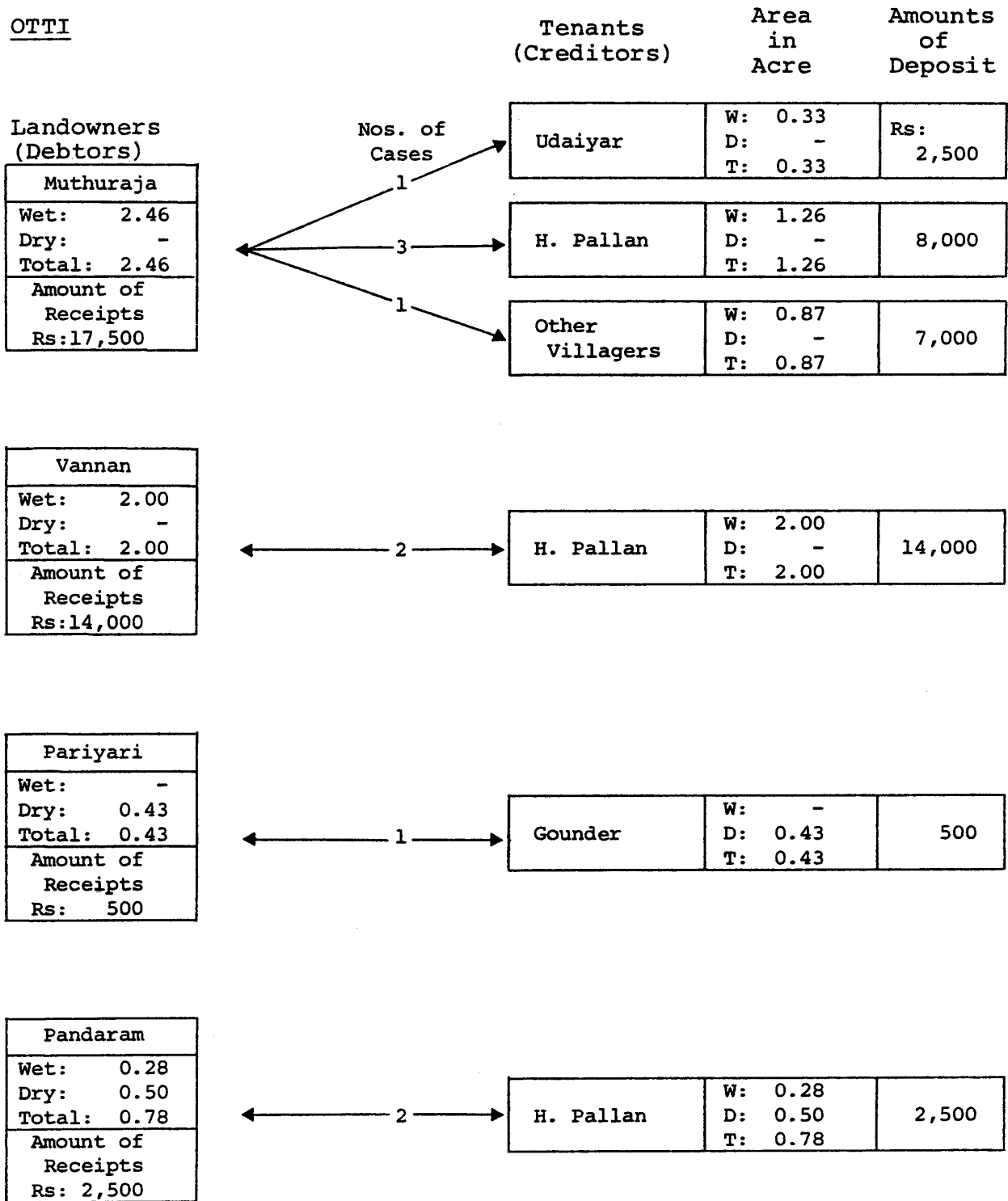


Figure V-11 (continued)

OTTI

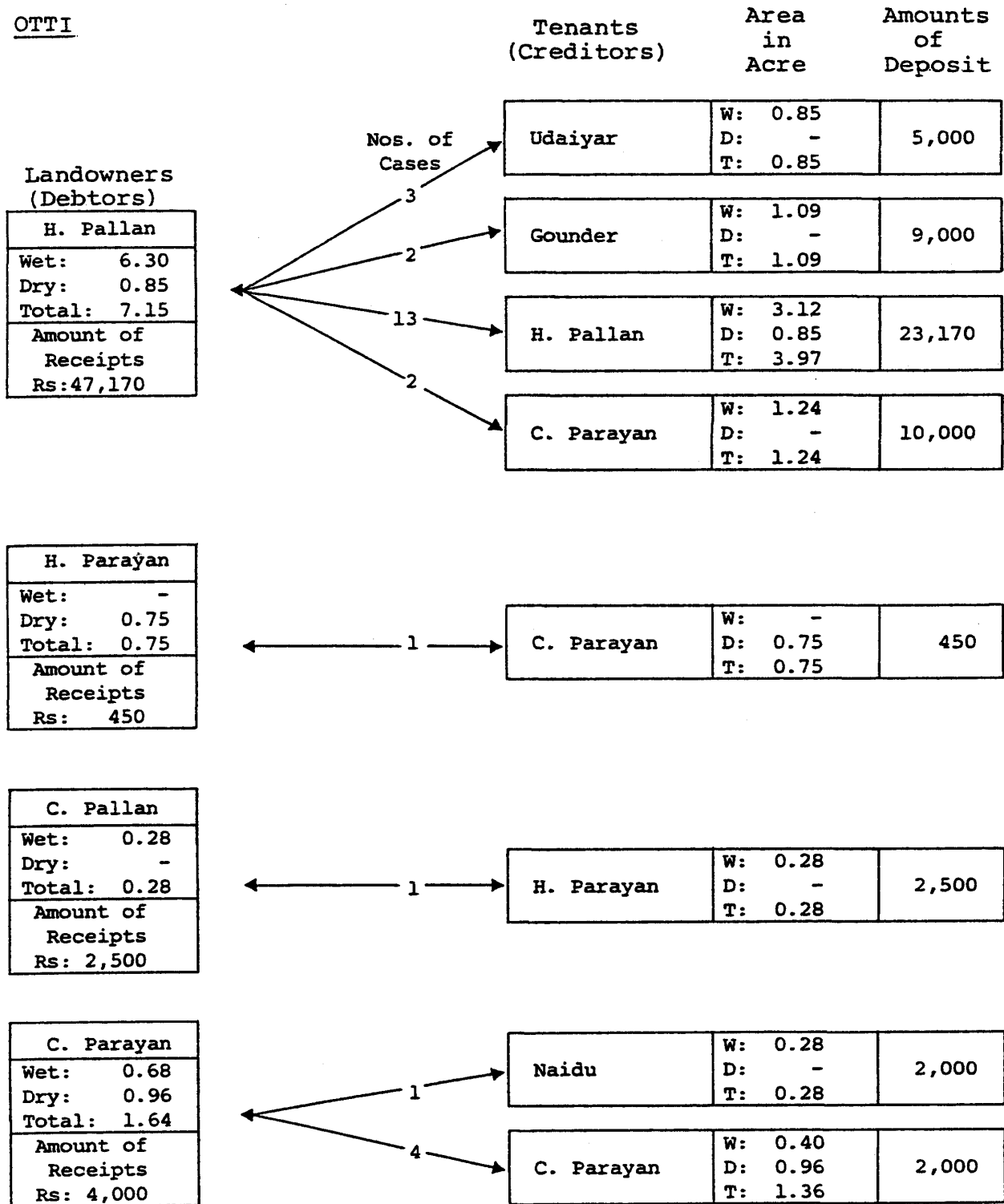


Figure V-11 (continued)

OTTI

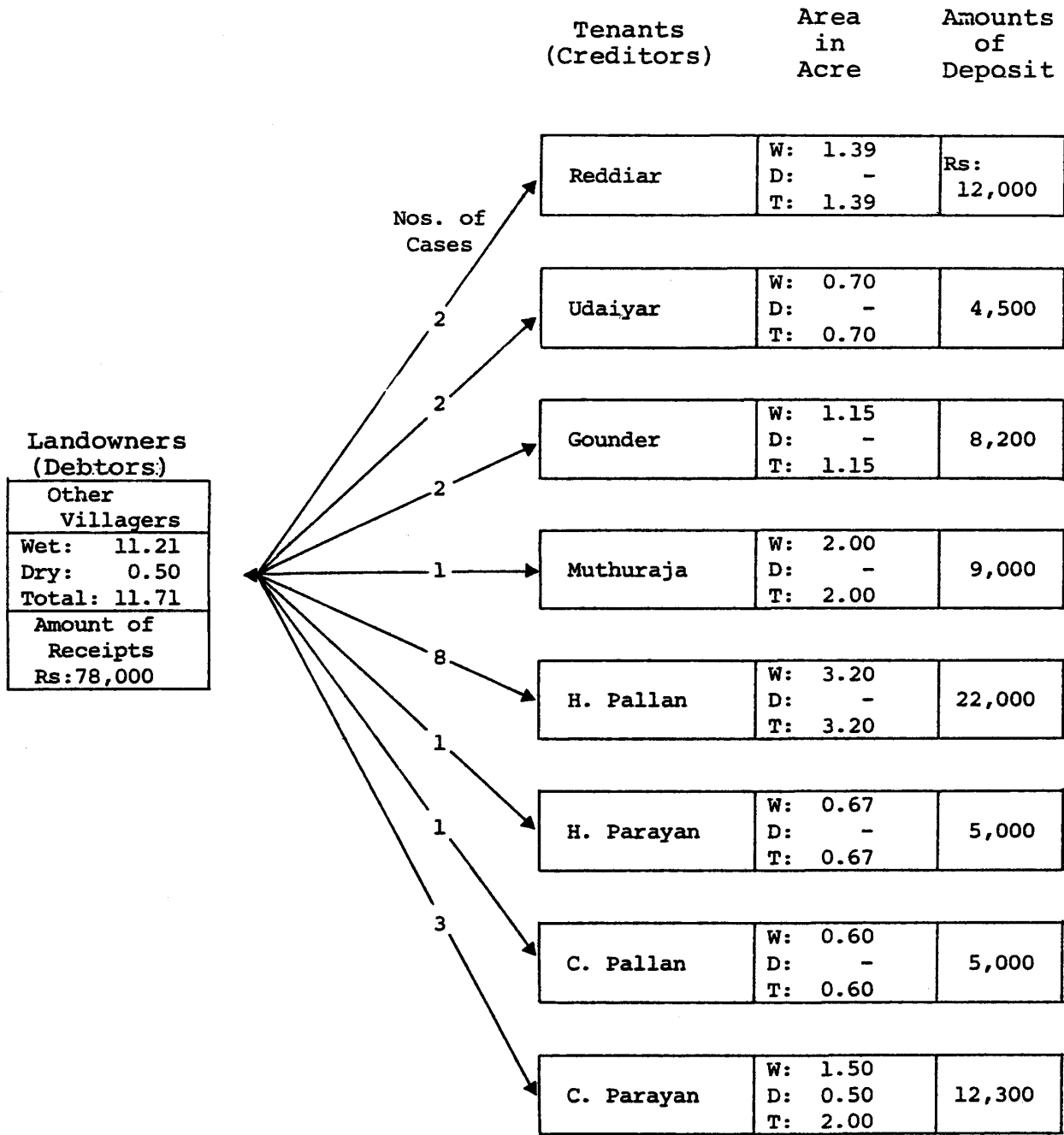


Figure V-11 (continued)

TABLE V-10

**OTTI: THE INVOLVED HOUSEHOLDS, AREAS, AND "CREDITS" BY SIZE OF LANDHOLDING
IN PERUVANALLUR VILLAGE OF LALGUDI TALUK, TIRUCHIRAPPALLI
DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU, INDIA (1979-80)**

I. Landowner ("Debtor")-Side

Categories by Size of Land- holding	No. of House- holds	Areas-leased-out			"Credit" received for		
		Wet Land (in Acre)	Dry Land (in Acre)	Total (in Acre)	Wet Land (in Rs.)	Dry Land (in Rs.)	Total (in Rs.)
C-1: Landless	3	0.96	-	0.96	6,200	-	6,200
C-2: under 1 acre	32	10.03	3.36	13.39	69,620	3,900	73,520
C-3: 1-2 acres	15	7.43	1.78	9.21	52,600	1,900	54,500
C-4: 2-3 acres	8	4.46	-	4.46	31,750	-	31,750
C-5: 3-5 acres	6	7.55	4.00	11.55	54,250	3,000	57,250
C-6: 5-7 acres	8	5.53	-	5.53	45,000	-	45,000
C-7: 7-10 acres	5	2.91	1.09	4.00	21,550	1,300	22,850
C-8: 10-15 acres	7	11.20	4.00	15.20	91,000	2,000	93,000
C-9: 15 & above	10	30.73	-	30.73	252,200	-	252,200
Total	94	80.80	14.23	95.03	624,170	12,100	636,270

II. Tenants ("Creditor")-Side

Categories by Size of Land- holding	No. of House- holds	Areas leased-in			"Credit" given for		
		Wet Land (in Acre)	Dry Land (in Acre)	Total (in Acre)	Wet Land (in Rs.)	Dry Land (in Rs.)	Total (in Rs.)
C-1: Landless	61	34.41	0.76	35.17	256,600	1,000	257,600
C-2: under 1 acre	33	23.72	3.66	27.38	175,450	3,700	179,150
C-3: 1-2 acres	19	7.70	1.96	9.66	67,100	2,000	69,100
C-4: 2-3 acres	5	2.88	0.35	3.23	20,770	700	21,470
C-5: 3-5 acres	4	2.93	-	2.93	25,000	-	25,000
C-6: 5-7 acres	4	2.50	-	2.50	17,200	-	17,200
C-7: 7-10 acres	3	2.85	-	2.85	23,500	-	23,500
C-8: 10-15 acres	4	4.83	-	4.83	37,250	-	37,250
C-9: 15 & above	1	3.35	-	3.35	26,000	-	26,000
Total	124	85.17	6.73	91.90	648,870	7,400	656,270

OTTI: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS AND AREAS INVOLVED IN OTTI BY SIZE OF LANDHOLDING IN PERUVALANALLUR (1979-80)

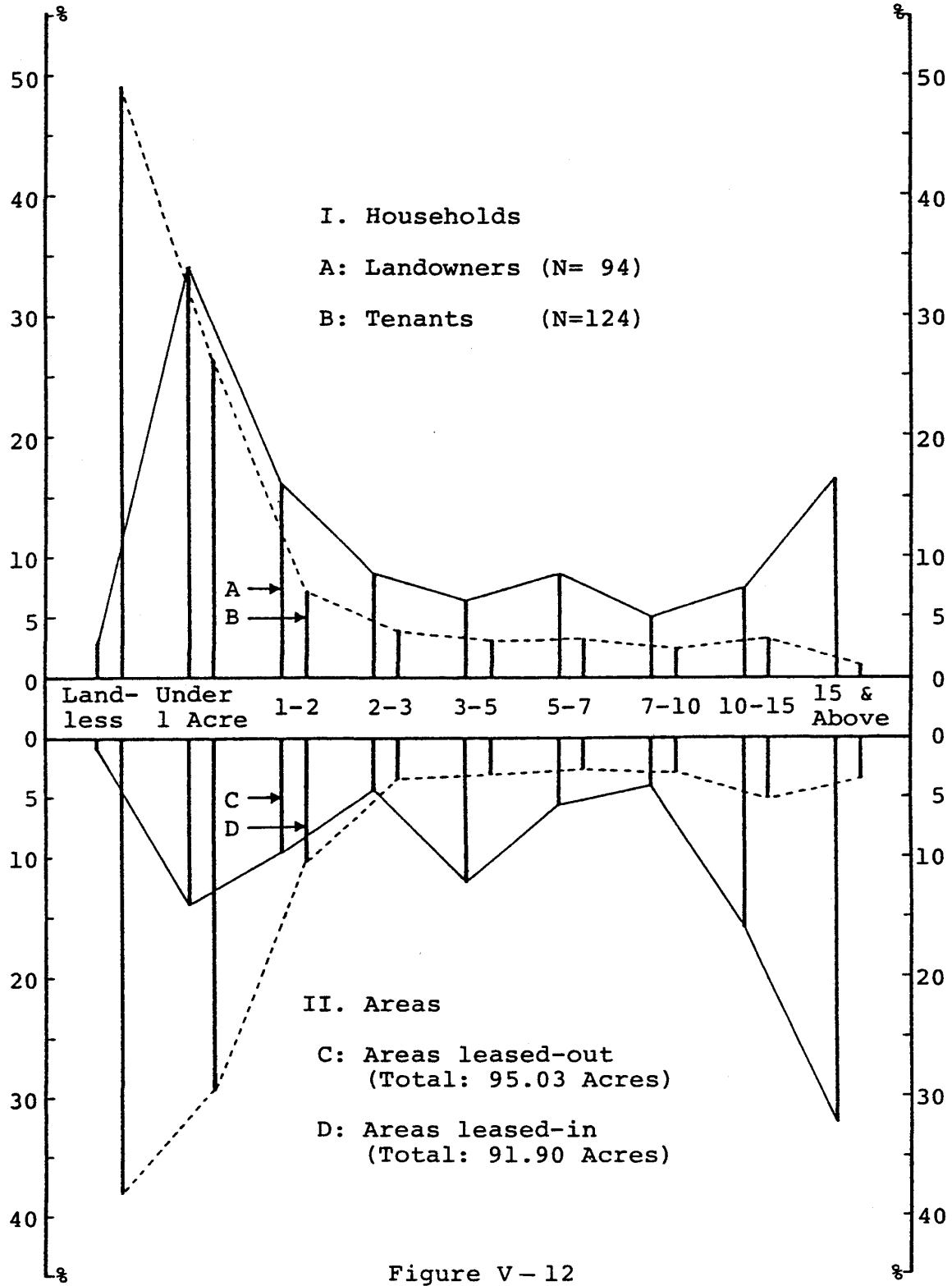
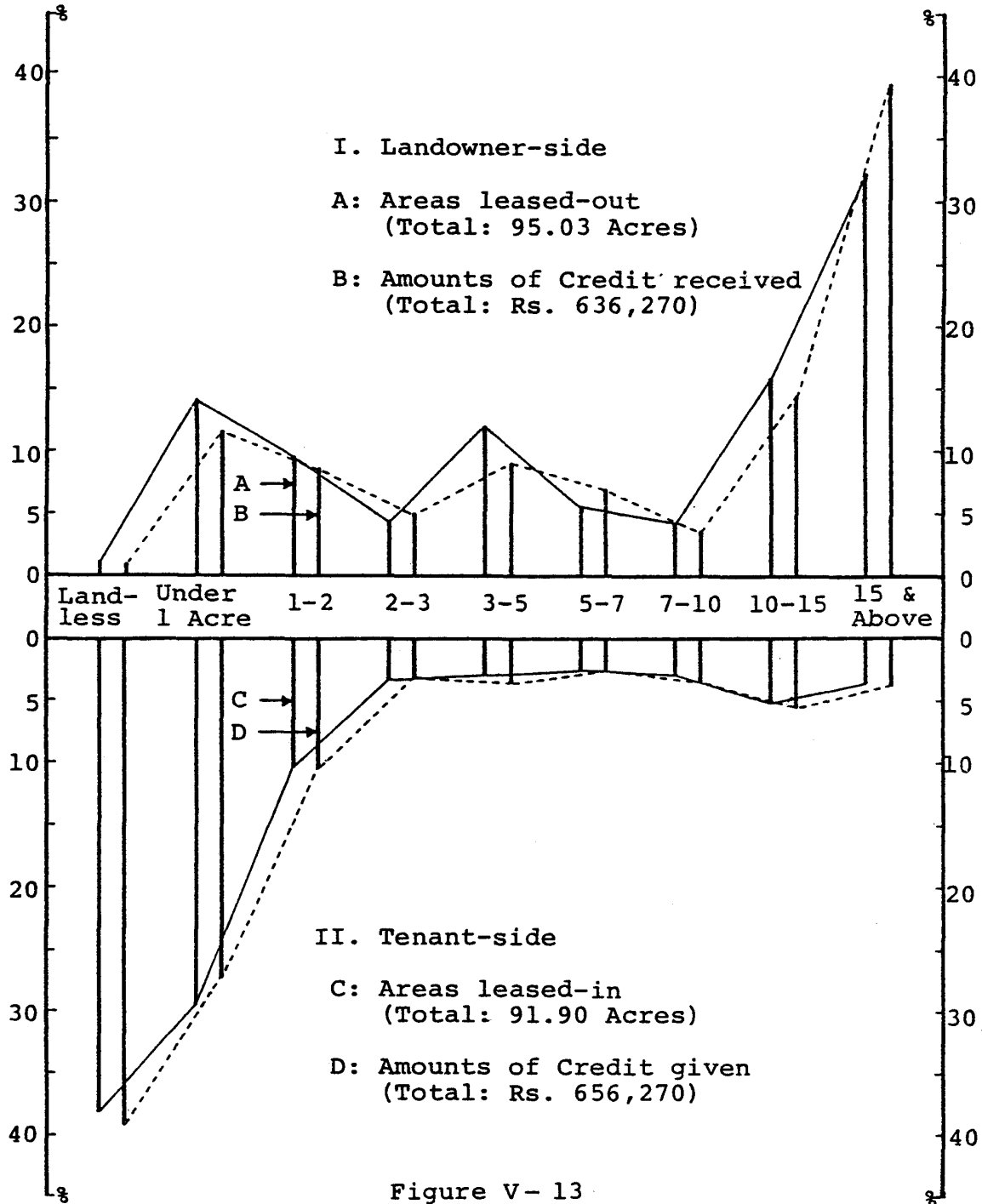


Figure V - 12

OTTI: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AREAS AND AMOUNTS OF MONEY INVOLVED IN OTTI BY SIZE OF LANDHOLDING IN PERUVALANALLUR (1979-80)



PERIOD OF CURRENT OTTI CONTRACTS IN PERUVALANALLUR VILLAGE,
 LALGUDI TALUK, TIRUCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT,
 TAMIL NADU, INDIA

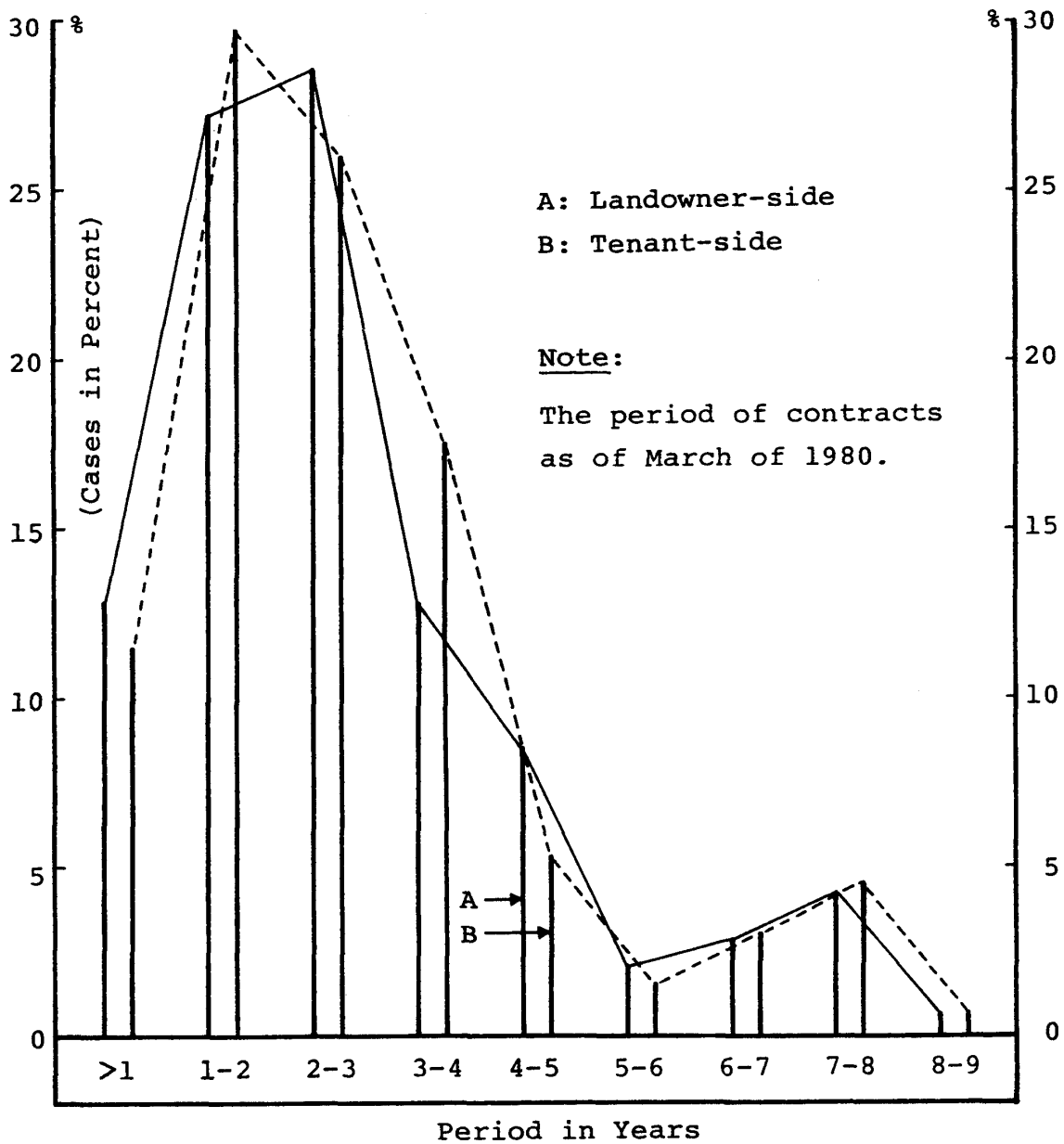


Figure V-14

TABLE V-11

OTTI: NUMBER OF COUNTERPARTS FOR EACH LANDOWNER AND TENANT
IN PERUVANALLUR VILLAGE OF LALGUDI TALUK, TIRUCHIRAPPALLI
 DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU, INDIA (1979-80)

I. Landowner (Debtor)-side		II. Tenant (Creditor)-side	
Number of Counterparts	Number of Cases (Landowners' Households)	Number of Counterparts	Number of Cases (Tenants' Households)
1 tenant	70 (74.47%)	1 landowner	99 (79.84%)
2 tenants	16 (17.02)	2 landowners	20 (16.13)
3 tenants	5 (5.32)	3 landowners	3 (2.42)
5 tenants	1 (1.06)	4 landowners	2 (1.61)
11 tenants	2 (2.13)		
	94 (100.00%)		124 (100.00%)

gory (C-9: 15 acres and above) occupied 33.34 percent (or 30.73 acres) of the area and 39.64 percent (or Rs. 252,200) of the "credit" of the respective totals. In other words, there was a great difference in the extent of area leased-out and the amount of money-deposit received as "credit" per household between the marginal groups (C-2 and C-3) and the greatest landholding groups (C-9); that is, the former group leased-out 0.48 acres and received Rs. 2,724 per household; and the latter group leased-out 3.07 acres and received Rs. 25,222 per household.

By definition, landless households can only participate in the otti tenure on the tenant-side. However, 3 households which appeared in the Tables and Figures got kuttagai lands (which belonged to the Hindu temples), and then they leased the lands to others under the otti tenancy.

Although the otti landowners' ultimate motivation is mainly to secure a large amount of cash money promptly, there were various reasons among the involved households, as indicated below, why they decided to pledge their lands under the otti at that time:

- (1) For investment in new business such as agents for fertilizer sales, shops for fertilizers and agricultural medicines, work shops for agricultural implements and machines, tractors for plows and carriages, etc.
- (2) For higher education and technical training, job promotion and/or seeking a job itself, etc.
- (3) For expenses for marriage (especially on the bride's side)
- (4) For general family maintenance
- (5) Due to the lack of working members for agriculture within the families.

Of course, there were many other reasons or motivations for the otti landowners. Moreover, there were usually not one but two or more reasons for each case of the otti transactions depending on the socio-economic conditions of the individual households involved.

Notes

¹Joan P. Mencher, Agricultural and Social Structure in Tamil Nadu, Past Origins, Present Transformations and Future Prospects (New Delhi: Allied Publishers Private Ltd., 1978), p. 96.

²Kathleen Gough, Rural Society in Southeast India (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 47.

³Ibid., pp. 47-48.

⁴Noboru Karashima and Subbarayalu, Y., "Varangai/Idangai, Kaniyalar, and Irajagarattar: Social Conflict in Tamilnadu in the 15th Century," Socio-cultural Change in Villages in Tiruchirapalli District, Tamilnadu, India, Part I (Pre-modern Period), ed. by Noboru Karashima (Tokyo: Institute for Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1983), p. 144.

⁵According to the tenancy acts, the "cultivating tenant" means a person who contributes his own physical labor or that of any member (heir) of his family in the cultivation of any land belonging to another under a tenancy agreement, expressed or implied. The acts distinguish the cultivating tenant from a mere intermediary or his heir, and is aimed at protecting the former only.

⁶K.S. Sonachalam, Land Reforms in Tamil Nadu (New Delhi: Oxford and IBH Pub. Co., 1970), pp. 32-62.

⁷Mencher, op. cit., p. 111.

⁸G. Venkataramani, Land Reform in Tamil Nadu (Madras: Madras Institute of Development Studies, 1973), p. 29.

⁹In the case of the kuruvai paddy cultivation, the harvesting work is usually done by a group of hired laborers for a certain unit area on a contract basis, and the group gets a fixed share of the total harvest (real gross produce). See Chapter V.

¹⁰Varam tenancy is also not practiced at all in Garudaman-galam and Alunthalaipur (both under #104).

¹¹Tsukasa Mizushima and Nara, Tsuyoshi, "Social Change in a Dry Village in South India", Studies in Socio-cultural Change in Rural Villages in Tiruchirapalli District in Tamilnadu, India, No. 4, (Tokyo: Institute for Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa [ISLCAA], 1983), pp. 97-164. And also see Mizushima's recent article, "Changes, Chances, and Choices: The Perspectives of Indian Villagers," Socio-cultural Change in Vil-

lages in Tiruchirapalli District, Tamilnadu, India, Part II (Modern Period), No. 1, (Tokyo: ISLCAA), in press.

¹²Shanmugam P. Subbiah, "Rural Base in a South Indian Village: A Study into its Structural and Spatial Patterns in Mahizambadi Village of Tamil Nadu," Studies in Socio-cultural Change in Rural Villages in Tiruchirapalli District, Tamil Nadu, No. 4, (Tokyo: ISLCAA, August 1981), p. 66.

¹³Ibid, p. 66.

¹⁴However in some areas in Chingleput District, the land tax is paid by the tenant. See Mencher, op. cit., p. 84.

¹⁵The traditional wells are simply dugged and are 5-10 meters in depth and 5-8 meters in diameter, or if square, 7-10 meters in length without any pipes.

¹⁶Mizushima, "Change, Chances, and Choices: The Perspectives of Indian Villagers," in press.

¹⁷This case in the kuttagai tenancy is unusual, but is understandable when we know that the household leased-in the land from the Hindu temple.

¹⁸Thus, we may automatically suppose that all of these households had no operational lands of their own. However, some of the households got the leased lands from others under the otti tenancy.

¹⁹Of the 20 villages whose people leased-in the kuttagai lands from the Peruvalanallur villagers, this landlord owned all the kuttagai lands in 5 villages (Nos. 27, 30, 72, 74, and 91) and a major part in 3 villages (Nos. 28, 29 and 31) listed in Table V-4.

²⁰Of the total areas of both the kuttagai and otti lands leased from the Peruvalanallur landowners, the tenants of the other villages cultivated 73.08 percent or 149.98 acres (wet: 82.13 acres; dry: 67.85 acres) for the kuttagai but only 15.09 percent or 14.34 acres (wet: 6.16 acres; dry: 8.00 acres) for the otti.

²¹For example, in March of 1980, the land value of good wet land was Rs. 18,000 per acre in the village, and, after 18 months, the value of the same quality of land increased to Rs. 30,000 per acre.

²²In fact, there is an impression that the annual rate of "interest" or "net benefit" seemed to be a little higher for double cropping wet land used for the sugarcane and grams.