

and tenancy. More the land a person has in his possession less will be the demand for additional land. The equation (6) also yields the same results except that the farmers fully make adjustment regarding additional land.

The above model of tenancy is concerned with shortrun. In longrun, so many imperfections come to an end. As, in longrun, the shortage of labor can be removed through marriages and getting labor from other areas. In the same way, the shortage of bullocks can be removed through their breeding, etc. The landlords can also sell their lands if the land possessed by landlord is more than its expected demand. However, because of social importance, the landlords prefer such lands to tenants.

CHARACTERISTICS OF LANDOWNERSHIP IN UNDERDEVELOPED AGRI. OF PAKISTAN

The agri. economists divide the possession of lands in backward agrarian structure of Pakistan as : (1) landlords, (2) rich peasants, (3) middle farmers and (4) poor farmers, share-cropper tenants who do not own their land and agri. labor. They are described below :

ownership

1. **Landlords.** This is that segment of the rural society who is the owner of vast lands, and earns income by renting out the lands. Before the land reforms of 1958 they were having the same situation. But, in the beginning and mid. of 1960s when there was Ayub regime, the govt. created an incentive amongst the landlords that they should invest in tube-wells as the water was becoming an obstacle in the way of agri. development. Therefore, the govt. provided facilities and subsidies to landlords who installed tube-wells. Because of greater availability of water, the landlords increased the use of chemical fertilizers on lands. Most of the lands of such feudals were cultivated by share-cropper tenants. At that time, the share-croppers had the following properties : (a) The share-croppers faced all the expenditures of cropping except Abyana and capital costs. Moreover, the harvesting expenditures were to be faced equally both by the landlord and the tenant. (b) The tenancy period was of one year and it was renewed each year. Moreover, the farming practices were already settled. The tenant had to follow the standards of cultivation for the sake of maintenance of the tenancy. Such farming practices were about 100 years old, having very deep roots and they did not change even with invasion of tube-wells and chemical fertilizers.

Tax on lands irrigated by canals

Because of use of fertilizers if the output increases, the share-cropper will get a part of such advantage, but he had to face all the costs of inputs. In such situation, tenants used fertilizers etc. far less than those proposed by the landlords. When the tenant could not be forced to use more amount of fertilisers, how he could manage to raise the production of crop. However, he could enhance the use of fertilizers if he

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the same part of each crop as rent

had also contributed to the cost of fertilizers in the proportion same to that of increase in output. (If the landlord faces all the input costs it will be beneficial for the tenants as he has paid nothing for the fertilizers. In such situation, the landlord could force the tenant to increase the share of crop or eject the tenant from the lands and start self-cultivation with wage laborers. But it was too difficult to raise the rent share as it had been settled traditionally or legally. Moreover, the share-croppers could not be forced to face more costs regarding inputs. Thus, under such circumstances, the invasion of chemical fertilizers and tube wells led to more ejections of the share-croppers.

Because of Green Revolution, the superior seeds of wheat, rice and maize were used in 1966 - 67. For high yielding varieties (HYVs) it was necessary that water could be supplied in time, more fertilizers could be used, pesticides be used and the farming practices be changed. Wherever, such was adopted the output doubled as compared to the traditional seeds. The GR technology gave rise to the following results :

(a) The in-time water availability attached with HYVs increased the importance of tube-wells. (b) The GR technology increased the use of those inputs which had to be purchased from market, as superior seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, tractors and water, But the share-croppers did not have enough financial resources to purchase them or contribute to purchases. Therefore, the landlords gave them by purchasing. The landlord charged such expenses at the time of harvesting. Again, the landlords also purchased sprays for their tenants. In other words, during the GR period, the intervention of landlords in the system of share-cropping increased. This resulted in the abolition of this system and the inflow of wage laborers. (d) Due to GR a multiple-time increase in the production of wheat, rice and maize was observed, but the share-croppers did not give much to the landlords. This created an inducement amongst the landlords to go for self-cultivation from share-cropping.

But due to traditional agri. technology there increased the demand for permanent workers. However, it was not possible to employ so many permanent workers as agri. is a seasonal profession. Moreover, it was difficult to supervise so many workers. In such situation, the landlords liked to divert towards mechanical farming. Moreover, the following factors also encouraged the farm mechanisation : (a) The tube-wells, chemicals, fertilizers and HYVs helped to boost the incomes of the big landlords and they got enough funds to purchase tractors and other machinery. (b) The govt. also provided loans to purchase tractors and install tube-wells. The prices of tractors were kept low artificially and they were imported at a higher exchange rate. (c) In 1960s, the landlords became aware of the use of agri. machinery. Again, due to provision of service facilities regarding agri. machinery, tractors and supply of fuels an infra-structure came into being.

Alongwith such economic changes, there also occurred social and political changes in the country which promoted self-cultivation. As during 1960s, to be the owner of a tractor was considered something very big in the rural set-up. Therefore, if the big landlord cultivated it was not something degraded. In 1970, when the elections held in the country, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto gave the slogan that " tiller should eat the produce". This created an atmosphere of hatred between share-croppers and landlords. The rural society was also polarized. The tenants who were considered " Kammies" came in front of the landlords. The share-croppers who were the assets of landlords became their liabilities.

2. The Rich Peasants. They are the people who were having lands between 12.5 acres to 25 acres at the time of creation of Pakistan. Most of them were self-cultivators. In case of irrigated lands the 5 acres of land could provide subsistence requirements to an average family. Therefore, the rich farmers earned a fairly good amount of surplus. Though, in the early 60s the rich farmers were not in a position to install tube-wells, yet their position changed with the passage of time, as : (a) the investment made on tube-well gave rise to a reasonable return. This induced the rich farmers to collect funds for the tube-well installation. Thus, in the mid. 60s, the major share of such farmers invested in the tube-wells. (b) During 1966 - 67, the HYVs heavily increased the incomes of such tillers which increased the efficiency of investment. (c) In the post GR period the rich peasants also borrowed heavily from institutional resources like ADBP (ZTBL) and commercial banks. This led to promote the tendency of installation of tube-wells. But the underground water in Sindh was not sweet so the rich farmers in Sindh did not go for investing in tube-wells.

Because of installation of tube-wells and high yielding varieties of seeds the rich farmers got the same benefits which were gotton by the landlords. As they increased their cropping area, the paid workers were employed at the farms, used the purchased inputs. In order to increase the cropped area these rich peasants acquired lands on rent. However, their system was different from that of the landlords and the share-cropper's method. The share-croppers acquired the lands from the landlords in order to earn their livelihood. But the purpose of acquiring lands by the rich peasants was to earn profits. In this way, a new element in the Rental Market of Pakistan emerged.

The rich peasants increased their output and productivity of lands possessed and acquired by using superior seeds, fertilizers, water, pesticides and machinery. Had they been share-croppers they would have to pay a part of such increased production to the landlords. These rich farmers got lands against some fixed amount of rent, and they earned more than such payments. Their performance was far better than the share-croppers. In this way, the tendency to get lands on fixed amount of rent increased the rental market of the country. The rent of

share-croppers remained the same as they were using traditional and conventional inputs and cultivating less important crops.

3. Middle Peasants. This group of farmers is the owners of 5 acres to 12.5 acres. During 60s, the capitalistic way of farming became popular in the country. It was thought that the importance of middle class peasants will decline on the following grounds : (a) the capitalistic farming leads to a higher increase in agri. outputs and depressing down their prices. Whereas due to increase in the purchases of seeds like inputs the monetary costs of the farmers increased. The middle order peasants were not in a position to increase their productivity as it was done by the big landlords. In this way, these farmers are entrapped in a cycle of costs and prices. Moreover, the attraction of these farmers increases in the off-farm activities. So when such-like push and pull effects occur the middle type of farmers will decrease. But during this period the number of middle order farmers did not decrease, because (i) there always remained a shortage of food in Pakistan. Here the prices did not decrease even in the presence of their bumper crops, (ii) although the big landlords had financial resources, big lands, superior technology and official support, yet this class of farmers did not implement superior agri. practices widely on their farms. As a result, the production gap between rich landlords and the middle class did not increase. (d) there was a limited industrialization in the country which was mostly capital intensive. Therefore, employment opportunities outside agri. did not increase to the desired extent. However, during 70s and early 80s, the employment opportunities in the Middle East increased. These farmers or their offsprings followed upon the slogan of "Go to Dubai". Thus, middle order peasants alongwith the Dubai Dollars spent their surplus on agri. improvement.

4. Poor Peasants, Share-Croppers and Agri. Laborers

At the time of creation of Pakistan, this group of farmers comprised a major share of rural population. There is one thing common in these three segments of the group that they have to sell their services directly or indirectly in order to meet their subsistence needs. The poor farmers and tenants who do not have their own lands get them from landlords under the share-cropping system. During 60s when certain changes occurred in the share-cropping system, they hardly affected the poor peasants and the share-croppers. As told above that they induced the landlords to eject the share-croppers and start self-cultivation. For this purpose they were to employ the wage earner workers. While the rich peasants liked to acquire lands in greater quantity against a fixed amount of rent. In such situation, the competition to get land went on increasing and the availability of land to the share-croppers decreased.

Those share-croppers who went on displacing and were not having lands had no option except to become laborers. The same was the situation with the poor and marginal farmers having a very little land. Therefore, they had to become agri. laborers in addition to small cultivation, for the sake of additional incomes. The land at their disposal was less than their subsistence level. They could not meet the expenses of their bullocks. Therefore, they sold them, and then for ploughing or threshing they had to depend upon rental tractors and traditional threshers. It was also found that these poor farmers stressed upon earning incomes from other sources rather than working in their own small farms. Thus, when the tendency of earning wages developed the trend for self-cultivation decreased. Eventually such a situation rises that the poor farmers who are having 1 or 2 acres of land either sell them or rent them out, and become full-time workers.

It has also been seen that when the small farmers become agri. laborers, the demand for such laborers also increases as the big landlords or the rich farmers employ them on their farms for direct cultivation. As this class goes on to increase its cultivation the demand for agri. labor increases..

But as far as Pakistan is concerned that during the GR period, intensive cultivation alongwith tractors took place, and the share-croppers were replaced by the self-cultivators. Accordingly, in our country, just the seasonal demand for labor increases and the demand for permanent farm workers could not increase. This led the poor farmers to migrate to urban cities. The demand for agri. workers remained high during the sowing and harvesting seasons which also created the labor agreements with tenant families. However, alongwith mechanisation, the landlords dependence on agri. workers decreased. Thus, it is concluded that since the late 50s the structural changes are occurring in the agrarian structure of Pakistan, and the agri. sector is converting itself from traditional agri. sector to the market oriented set-up. Before Independence perhaps no farmer used to purchase agri. inputs for farming. But after 1960s every big and small farmer is purchasing agri. inputs like seeds, fertilisers, pesticides, tractor, diesel, electricity, and other fuels. To purchase all such a fairly good amount of money is required. Therefore, so many governmental and non-governmental institutions like Zari Taraquati Bank and commercial banks are advancing loans to the farmers. In this way, the rural credit market is being extended. The landlords, the rich farmers and the small farmers who had borrowed from the banks their needs for money increased as they had to repay the loans. Accordingly, they preferred to sell more of agri. products in the market. Moreover, certain other structural changes occurred in the agri. products in the agri. sector of Pakistan, as the share-croppers turned into agri. laborers. The urbanization took place in the country. The small towns went on spreading where the facilities of commercial services (sale and purchase

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