

Chapter III

Women in the Rural Informal Sector : Agriculture and Allied Activities

Agriculture and the allied activities in other parts of our country, especially in areas where mechanised farming has been adopted, can be considered as organised sector activities. But the nature of Darjeeling hill agriculture is somewhat different from the rest of the country in the sense that the agriculture here is predominantly traditional and is also characterised by small scale of its operation and labour-intensity of it. All these factors have led us to include agricultural activities in Darjeeling hills in the informal sector. The physical configuration of the hills in the district of Darjeeling has made agricultural conditions extremely difficult. Many of the slopes in the hills are so stony and precipitous that nothing can thrive on them except scrub jungles. As such, much of the hill land is unsuitable for cultivation of any kind, but on the gentler slopes the soil is often of wonderful fertility. Altitude and aspect also have important effects on agriculture.¹ The arduous hill agriculture although is traditional and faces many other problems including the lack of irrigation facilities, in some parts of our study area, it is still the main source of livelihood of a large population. And also the agriculture and its allied activities have side by side of the male workers absorbed a large number of female population in it.

The geographical division in the hills is such that in the hills west of Teesta, a very large proportion of the area is under forest, tea and cinchona and the area under non-plantation crops is very small. In the hills east of Teesta, there are very few tea gardens and most of the land is under forest and non-plant agricultural cultivation. And, in fact, agriculture is the main source of livelihood

of the vast majority of the people in the hills east of Teesta, represented by Kalimpong subdivision.

When the district was first taken over by the British administration, the hill portion was almost entirely under forest. The only cultivation followed by the aborigines was that of jhumming.² Jhum cultivation has now entirely disappeared due to forest reservation, appropriation of land for tea cultivation and extension of plough cultivation to the remaining land. The following are the main crops being cultivated in the hills depending upon the altitude and climate.

i) Maize - This crop grows on almost any soil at altitudes between 1000 to 7000 ft. above sea level. It does best at low elevations in sunny aspects and grows quite well in places where rocks retain moisture. It is the staple food-crop for cultivators and is grown on dry land.

ii) Millet - Locally known as "Kodo", it is grown at heights between 1000 to 5000 ft. above sea-level and in dry cultivation. Transplantation of the seeds of millet are done in the monsoon and is harvested in autumn.

iii) Wheat, barley and mustard - These are not extensively grown in the hills. They are grown up to 5000 ft. in dry cultivation.

iv) Rice - Paddy is grown up to the heights of 5000 ft. above sea level. In the hills, it is transplanted in July-August into irrigated lands and harvested in November-December. It is the main crop grown in Kalimpong subdivision.

v) Potatoes - Hill areas are suitable for potato cultivation and it grows even at the altitudes of 8000-9000 ft.. It is grown in dry cultivation but requires heavy manuring.

vi) Cardamom & Ginger - Cardamom, also known as "elainchi", is a valuable crop doing best at altitudes from 1000 to 5000 ft. above sea level. The crop requires a rich soil, shade, some warmth and a good

supply of water. Ginger also grows at an altitude up to 5000 ft. above sea level and it has become one of the principal commercial crops of the hills.

vii) Fruits - Orange growing is extremely profitable and for this reason, it has expanded considerably in recent years. About 90% of the orange output is exported. It is one of the important cash crops of Darjeeling hills.

viii) Vegetables - Vegetable growing is also very profitable in the hills. Peas, beans, potatoes, cauliflowers, beetroots, carrots, radishes, tomatoes, squash are the general vegetables grown which have both local and distant markets. The seasons for many of these vegetables is long because it is possible to grow them over a considerable range of altitude.

Hill women play a very crucial role in growing all these crops. The social framework in the hills is such that many of the agricultural and allied operations like sowing of seeds, transplanting, manuring, weeding, harvesting, and cattle care & milking etc. are assigned solely to women. With rapid urbanisation, young men from villages are shifting away to towns as job seekers. As a result, women are assuming more or even exclusive responsibility of agricultural operations. Therefore, the success or failure of agriculture depends mainly on the contribution made by them.

The following table shows the total number of men and women workers engaged in agriculture in the hill areas of Darjeeling district. This would help us to understand their importance in agricultural activities.

Table-3.1: Distribution of Male and Female Cultivators and Agricultural Labourers in the Hill Areas: 1961-1981.

Year	1961				1971				1981			
	Sub-div. Cultivators		Agri.Labs.		Cultivators		Agri.labs.		Cultivators		Agri.Labs.	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Darjeeling	13941	13369	683	777	14225	10107	3739	2378	14750	11424	2873	1550
Sadar	(26.87)	(38.56)	(1.32)	(2.24)	(25.54)	(28.45)	(6.71)	(6.69)	(23.37)	(30.5)	(4.55)	(4.14)
Kalimpong	17325	15386	1510	1133	17138	11391	3789	2306	18864	11887	2574	1156
	(48.22)	(71.83)	(4.20)	(5.29)	(45.69)	(65.52)	(10.1)	(13.26)	(46.56)	(62.99)	(6.35)	(6.13)
Kurseong	3674	3630	186	125	3567	2160	1587	972	2956	2041	728	431
	(18.45)	(23.61)	(0.90)	(0.98)	(16.61)	(16.19)	(7.39)	(7.29)	(11.22)	(16.69)	(2.76)	(3.53)
Total	34940	32385	2379	2035	34930	23658	9115	5656	36570	25352	6175	3137
Hills	(32.43)	(47.08)	(2.21)	(2.96)	(30.72)	(35.72)	(8.01)	(8.54)	(28.23)	(36.98)	(4.75)	(4.58)

Figures in the Parentheses represent the % of the men & women in their total work force respectively.

Source: District Census Handbooks, Darjeeling 1961, 1971 & 1981.

From the table, it is observed that all throughout the years since 1961, although female absorption in agriculture is lower in absolute number than the male workers, larger proportion of women workers are found to be engaged in. In Kalimpong subdivision, 71.83% of the working women were cultivators in 1961 which declined to 65.52% in 1971 and further declined to 62.99% in 1981. But only 48.22% of working men in 1961 were engaged as cultivators which had declined to 46.56% in 1981. For the hills altogether during the same period between 1961 and 1981, while the percentage of female cultivators in total working women declined sharply from 47.08 to 36.98, that of men workers declined marginally from 32.43% in 1961 to 28.23% in 1981.

The same period, on the other hand, has been marked by the growth of both the male and female agricultural labourers. A brief reference to the phenomenon of growing size of agricultural labourers in the hills has been made in chapter II. It has been analysed there that the emergence of the category of the agricultural labourers was preceded by the emergence of a large number of marginal cultivators. When the average size of landholding became small due to the increase

in population brought about by natural growth and immigration as well, the households could not draw the sustenance from the land alone. They gradually started looking for additional sources of income. In the process, the richer and educated got relatively better opportunities while the bulk of the population who were poor had to work as agricultural labourers. Thus, gradually the emergence of the agricultural labourers category became inevitable.³

Women are involved in all categories of farm works in the hills. The family female labourers classified as 'cultivators' have a typical way of working in the field. While the agricultural labourers are hired by the cultivators' family to work at a stipulated wage; the family labourers of a particular locality work under labour exchange systems known as "Parma"⁴ and "hoori".⁵ These labour exchange systems are in use particularly in transplanting and harvesting of paddy. The existence of the labour exchange systems among the family labourers in a locality have led the cultivators to avoid the use of hired agricultural labourers as far as possible. But in terrace cultivation of cardamom, ginger, potato and other vegetables where there is the need of continuous and prolonged labour to be used right from the sowing to the harvesting, the agricultural households are compelled to employ the agricultural labourers as hired labour on daily wage basis.

3.1 : Differential Participation of Males and Females in Different Agricultural and Allied Activities in Darjeeling Hills

In order to study the difference in participation rate of males and females in various agricultural operations data were collected by personal interviews. The operational areas selected for the purpose were -- (i) Pudung Khasmālal, 7 Km. away from Kalimpong town and (ii) Kaijalay in Pulbazar police station falling under Darjeeling sadar Subdivision, 48 Km. away from Darjeeling town. In both the villages, agriculture is the main source of livelihood. Pudung Khasmāhal in Kalimpong subdivision has 290 households while Kaijalay under Pulbazar police station has 269 households. For the sake of our study, we had

randomly selected 30 agricultural households from each village. Thus total number of sample households came to 60.

The crop activities selected for this study were limited to the major rice-based cultivation and these included apart from rice, vegetables, ginger etc. The allied activities of agriculture such as livestock rearing, fuel and water collection etc. were grouped under miscellaneous activities. The participation level of males and females in the various operations/activities were collected from the heads of the respective households. The operations which were carried out on a farm holding exclusively by males were put under the heads 'males' and those carried out exclusively by females were put under the head 'females' and those carried out by both males and females without any clear distinction were put under the head 'jointly carried out'.

The findings about the involvements of the 'males' and 'females' in the individual operations under each of the four enterprises have been presented below.

(i) Paddy Cultivation - The data in table - 3.2 shows that the highest level of involvement of women in Darjeeling hills was in the transplanting operations, while the lowest was in the land preparation. On the other hand, the land preparation was carried out in 76.67% cases exclusively by males, while in 20% cases, mostly with smaller holdings, it was carried out jointly. Also activities like harvesting

Table 3.2 : Level of Participation of Males and Females in Different Operations of Paddy Cultivation

Operations	Males	Females	Jointly
Land Preparation	46(76.67)	2(3.33)	12(20.00)
Nursery Sowing	42(70.00)	11(18.33)	7(11.67)
Seedle uprooting	24(40.00)	8(13.33)	28(46.67)
Rice transplanting	2(3.33)	48(80.00)	10(16.67)
Irrigation	28(46.66)	16(26.67)	16(26.67)
Harvesting	5(8.33)	45(75.00)	10(16.67)
Threshing	8(13.33)	34(56.67)	18(30.00)
Marketing	38(63.33)	22(36.67)	0(0.00)
Storage	12(20.00)	37(61.67)	11(18.33)

Figures in the parentheses are percentages.

Source : Field survey

(75.0%), storage (61.67%), threshing (56.67%) etc. were mainly carried

out by females. It was only in marketing, after land preparation and nursery sowing that males participated mostly.

(ii) Vegetable cultivation - In this enterprise, the level of participation of females was highest in sowing/transplanting (58.97%). Their involvement was least in land preparation (25.64%), but not as least as it was in the case of paddy cultivation.

Table 3.3: Level of Participation of Males and Females in Vegetable (including ginger) Cultivation Practices

Operations	Males	Females	Jointly
Land preparation	18 (46.15)	10 (25.64)	11 (28.21)
Transplanting/Sowing	4 (10.26)	23 (58.97)	12 (30.77)
Nursery raising	6 (15.38)	22 (56.41)	11 (28.21)
Plant protection	15 (38.46)	20 (51.28)	4 (10.26)
Weeding	12 (30.77)	15 (38.46)	12 (30.77)
Harvesting	12 (30.77)	19 (48.72)	8 (20.51)
Marketing	15 (38.46)	17 (43.59)	2 (5.13)

Figures in the brackets are percentages. Out of 60 respondents only 39 did vegetable cultivation.

Source : Field survey.

Accordingly, the highest level of male involvement was in land-preparation. The other major operations carried out by females in vegetable cultivation were nursery raising (56.41%), plant protection (51.28%), harvesting (48.72%) and marketing (43.59%). On the other hand, the major operations carried out by men were marketing and plant protection (38.46%), harvesting and weeding (30.77%), indicating that none of the major operations in vegetable cultivation was carried out exclusively or even predominantly by men. Even the arduous work of land-preparation for vegetable cultivation was shared by women. This may be primarily, because of the fact that holdings in the hills, particularly, the plots under vegetable cultivation, are predominantly small and do not require the use of heavy implements. This, therefore, does not seek the exclusive service of male workers.

(iii) Livestock rearing - Livestock rearing constitutes as one of the important allied activities of agriculture. In the rural-hills, almost every family has undertaken livestock rearing as their secondary occupations. And women do play important role in this activity too. It was found that the fodder collection (90%) and milking operation (81.67%) were carried out exclusively by them. The other operations in which women's involvement was significant were clearing the cowshed (68.33%), feeding (56.67%), etc. The level of women's involvement was equal to those of men in the marketing (23.33%). As far as this enterprise was concerned males in the hills of Darjeeling district were mainly associated with breeding and medical care (46.67%).

Table-3.4 : Level of Participation of Males and Females in Various Operations of Livestock Rearing.

Operations	Males	Females	Jointly
Feeding	9 (15.00)	34 (56.67)	17 (28.33)
Clearing	2 (3.33)	44 (68.33)	14 (23.33)
Milking	11 (18.33)	49 (81.67)	0 (0.00)
Cutting fodder	5 (8.33)	54 (90.00)	1 (1.67)
Marketing*	14 (23.33)	14 (23.33)	0 (0.00)
Medical care	28 (46.67)	23 (38.33)	9 (15.00)
Breeding	41 (68.33)	19 (31.67)	0 (0.00)

*only 28 households marketed the milk and milk-product.

Figures in the Parentheses are the percentages.

Source : Field survey.

(iv) Miscellaneous activities - These activities included fuel, water collection and maintenance of houses etc. The women of rural-hills play such a crucial role that the duty of collecting fuel is solely assigned to them. Water, all throughout in the hills is a scarce commodity. The rural people mainly depend on the natural streams and *jhoras* for water. The collection of water from distant *jhoras* and streams through the hill terrace is a tough job. Thus, water collection

is not absolutely done by women as in the case of plains. The men-folk do not hesitate to share the responsibility of water-collection with female members of the family. Table - 3.5 shows that women in the hills carried out the fuel collection activity in 89.33% cases, while their participation stood at 41.67% and 30.0% in maintenance of house and water-collection respectively.

Table 3.5 : Levels of Participation of Males and Females in Miscellaneous Allied Agricultural Activities

Activities	Males	Females	Jointly
Fuel collection	7 (11.67)	53 (89.33)	0 (0.00)
water collection	12 (20.00)	18 (30.00)	30 (50.00)
Maintenance of house (ie. repair etc.)	15 (25.00)	25 (41.67)	20 (33.33)

Figures in the parentheses are percentages.

Source : Field survey

It is thus seen that women's contributions in various enterprises in the rice-based farming in the hill areas of Darjeeling district was greater than that of men. From, the analysis above, it is quite evident that women were involved primarily in those activities which required less skills, and in repetitive and monotonous operations like transplanting of seedlings, harvesting or threshing. On the other hand, males performed activities like plant protection, chemical weed control, land preparations and marketing etc. These activities required skill and were also considered more prestigious. However, it was found that ploughing of land was done exclusively by men. It is the case everywhere in the country. The ploughing of land by men is not necessarily because it requires skill or is arduous, but primarily because social customs and tradition do not sanction ploughing of land by women. In hills, however, some women dig small plots of land with small spades where ploughing is not feasible or necessary.

It was also observed that mechanised operations were performed

by men, while operations needing manual labour were done mainly by the women. Paddy transplantations and threshing can be cited as examples here. Wherever, threshers were not used, it was seen that women performed the threshing operation, but where threshers were available and used, this operation was usually performed by men. We can also cite the example of rice pounding in support of the above statement. A few decades back, the rice husking operation was carried on by the women in the hills with the help of traditional wooden implement called 'dhinki'.⁶ And the husking was done irrespective of caste/tribe except the affluent ones, who used to dehull paddy for consumptions at home, for others on payment of a wage, or for a sale in the markets. The rice produced in this method had several utilities from rural women's standpoint : it gave them employment and some wage; such rice had more carrying capacity and nutritive value. The by-products were also useful for both human beings and domestic animals. But once the rice mills and hullers were introduced in the villages, the women who were dependent on husking wages were thrown out of employment. Machines have substituted the traditional 'dhinki' and now the operators of husking machines are the men folk. The tragedy is that in this process of labour displacement, the bread earner destitute women are affected severely. On the other hand, the lower middle class housewives are relieved from the arduous work of husking paddy with the help of the traditional instrument. To be precise, the introduction of rice hullers in the villages has necessarily displaced the women labourers from a gainful activity.⁷ Thus rightly said, Devdas et al:

"Whenever a new technology has introduced implements that take the back break out of farm jobs, men seem to have assumed charge, either replacing women from jobs that they hitherto performed, or displacing them to more manual work".⁸

3.2 : The Process of Informal Contracting in Rural Informal Labour Market and the Wage Differential Among the Agricultural Labourers

The agricultural operations in Darjeeling hills are characterised by the relatively greater involvement of women than the men. The use of hired agricultural labourer is avoided as far as possible. But during the peak agricultural hours and in cardamom production, in particular, the household farms are compelled to hire them. But a peculiar feature observed in this connection was that the agricultural labourers (both men and women) of the same quality do not earn equal wages in farm-work. The wages vary from person to person, similarly from place to place. Such a differential in wage-rate paid to the agricultural labourers can be explained in terms of the process of informal contracting in rural areas.

The forms of labour contracts in the rural areas can be explained by asking a simple question : What are the resources available for a landless agricultural worker in rural labour markets and what can they be used to acquire?

According to Jagannathan, One can hypothesise that labour has a choice between the following categories of activities in the labour market.⁹

(a) Generation of social assets. By an appropriate usage of resources a worker (both man and woman) can generate bilateral relations with the hirer of labour services;

(b) participation in the daily wage-labour market by offering the services of just-time, as assumed by the standard neo-classical economics;

(c) use of all or part of social assets that have been generated. The women labour can choose to develop their social assets partially and to continue to remain in the wage-labour market.

The activities are subject to some resource constraints. In

neo-classical micro economics, labour has only time to sell as resource and the worker's labour supply curve depends on his/her subjective allocation of time between labour and leisure. But modern writers are of the opinion that besides the time resource, several other resources or endowments a worker can utilise. Some of these resources are available as natural endowments, while other depend on the worker's subjective set of preference.¹⁰ The resources used in generating social assets are categorised as time resource, behavioural resource, physical resource, locational resource and the social assets themselves.

(i) Time resource - Time is the most familiar resource that a worker possesses. Under conditions of intense poverty, while time may not have the same opportunity costs, in the normal labour markets, it continues to remain a limited, exhaustible resource.

(ii) Behaviourial resource - An worker's behaviour does not seem to be a resource at the first glance. But economists usually describe the behaviour of a worker as arising from his/her subjective set of preference. And in fact, in the rural areas everywhere, the contract between the agricultural labourer and the hirer agriculturist requires a mode of behaviour appropriate to the hirer's specifications - such as reliability, trustworthiness, and efficiency.

Cultural and social factors may increase the importance of the behavioural resource. For example, a clear understanding of local mores, customs and etiquette becomes an important prerequisite for hiring. In these situations, a labourer's set of preferences can determine his/her contracting capability. A docile, subservient but physically strong labourer has a greater earning opportunity than an aggressive one.¹¹

In the modern context, a new but important dimension has been added to it. When labour is politicised, the behavioral resource becomes extremely important because unionisation of the landless labourers makes the landowners face a new set of bargaining problems.

And obviously, they will be willing to offer rents for well-beaved workers, who can be expected to remain loyal to them during agitations organised by their organisations. However, the landowner-cultivators of Darjeeling hills are till now free from such management difficulties in agriculture because the agricultural labourers are not yet organised under any banner.

(iii) Physical resource - Agricultural operations in the hills are subject to a number of critical emergencies arising out of the uncontrollable nature of farm environments. Unexpected rainfall, attacks by pastes and landslides are more likely to affect hill farmers, who therefore require strong supportive help from agricultural labourers at short notice. In effect, labour may be required to perform a wide range of extra roles. The functions can not be given specific payments, because their marginal contributions can not be calculated.

The physical resource depends on whether a woman is capable of effort in the form of hard labour much above what is required normally. Obviously, physical strength will be the main factor determining this. Hence, the women with extra physical strength can always expect to earn a premium in rural agricultural market. But this is not the case, they are physically weaker than the male workers and hence they receive lower wages compared to their male counterparts.

(iv) Locational resource - Another important resource that earns rent arises from simple living in the village. By remaining in the village not leaving the physical or social space - an agricultural labour may be able to secure some rent as she is known and thus gets the privilege over the relatively unknown one from a nearby village.

The idea being developed here is simple. Labour uses different amounts of resources to earn varying amounts of rents. For example, an agricultural labourer using her naturally endowed physical strength, plus having full loyalty to the landowner will be able to fully develop general bilateral relations and maximise her social

assets. On the other hand, the physically weak and the rebel, are to be content with daily wage-labour.

Having all these three resources in any agricultural labour makes her an attached labour. The worker is like a farm servant working for the same employer for many years, thus qualifying for the term "permanent farm servant".¹² Such an attached labour earns substantially above that of other agricultural labourers. Bardhan and Rudra's Study also indicate the annual earnings of attached labour are substantially higher than daily labour.¹³

If an agricultural labour, on the other hand, is either unwilling to devote enough of the behavioural resource or simply lacks the required physical resources, she falls into the category of semi-attached labour. According to Bardhan and Rudra, there are several forms of semi-attached labourers.

(i) Physical + locational - In Darjeeling hills, due to widespread poverty and deprivation, many are not able to reach their potential physical strength. A person endowed with extra physical strength can be expected to secure rent from land owners, even if she is not willing to compromise on behavioral factors. Such workers are given short-term contracts for the duration of the cultivation season or for specific jobs, and can be described as one of the categories of semi-attached labour.

(ii) Behaviourial + locational - Such an agricultural labour earns less rent than another contracting physical endowments. But the behavioural factor gains in importance with Unionisation of agricultural labourer or during agrarian unrest. This combination leads to another variation of semi-attached labour.

Thus, the women agricultural labour in Darjeeling hills earns differential wages by negotiating contracts using different endowment resources. These arrangements could explain why wage-remunerations in the rural informal sector exhibit wide diversity.

3.3 : Summary

Whenever one thinks of Darjeeling hills, he thinks of tea-industries as the tea-industries constitute the back-bone of the hill economy. But to one's surprise, agriculture still is the main source of livelihood of a large number of people there, particularly in the Kalimpong subdivision. As there is no entry restriction for the labourers in agricultural works, and characterised by family ownership, small scale operations, competitive markets, labour-intensive technology, and no skill required for the agricultural workers, the hill agricultural sector constitutes the largest rural informal sector. And women are seen to play a dominant role in agriculture and its allied activities. A larger proportion of working women than men are engaged as cultivators and agricultural labourers. But, they are put to such agricultural operations which are repetitive, monotonous, and arduous while the men have taken over all those agricultural operations which require skill and are considered to be more prestigious.

The women workers in agriculture are subject to many other constraints. All mechanised operations are performed by men. And whenever a new technology is introduced men seem to have assumed charge either by replacing women from job or displacing them to more manual work.

A recent phenomenon that has come up in the hills is the increasing number of women agricultural labourers. Their increasing number indicates the fact that they are being pushed further down to a lower social hierarchy in rural economy of hills. They are seen to earn various wages depending upon their informal contracting processes with the landowners. The attached agricultural labourers are earning some rent from the landlords over the semi-attached and the daily-wage labour. This is all due to the fact that attached agricultural labourers are endowed with all requisite resources like the time resource, physical resource, behavioural resource and locational

resource where as the others do lack one or more resources thereby falling into the category of semi-attached or daily-wage labour.

Notes and References :

1. A. J. Dash, Gazetteer of the Darjeeling District, 1947, p.99
2. 'Jhumming' means the nomadic system of cultivation by which a piece of forest land used to be selected and cleared, heavily cropped for a year or two till the soil showed signs of exhaustion, when it used to be abandoned, a new site selected and cleared and the same process used to be repeated.
3. T. B. Subba, The Quiet Hills: A Study of the Agrarian Relations in Hill Darjeeling, 1985, p.77
4. "Parma" means a system of direct labour exchange between two households. They work in each other's land mutually on alternative days or so.
5. "Hoori" means a system of indirect or cyclical labour exchange. It may consist of 10 or 20 or even more members who work on each other's lands in cyclical order.
6. The 'dhinki' consists of a wooden beam working on a seesaw principle fixed to a pivot. To one end of the beam is fixed a short pestle and this drops into a wooden/stone mortar fixed in the ground. The mortar is filled in with paddy and the worker trends on the end of the beam opposite to the one to which the pestle is fixed and thus lifts the pestle two or three feet above the mortar. By suddenly releasing the pressure on the beam, the pestle drops with force into mortar and husks the paddy contained in it. Normally, two to three women are needed to operate a 'dhinki', one or two working on the beam and the other stirring paddy in the mortar and winnowing husk, while the pounding is in progress.
7. B. G. Baboo, "Impact of Mechanisation on Rural Women : A Case Study of Rice - Husking Industry", in Dak, T. M. (ed.), Women and Work in Indian Society, Discovery Publishing House, Delhi, 1988, p.259.
8. Rajammal P. Devdas et al. "Technologies Don't Happen, They Have to be Generated", Indian Farming, 38, No.8, Nov, 1988 p.52
9. N. V. Jagannathan, Informal Markets in Developing Countries, Oxford University Press, 1987, p.45
10. ibid, p.45
11. ibid, p.46
12. For details about 'permanent farm servant', see Ashok Rudra, Indian Agricultural Economics : Myths and Realities, Allied Publishers, 1982, p.423
13. Pranab Bardhan and Ashok Rudra, "Terms and Conditions of Labour Contracts in Agriculture : Result of a Survey in West Bengal, 1979" in Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics, Vol. 43, No.32, 1980, pp.82-90