

PUBLIC SYSTEMS MANAGEMENT

PROJECT REPORT

Study of Labour condition in Tea Gardens of New Jalpaiguri



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Executive Summary

Although it has picked up a little in the recent past, the Indian Tea industry has undergone a difficult phase, especially between 2001 and 2004. The difficulties were internal in making, with the industry being treated like a foreign exchange cash cow by the Government and tea plantation owners. Further, as short-term profit gain objectives became dominant it led to a neglect of the tea gardens – in terms of re-plantation, rejuvenation with bulk of tea bushes way past their productive prime.

This made the industry highly vulnerable. This vulnerability came to the fore during the turn of the century due to exports from Sri Lanka and Kenya. The plantations in North Bengal, which produce just average tea, and do not have any brand value unlike the Darjeeling or the Assam tea were hit the most. Many tea gardens turned sick. Some were even abandoned by the owners as they have stripped and milked the assets completely by now.

In this study we have focused on these tea gardens of Jalpaiguri District in North Bengal. The burnt of this downturn is directly visible in the conditions of the tea garden labourers – the objective of our group study.

First of all they face an unfair situation as the Plantation Labour Act 1951 which classifies tea industry as industrial operations even though ninety-five percent of the labour, mostly un-skilled, is employed in primarily agricultural operations. This entails fixing of the minimum wage for the tea workers unequal to, and in fact at a much lower level, than the agricultural workers.

In addition, it is shocking to find that even though the workers are permanent, they are daily-rated, which means that they get paid only for the days that they actually work (They are not paid, for example, for Sundays). Also, when owners fail to provide for their basic facilities, whether due to incapacity or unwillingness, it is the labourers who suffer. Some of them have also been the victims of fraud by the owners, when the owners absconded without paying long due wages to the workers.

The situation of the workers is aggravated by the presence of multiple trade unions which first of result in inefficient bargaining with the management and in many cases also collude with them to agree upon policies that are detrimental to the labourers. The militant nature of some of these unions and the feudal nature of the society prevents the workers from uniting against them.

During our visit we saw that while the labourers lived in poor conditions in general, there were some who were much better off than the others. We cannot comment on the precise nature and causes of these divisions, as we could not pursue it in detail. But such situations are very likely to impact the local politics conditions in the tea gardens.

Our study of the situation of Jalpaiguri and other regions where tea is grown proved to us the need for people's participation and empowerment in decision making. The success of the

Kanan Devi model developed by Tata tea for reviving their gardens in the South India makes it evident. It is already being contemplated to implement the model in North Bengal and Assam too.

We also felt that in Jalpaiguri, various stakeholders were too engrossed in their narrow band of activities, and were pointing fingers at each other without looking at the whole picture. They need to be sensitive about the constraints faced by each other and should work in collaboration rather than against each other. Otherwise, it is ultimately the labourers who suffer.

I. Introduction

Today, the tea industry in India is undergoing a consolidation, with many branded tea players like Tata Tea, who own tea plantations, now divesting them and focusing entirely on branding and marketing of tea.

India is the world's largest producer and consumer of tea. Both, the domestic production and the exports have been on a rise. However, due to stiff competition from countries like Sri Lanka, Kenya, China, Bangladesh and Indonesia, and issues of quality, realizations on Indian teas have been witnessing a downward trend.

Between the years 2002 and 2004, the industry went through a crisis phase. Plantation owners claimed that the falling exports of Indian tea had resulted in an acute crisis. To cope with that, they indulged in wage cuts and retrenchment of labourers. An extension of this was the lockouts in the plantations - in 2003 and 2004. At least 22 plantations were closed down in Jalpaiguri District alone affecting 21,000 permanent workers and about 95,000 people.

These lockouts were illegal as no prior notices were given to the workers. The Payment of Wages Act and other labor laws were also violated, as the owners did not settle the dues.

The owners simply abandoned the tea gardens and absconded. The workers were left behind with no means of earning a livelihood, as they did not have the expertise to run a tea garden on their own. The closed nature of the gardens ensured that they were cut-off from the world outside and could not even seek alternative means of employment. This led to hunger, starvation, electricity and water being cut-off and a struggle to survive in general. This situation made the worker families vulnerable to trafficking agents. Many families were fooled by them and lost their children to trafficking.

Even in the open tea gardens the workers lived in destitute living conditions; with the owners claiming losses and cutting down on employee benefits that they are supposed to provide as per the Plantation Labour Act, 1951.

It's not just the owners who have been accused of right violation. The central and the state governments are liable for their inaction and apathy. The government has failed in setting up the committee to revise the minimum wages for the workers since 1957. It also failed in ensuring that the rights of the workers are not violated.

Apart from the above players, the fourth player is the trade unions. Multiplicity of trade unions has resulted in a complex and inefficient situation. Not only has it increased the exploitation of workers by creating divisions, but has also created a confusing situation with the management and other players not knowing which trade union to negotiate with.

We undertook this project to gain a first-hand experience of the situation in the tea plantations of Jalpaiguri district of North Bengal, with a focus on the conditions in which labourers live.

II. Methodology

The primary data source for our study was our field visit to the tea gardens in Jalpaiguri and our interactions thereof. However, we began our study through a review of the various reports and articles publicly available by developing an initial understanding of the key issues that the workers in tea gardens face. We used this information to develop a skeleton set of topics on which to focus during our visit.

Subsequently, the field visit was carried out for two days to the tea gardens in Jalpaiguri, where we talked to the various stakeholders. These included people from an NGO called Jagron, president of a trade union, labourers, members of the working committee formed by the labourers in one of the closed tea gardens and the Deputy Manager of a government-owned tea garden. We also wanted to meet at least one official working in any of a public system department at Jalpaiguri. However, due to the paucity of time that meeting did not materialize.

1. The key people we met for this project are:

1. **Miss Trina Chakrabarti**, who works with **CRY (Child Rights and You)**, Kolkata. CRY, which is India's leading advocate for children's rights, is a national NGO that serves as a channel between sources, which comprises of individuals, organizations, other NGOs, who can provide resources and the fieldworkers and organizations who are struggling to function for lack of them. In Jalpaiguri CRY has partnered with local NGOs called Jagron and Swadhikar, which are fighting for empowerment of workers in the tea gardens and against their rights violations.
2. **Mr. Partha Pratim Basu**, popularly known amongst locals as Victor, is the project holder (or the promoter) of Jagron. He has been actively involved in environmental issues (particularly in forest villages, and around elephant/human encounters) and with various forms of social work in the Jalpaiguri district area. He is also involved in tutoring local children and youth, including many from the plantations. He had also worked in a tea garden for a brief period of one to two years.
3. **Mr. Vaskar Nandy** is the President of “**Uttar Bangal Jharkhandi Sangharsh Samity**”, a local trade union with a strong presence in the Kalchini tea gardens of Jalpaiguri. He is also the project holder of Swadhikar, one of the organizations in Jalpaiguri that CRY has tied up with. He has been involved labour issues in the region for the past two decades.
4. **Mr. Kaustuv Maitro**: He is the Deputy Manager at the New Doars tea garden, which is a government owned tea garden.

2. The gardens we visited:

1. **Katalguri** is a closed tea garden, which has been overtaken by an operating management committee. The committee ensures that the plucking and selling of leaves is carried out even though the owners and the managers have absconded.
2. **Kalchini** is also a closed garden, which has been taken over by a committee formed by the workers themselves.
3. **New Doars** is a government owned tea garden, which not only produces leaves but also processes them. It has been making losses since the last few years.

III. Data from the field visit

A. Talk with Mr. Vaskar Nandy

The following issues were revealed:

1. **Low wages and wage revision problems**

- a. Recently, wages were increased by 2.50 rupees, which makes the total daily wage equal to Rs 49.
- b. The increase was done only after 3 years, and that too when workers went on a strike for 37 days. (Some people died during the strike)
- c. The increase that was due since 1/4/2006 has not been implemented in practice; except by tea gardens owned by the Government of India.
- d. Some gardens still pay just Rs 30/-
- e. The agreement was reached upon only after West Bengal Government's intervention. The workers had initially demanded an increase of Rs 3 per year for the next 3 years i.e.(3, 3, 3). However, a rise of only (2,5, 2,5, 3) was agreed upon.
- f. It's startling that the minimum wage set by the government for tea gardens is 49.5; when that for agriculture is 68.
- g. A "minimum wage board for tea" is supposed to be constituted every 3 years to consider revision of minimum wages for tea plantations. The board consists of members from government, Trade Unions, owners, and the civil society. **However, West Bengal government hasn't formed this board since 1957.**

2. **Widespread instances of corruption and fraud on the part of management**

There have been many cases of reported frauds on part of owners, involving siphoning off or fraudulent representation of funds or provisions allocated for payment of workers wages

For example, **Buxar**, which owns some of the best tea gardens since the times of British, sold one of their gardens to an outside individual. When the new owner was asked to clear the arrears to the workers, he claimed that the arrears should be paid by Buxar and not him. However, when he was asked to show his license for the tea garden, he claimed that the gardens belong to Buxar. This raises questions on the authenticity of the sale of the garden, apart from the fact that the workers have not been paid their dues.

The arrears exist on four accounts:

- 1) Unpaid wages
- 2) PF dues that were cut from the wages of the workers but were not paid to the government.
- 3) LIC premium deductions that were made by the owners from the workers' wages when the government imposed a compulsory insurance for workers. The money was deducted from workers' wages but not to paid to LIC.
- 4) Rs 90 per month, for electricity was deducted from the wages, which was much greater than the actual bill. (The electricity meters used for operating the tea garden and that used by the workers at home were not separate. Thus,

in effect the workers even paid for the operating electricity expenses). This money was once again not paid to the electricity suppliers.

Thus, these cases amount to a fraud against both the workers and the government. Consider the case of two gardens **Raimatang** and **Kalchini**.

- Wage arrears amounted to a two-year equivalent
- PF arrears amounted to Rs 4.7 Cr and Rs 6.5 Cr respectively.
- LIC arrears amounted to Rs 1.5 Cr and Rs 1.7 Cr respectively.

3. Non compliance to laws

Considering the geographically secluded nature of the tea plantations, the law mandates that employers provide some basic health, housing, education and recreation facilities to the workers.

In reality however, only token services exist, if at all. For example, instead of providing hospital facilities, the owners just provide a visiting doctor and that too only for a specified number of days in a week.

4. Situation aggravated by the Trade Union politics

Multiple trade unions, in some cases number goes up to 17, exist on a single garden. Some of these trade unions are militant in nature. They pose problems on two accounts: one is that in many cases the management doesn't know which trade union to negotiate with in case of a conflict. Second, these trade unions form a cartel among them and make deals with each other and with the management that work against the workers. The workers are in most cases afraid to unite against the unions for reasons explored in section III (Analysis).

B. Visit to Katalguri tea estate

This is a closed tea estate near the foothills of Bhutan. Tea plucking and selling is being carried out there under an operating management committee. The government guarantees 100 days of employment to one family member in closed tea gardens. However, at Katalguri, only 50 days of work is provided.

We surveyed one of the residential lanes of the tea estate. Our observations and the stories told by the residents of the lane are as follows:

1. Many houses had been destroyed by a wild elephant, which had ventured into that area a couple of days before we visited. Talking to the people revealed that elephant menace is not an uncommon problem. Apart from a temporary dislocation, rebuilding the trampled houses poses an additional economic burden for the labourers. Some of the people whose houses had been destroyed had been able to build them back. However, some others had been able to make thatch huts only as a stopgap arrangement. And some others were still homeless – and found shelter in fellow men's houses.

2. In the absence of regular employment in the tea gardens, some people had sought alternative means of employment. For instance, running a shop in the town outside the tea estate, painting, etc. One of these people had a well-painted and well-built house.
3. One of the families that we met had three children. All three of them were studying. The eldest son was studying in the second year of graduation at a local college and worked in a shop beyond college timings to supplement his family income. The other two children were studying in the first year and class eighth in school respectively. Their house had been partly destroyed by the elephant. However, they were able to construct it back.
4. Another family we met had 5 members. Two of who were working. One of them (the eldest son of the family) had sought employment in Jammu and Kashmir and was able to send a reasonable amount of money back home at regular intervals. As a result this family was reasonably well to do. They had a well-kept *pucca* house that was well decorated and equipped with a television, dressing table, and other pieces of furniture. This clearly tells that electricity is available to at least some labourers in the garden. The mechanism was discovered during the interactions at Kalchini tea garden.
5. In stark contrast to the above family, we met another family of 5 people with just one working member. The weekly income of the family was Rupees 230 on an average. The family members were thin and appeared sick.

Such diversity of economic conditions in which the workers lived indicates that there may be some differences between these families. While the villagers denied it wholly, we could sense that **divisions based on caste may have been present to some extent.**

6. We met a few people whose children had been lured away by some conmen. Some of them had been lured while the parents were away working on the fields. And in some other cases, the parents themselves had been gullible enough to send their children with remote acquaintances in hope of a better future for them. We met Lal Dev whose daughter has been missing since sometime now. We were surprised to find that Lal Dev gets occasional calls from her, through which he has realized that the daughter is now in Delhi; however he has not made any attempt to get her back.

It was clearly beyond his personal means to bring her back. However, he had not even brought it to the notice of Mr. Vaskar Nandy, who is closely involved with the fight for the upliftment of labour conditions. Lal Dev even had her daughter's mobile number. **This indicated to us a disconnect (possibly because of fear) between the labourers and those who claim to work with the workers at grass-root levels.**

7. We also met a few children who had been rescued from traffickers. Two girls we met had been taken away and sold off as domestic help, where they were brutally abused. One boy, who along with a friend had been lured with the dreams of working in a factory, had escaped from there when he was made to work with buffaloes instead.
8. Villagers generally complained about the bad infrastructure of the primary school, in terms of both the physical infrastructure and the number of teachers (the policy mandates that a class should not have more than 40 students; it was not being followed).

Considering that some students are now studying in higher school and colleges, we can infer that previously decent primary school facility must have been available. The degradation in both infrastructure and standards must be a relatively recent phenomenon.

9. **People belonging to different ethnicity stayed in separate residential blocks.** This is a throwback from the colonial era, which was based on the idea of divide and rule. The reasons for the continuation of this trend would be analysed in detail in the next section.

C. Kalchini Tea Estate

The Kalchini block has **eighteen** tea gardens out of which the Mr. Vaskar Nandy's trade Union has a strong presence in sixteen.

The garden we visited was again a closed tea garden, where the owners have absconded. However, it was being run by a working committee formed by the labourers of the garden. The most striking thing about the working committee was that it was initiated and run mainly by women. Only a select few men had been allowed to be a part of it. The ladies claimed that this had given the committee much more credibility than it would have otherwise. **Men were considered too vulnerable to fall prey to the temptations of liquor and other ills and thus engage in mal-practices related to committee functioning.** We talked to a few committee members and other workers in that garden to know the sufferings they had faced in the past and how were things working for them at present. Listed below are the stories we heard from them.

1. One of the workers said that although he had worked for four months, he was paid only half the amount. The ration food that he got was also only half of what he was actually entitled to. However, even the mandated ration amount was inadequate to begin with in the first place. One unit of ration amounted to 1kg of rice and 2.60 kg of wheat. A woman worker could claim ration only for herself and two children below the age of 18. A male worker on the other hand could claim 1 unit for himself, 0.8 units for his wife, and 0.6 units each for two of his children. We checked the ration cards of one of the workers to verify. We also found that while the ration card specified four things – wheat, rice, sugar and fuel; the workers claimed that they got only wheat and rice.
2. Here we also came to know of an incident from the past as to how the earlier trade union had actually created a menace. We were told that in one particular instance, due to the lack of change (coins etc), the supervisor decided to issue coupons, which the workers could later exchange for actual currency. When the process was midway, one of the Trade Union operational in the garden claimed that the process was unfair and disrupted the process. Clearly, it wasn't unfair. And the union's actions simply created a discord between the management and the workers. It is also possible that the trade union had created the mess only to hold the management to ransom.

This shows the bad side of trade union politics. Other stories and information that we obtained from Kalchini workers merely resonated what we had heard from Mr. Vaskar Nandy and from the workers of Katalguri.

D. New Doars Tea Estate

We met the Deputy Manager, Mr. Kaustuv Maitro, of this garden. However, we were unable to unearth the issues faced by the managers from the brief interaction with him. He told us that even though his garden was loss making, it provided all the benefits stipulated by law to the workers. These include free housing, free medical facilities, PF and Gratuity, firewood, heavily subsidized ration and protective clothing for both work and weather (blankets). These benefits amounted to a substantial cost for the company. About 50% of the cost of producing tealeaves was incurred on labour. He kept on insisting on the poor exports and poor productivity of his crops (yield was 1800 kg per hectare while for break-even 3200 kg per hectare was required).

One striking feature was the low motivational level of the manager. When asked about career prospects in the tea industry, he mentioned it was a dying industry and that we shouldn't be studying it. This was surprising as we were consistently told about the lavish lifestyle and the freedom enjoyed by the managers on the tea gardens. Since we didn't visit the accommodation of a manager and did not have an opportunity to view them at length during work, we cannot assign any immediate reasons for these low motivational levels. A possibility (very weak) could be the overall downturn in the tea industry and unlike other industries the kind of labour issues that they would have to confront on a daily basis.

IV. Analysis

1. Tea Economy and Labour – a background

a) An enclave economy?

The typical plantation economies, an outcome of the colonial era could be witnessed in different sectors and across geographies. In Brazil and Malaysia it was rubber, in West Indies it was sugar and in India it *is* tea. A plantation economy is characterized by a large congregation of workers all employed in production of one crop. The labour intensive nature of the plantation system justified setting up a hierarchical structure to supervise the workers and their families. The history of labour conditions in these plantation economies pointed to use of coercive and exploitative techniques. These were compounded by the social and economic exclusion of its labour due to the migrant nature of its labour and social divisions amongst it. Thus, a plantation economy is often referred to as an enclave economy.

b) Ethnicity of the labour force in New Jalpaiguri

Nearly 85-90 per cent of the labour force in New Jalpaiguri comprises of **tribal and semi-tribal (mostly SC and OBC)** with origins in central Indian Plateau and Nepal. Though settled here for at least two to three generations, they are still viewed as immigrants and suffer from a social discrimination akin to a **landless farming population** i.e. there is a general sense of apathy towards them. For instance, the tribal children cannot avail of any reservation facility in educational institutions and likewise the youth do not enjoy any employment opportunities.

Further, the “enclave economy” nature of their occupation results in **geographical remoteness**. Thus, they are devoid of access to sufficient means to learn diversified skills. This assumes importance in view of the cyclical nature of the tea plantations. There are periods (stretching from 3-4 months at times) when there is no scope for active employment on the gardens. Thus, any additional resourcefulness as such times would be very valuable. Further, the geographical separation, between the tea gardens themselves, prevents a bonding among the tribal populace themselves. This community bonding could provide a potent platform for addressing the plethora of grievances.

c) Paradox of tea industry classification

The tea industry displays a unique paradox. It is classified as an **industrial operation**. However, ninety-five percent of the labour, mostly un-skilled, is employed in operations like ploughing, sowing, watering, fertilizing, weeding, pruning and harvesting. These essentially are agricultural operations. The remaining workforce, skilled, is employed in processing of green leaves (an industrial operation) as loaders, cleaners i.e. industrial operations. Further, when it comes to paying taxes, the tea owners pay the agricultural tax for sixty per cent of their income because the produce is essentially agricultural in nature. The tea industry is governed by the Plantation Labour Act (PLA), 1951. This act further separates the plantation workers from both industrial and agricultural labourers.

d) Labour classification

In the tea gardens, the workers are classified into permanent and casual workers. However, the permanent workers are on a no-work-no-pay basis like casual workers. The calculation of wages for the permanent worker directly depends on the number of days of work. Thus, the permanent workers are also known as **daily-rated permanent workers**. This daily wage earning status does not entitle them to dearness allowance or variable dearness allowance according to the level of the Consumer Price Index (CPI). They do not receive Sunday wage. For them Sunday is like an unpaid holiday.

The biggest hurdle for a casual labourer is that she is not covered under the PLA. Thus, while the permanent worker must be given a definite assignable cause when refused work no such cause attribution is required in case of the casual worker. A cause for concern is that nearly **40 per cent of the workforce is casual** and this number is no the rise. Though under PLA after completion of a stipulated period of employment a casual worker is granted the permanency status; but this is not to be found in practice.

2. Wage structure

A central pillar of dispute between the labour and the management concerns the issue of payment of minimum wages guaranteed by the Plantation Labour Act and the Minimum Wage Act (Annexure 1 & 2). The payment of wages to a tea worker comprises of **cash and kind component**, unlike for an industrial worker but like an agricultural labourers. The cash component at Rs. 49/day is below both the agricultural and industrial worker (Annexure 3).

The non-cash component, in the New Jalpaiguri region, would primarily comprise of the following (though the owners are mandated by the PLA to ensure these provisions, there are either irregularities or complete violations on many of these subsidy provisions):

- **Subsidized ration** where in case of a male worker the subsidized ration provided caters to a wife and two dependent children and in case of a female worker it caters only to two dependent children. This is a cause for concern considering that the majority of labourers consist of female workers.
- **Firewood entitlement** of two and a half piles to each permanent worker per year
- **Housing entitlement** consisting of *pucca* and *non-pucca* houses. A part of the tea estate is leased by the owner from the government at nominal rates for provision of these houses. While the non-pucca house is built by the worker himself, in the past government provided huge subsidies for building of the *pucca* house. However, presently in view of no subsidies forthcoming from the government, no upgradation or new constructions are undertaken for a long time.

The **non-cash component of the wage would amount to approximately Rs. 260-350**, depending on a female or male worker. Thus, considering both the cash and non-cash component the daily wages would amount to approximately Rs. 60 which is below the minimum agricultural wages for West Bengal.

The main gripes of workers are on two fronts: the revision of minimum wages and a mechanism that guarantees the payment of the same.

3. Prominent Labour Issues

The following list enumerates the issues prevalent across tea gardens:

1. The tea plantation workers are still paid below agricultural minimum wage.
2. The literacy rate is a poor 20 per cent.
3. More than a third of the workers are denied housing facilities.
4. There is considerable prevalence of water-borne diseases like gastro-enteritis and cholera.
5. Most of the plantations have no potable drinking water facilities and drainage systems.
6. A significant portion of the workers suffers from anemia, tuberculosis and malaria.
7. Only one per cent of the tea garden population is considered active after attaining 60 years.
8. The infant mortality is very high, far above state and national averages.
9. The life of a plantation and her family is at threat from wildlife attacks but no protection is provided for the same.
10. Workers who apply pesticides are not provided protective clothes or mask to protect them from the ill effects of pesticides
11. The supervisors reject 10 kg of tealeaves from amongst the tealeaves plucked which is not shown to the workers. The extraction of additional work (which is on average of 200 kg during February) is not compensated.
12. Indiscipline against management is typically met with being denied work and the subsequent subsidies for a period of a week or more (on account of their status as daily-rated labourers).

Next, we examine some of the more striking problems in greater detail.

a) Status of women workers

It must be emphasized that, in spite of the institution of labour laws and the PLA, it is the women worker who has been the prime target of deprivation and exploitation. Ten years before, she was paid less than men. Though things have improved since, she has been subjected to long working hours and heavy workload. Even pregnant women are not spared from activities like deep hoeing. Typically, the work hours are fixed. In addition, as per PLA, breast-feeding mothers are supposed to be granted leave earlier. In addition, women are granted leave during their monthly periods. However, these often not adhered to and at times grossly violated. **The majority of temporary workers, today, are women.** For these temporary women workers, social welfare benefits under PLA like maternity and medical benefits do not exist. As mentioned earlier, even for permanent women worker, her husband is not regarded as a dependent.

b) Lack of education

There are two major hindrances to the education of the labour force. There are inadequate schooling facilities on the tea estates. Schooling is available only till the lower primary level and that too not in the tribal mother tongue. Further, the ethnicity and the social marginalization of tribals prevent them from accessing reservation facilities in educational institutes. As a result, the children of tea workers on completion of primary schooling are forced to join the tea industry as unskilled workers with little education and no alternative employment opportunity. Generation after generation they remained tied to the tea gardens. To some extent, they may be compared to a modern day version of bonded-labour. It must also be stressed that few cases were observed where the children were enrolled in graduate programs. However, this was more out of volition and self-help rather any direct aid from the community or the plantation owners or the government. It is doubtful whether such an experience could be replicable across the community.

c) Divisions amongst labourers

During the visit, it was observed that within a single tea garden there are manifest divisions amongst the labourers. For instance, the quarters for tribals from the Central Indian plains (pre-dominantly Santhals) were separate than those from Nepal. Further, the nepali tribals were economically better off – though a reason could be their better resourcefulness at alternative jobs. Further, even within a single tribal section, there were differences observed amongst the households. Some households had cows, poultry, television set while others were not even in possession of a decent household structure and had to do away with makeshift works. Though generalization is difficult, this obviously raises a question of the effectiveness of intra-community help.

d) Feudal structure of tea gardens

The ownership pattern of tea gardens would reveal that that it is very geographically fragmented. There can be multiple owners for tea gardens located within a single geographic radius. There is very little mobility shown by tea workers in moving across tea gardens. The result is that there is a strong loyalty and attachment towards a particular tea garden. Coupled with a geographical separation and a fragmented ownership structure, this makes it difficult for tea workers confronting similar problems to unite. Thus, there is **an added dependence on trade unions for daily problem**

resolutions. For example, there is an attempt under way, for the past several years, to form a common umbrella organization of all Santhal workers in the New Jalpaiguri region that has met with very little success.

Net Result

The conditions of the tea workers brought out above is not peculiar to plantations under Government control or control of individual owners, but also extends to multinational corporations such as Unilever, Tata Tea, Williamson Magor and McLeod Russel. The net effect is that the plight of workers is akin to forced labour. This has **prevented development of a free labour market.**

4. The Nature and Role of Tea Trade Unions in West Bengal

The nature and structure of trade-unionism in New Jalpaiguri mirrors, to a considerable extent, that of trade unions in other parts of North-east India. Thus, a study of trade unions at a broader level should provide sufficient insight. Notably, the tea plantation industry is considered the largest organized industry in India. The region of West Bengal and Assam employs nearly 1.1 million workers spread across nearly 1500 tea gardens.

The tea plantation economy in West Bengal, though 150 years old, saw its first labour union only post-independence i.e. in 1947-48. Presently, in West Bengal there are 32 recognized unions.

a) Does it represent the entire workforce?

With nearly half the workforce classified as casual not covered under the PLA and the trade unions, whose main contention is implementation of the PLA, results in a major block of the workforce not being catered to by the Trade unions. This coupled with its inability to bring the casual workers under the permanent fold further complicates the matter.

b) Bargaining inefficacy

In spite of active trade unionism, there is not a single garden where the PLA has been implemented in its totality. The collective bargaining power of the workers, through the proxy of the trade unions, is weak and the bargaining outcome, more often than not reflects the position of the tea owners. This is evident from last ten years of wage agreements which show that the tea employers have not conceded any major demand of the trade unions i.e. the tea associations have not agreed to:

- 1) CPI-linked variable DA
- 2) Minimum wage calculation according to the established norms of treating a family as three consumption units
- 3) Establishment of central hospitals
- 4) Clearing backlogs of providing housing to workers
- 5) Providing adequate drinking water, drainage and electricity facilities
- 6) Clearing provident fund dues, early gratuity to retired workers
- 7) Regularization of temporary workers.

c) Strikes and their success

Major struggles and strikes are few and far between. In 1969, there was a 21-day state-wide strike in the plantations demanding regularisation of temporary workers. Not much was conceded by the industry associations other than absorbing 10,000 temporary workers. Recently, there was another 10 day strike and an agreement was drawn up for regularisation of temporary workers, establishment of central hospitals and revamping the healthcare systems. Nothing much was achieved and the strike was withdrawn and signed at the intervention of the CM of West Bengal.

d) Nature of agreements

The agreements in West Bengal are **tri-partite** in nature. Any demand by the workers and trade unions termed unfair by the industry is either flatly rejected, or is repeatedly discussed in a series of consultations by the industry associations. This is a delaying technique that tires out the trade unions, which then turn to the government for intervention. Thus, the end result is that all or most of the agreements have been drawn up at the intervention of the West Bengal state government. The government, its seen, has generally favoured the employers.

e) Why the subdued reaction?

In spite of there being a strong resentment amongst the workers, the reaction is generally muted on account of a perceived threat to their survival. This perception arises because being migrants who are not wholly accepted, the threat of a loss of job means not only loss of their livelihood but a threat to their general existence. With no connection with their original homeland, they have nowhere to go and work once turned out of the gardens.

f) A nexus of power play

Most trade unions are affiliated with a political party. Every tea garden has an average of 7 to 8 trade union. However, there were tea gardens where this number has even ranged to 17! However, there is typically one trade union per tea garden which generally dominates over the others. This implicit arrangement then calls into question the real motives for the existence of these trade unions.

There is absence of leaders from the working community (tribals) itself. The trade unions are mainly controlled by the *Bengali Bhadrak* who do not even work in the tea gardens. Very few of the central office bearers are from tea industry or from the workers themselves. At the plantation level, the leaders are mostly from the sub-staff, who belong to the same ethnic groups as workers, but are supervisors by occupation. Going by the hierarchical set-up of the tea plantations, they command a large group of workers from their own ethnic group and are in-charge of them.

Thus, due to the internal organizational set-up of the plantations and ethnic solidarity, these sub-staff command a very strong loyalty of the workers under them. It is possible that this organizational dynamics has been incorporated into the organizational dynamics of the labour unions. So, the trade unions have to only make an effort to initiate the people from the sub-staff and the workers easily follow suit.

g) Does Trade unionization matter?

Beyond a point hundred per cent trade unionization does not matter much. A trade union exists much more at a micro level i.e. at the plantation unit level, where their existence helps the tea worker, otherwise secluded and isolated, to address, to some extent, their daily needs. At a macro level, trade unions have contributed much less – mainly on part of the trade union hierarchy with very little representation from the majority of the labour workforce. The kind of organizational hierarchy that the trade unions operate is a replica of the one put in place by the early colonial planters. Thus, beyond a point, they will never be able to confront the tea industry to struggle for the betterment and uplift of the tea workers. In the short to medium, a need for trade unions very much exists; but of course they would need to undergo a radical organizational change along with a need to possibly consolidate and realign along workers interests more sharply.

5. Trade Union Comparision

a) Comparison with Assam

Assam, in stark contrast to West Bengal, has a single trade union, **ACMS (Assam Cha Mazdoor Sangh)** representing the workers for the last 50 years, and is the only recognized union, though there are some registered trade unions. Unlike West Bengal, the wage agreements are bipartite where the government is not a party. Officially, there is no labour unrest, industrial relations are peaceful and INTUC-affiliated ACMS, co-operates with the industry. This long-term understanding with the ACMS has given the Assam employers a clear domination and stranglehold over the industry. However, unlike in West Bengal, the leaders are from the tea community. But, in Assam, unlike West Bengal, the women workforce is pre-dominant which is not reflected in the trade union leadership. Thus, it too suffers from the ills of uneven workforce representation.

b) No cohesive national trade union front

Though trade union activism in South is equivalent to that of North, there are no over-arching trade unions in India. For instance, in 2003 HLL was able to negotiate a downward revision in wages with workers in the Nilgiri plantation causing a considerable set back to the worker demands in the North.

c) Comparison with other countries

Tea workers in Kenya and Sri Lanka face issues similar to that in India. For instance, in Sri Lanka, the main gripe is raising the minimum wags to Rs. 100/day. However, in both the countries, the frequency of strikes is much higher. In case of Kenya, the trade unions are fewer and the leadership is much more representative of the labour force. Further, there is an umbrella oragnisation KPAWU (Kenya Plantation and Agricultural Worker's Association) taking up a common front on a lot of parallel issues providing much greater bargaining power. A reason could be that in Kenya much of the agricultural sector also suffered, in the colonial period, under a plantation system still prevalent in the tea industry. But in case of Kenya, the economy is coupled to a much greater extent to the tea industry and the government, though biased towards the multinationals firms, who predominate the plantations, is more sympathetic to the demands of the workers.

6. The Economics of Tea Industry

In this section, an attempt is to relate the problems that we witnessed in the New Jalpaiguri tea gardens with the larger macroeconomics of the tea industry. The often-repeated refrain of falling auction prices is blamed for the present plight of the tea owners and resultantly the workers, one must be careful in separating the causes from the effects.

a) Transformation from cultivation to trading

A typical tea plantation is highly capital intensive. Besides the cost of the land and sustaining the workforce, it requires constant rejuvenation of the tea bushes. A tea bush has a typical life of 100 years but has a productive life of only 40 years. As a result, investment in a tea plantation is a long-gestation project. In the colonial era, ownership changes were infrequent. However, post-independence, with India's dominance in tea plantation, the focus shifted to an export-led growth. This in turn changed the management focus from that of cultivation of tea crops to that of trading in tea crops. This has resulted in frequent ownership changes, neglect with respect to rejuvenation of tea crops. As a result, majority of tea bushes are way past their productive prime causing a significant decline in quality and productivity. This in turn leads to taking resort in fertilizers and other methods to boost productivity which further degrades soil quality and the quality of the tea leaves.

b) Tea Industry downturn

The present ills in the tea industry are largely attributed to the decline in world tea auction prices around 1999, which eroded the tea industry exports. A look at Annexures 5A to 5D reveals the following:

- India remains the largest producer of tea
- In terms of exports, India is far behind Sri Lanka and Kenya (the recent dip in Kenya is due to a drought there)
- In terms of tea auction prices Indian again lags behind Kenya and Sri Lanka.
- Nearly seventy per cent of tea produced in India comes from the North and in North Assam dominates.
- Within West Bengal, the Doars region, within which New Jalpaiguri falls contributes the bulk of the tea produce.

The prices have picked up recently. However, the erosion of prices around the turn of the century caused a significant decline in exports and apparently resulted in full or partial closure of a lot of tea plantations in India. The decline in tea prices was contributed to over-supply in the industry due to the entry of Kenya and Sri Lanka. Further, Russia which used to be a major importer of tea from India, of CTC variety, shifted to the orthodox tea variety. Indian tea industry couldn't adapt sufficiently quickly and Sri Lanka was able to gain a significant lead in this respect due to the predominant produce being that of orthodox type. This coupled with its tea industry being relatively younger also provided it with a productivity advantage.

c) Why the fascination with exports?

Though what is stated above is common accepted wisdom, it begs a question: is an export-driven growth the correct strategy to pursue. The domestic market is the largest in the world and is an attractive bet for tea producers and marketers. Then why is the

domestic industry being ignored? The answer could possibly lie in the shifting focus of Indian tea producers from simple tea production to retailing and branding of tea i.e. a shift in place in the tea value-chain. For example, Tata tea is actively looking at divesting its tea plantation business and focus exclusively on branding and marketing. More than the reasons for this shift what is of interest is the bearing this has on the plantation business.

d) Consequences

Few firms dominating the top of the value chain and no major player actively involved in the plantation, significantly shifts the bargaining power towards the upper end of the chain. It has developed a situation akin to **monopsony**. Further, the moving out of players from plantation business has also resulted in increased fragmentation at the lower end of the chain. For instance, of late there has been an upsurge in small-scale tea plantation who directly sell leaves (without processing) to dedicated processing units. These small-scale units now comprise nearly twenty percent of the total tea production. Thus, there is increased competition at this end. This allows the tea retailing firms, with the added force of their bargaining power, to depress the tea prices at domestic auctions.

Thus, the tea plantation owners are faced with a difficult situation – costs in tea industry are mainly fixed or long-term in nature. There is only one cost component where the tea plantation owners can pass on the effect of decreased tea prices – labour wages. As stated earlier, a shift in focus to trading in tea has resulted in owners mainly concerned with short-term profit gains to the neglect of long-term nurturing of assets – labour and the tea crops. Thus, we have a vicious cycle of decreased prices leading to increased neglect leading to decreased productivity and so on. The end result is that the plantation workforce (which is ill-equipped, for a variety of reasons, to develop a bargaining position of its own) has to bear the final brunt.

Thus, it can be argued that this industry crisis is **artificial or self-inflicted to some extent**.

e) Tea industry – a government cash cow

Tea industry has historically been a significant foreign exchange earner for the Government. This may partly explain the Government support for export focus at the neglect of developing a sophisticated domestic market. It has also resulted in the government, in most of the negotiations and agreements, being biased towards the major players in the tea industry. This status of tea industry as a cash cow, though possibly justified in the pre-liberalisation period, would need a serious overlook and overhaul in the present scenario.

IV. Learnings

1. People's participation in decision-making:

There are certain tea gardens that have been abandoned by the owners. In some of these gardens the workers have taken the initiative to manage the gardens themselves by

forming working committees. One such garden we visited was Kalchini. It was heartening to see women take the initiative and be the main participants in managing this tea garden. The workers plucked leaves from the garden and sold it in the market. The money received was divided equally amongst the workers after creating requisite provisions for the maintenance of the gardens.

In fact The Kanan Devi model, which was developed by TATA tea to revive their ailing operations on the Kanan Devi hills in South India, has proved that allowing people's participation in decision-making can work wonders.

Tata Tea transferred 17 of its tea estates in that region to a new company called Kanan Devan Hills Plantation Company (KDHPHC). The workers hold the majority shareholding in KDHPHC, while Tata Tea remained associated with the gardens too with a small stake of 18%.

This transformational model resulted in reduction of overhead and employ costs by Rs.8/kg of tea. And at the same time it has empowered the workers.

It is being contemplated that the gardens in the Northeast India be revived on the same model. The Tatas are likely to help Tea Board to re-open and revive six closed gardens, two each in West Bengal, Assam and Kerala. The ownership and management of these gardens are likely to be with the workers association including women self help groups.

2. Operational Structure of the NGOs:

The live project helped us understand the structure in which the NGOs operate. An NGO that has a national or an international presence generally operates in a particular area in collaboration with a local NGO in that area. The local NGO is specialized to operate in the area whereas the national NGO provides the backing of its large resources and infrastructure. In our case, *Smadhikar* and *Jagron* are the local NGO operating in the Jalpaiguri area. They are carrying out all the activities at the ground level, while *CRY* (an international NGO) is providing them financial support.

3. Active Political forces:

Though mentioned earlier, we reiterate that the project provided us with an opportunity to experience how, in reality, the political forces operate. The Trade Unions are the political powers in a tea garden. In any tea garden, the number of trade unions varies between 3 and 17. Each of these trade unions is affiliated to a political party and, in most cases, operates in a manner that serves the objective of the political party. Workers are the people who suffer; the large number of trade unions doesn't help their cause either.

4. Difficulty of an NGO to look at the entire picture in some cases:

Sometimes, NGOs tend to get so bogged down by the issue that they are advocating for, that they fail to look at the macro picture and understand the constraints faced by the various stakeholders. It is important to consider the position of all stakeholders. In the present case we observed that the owners and managers had their own constraints to work with and this would make it difficult to make definite judgments on the owners.

In fact our government has now realized that tea garden owners are bearing a lot of social costs of the plantation workers and added that Government is contemplating take a share of around 50 per cent it.

Similarly, accusing public system managers and the government of negligence without understanding the constraints that they work in is unfair. It is true that India strives to be a welfare state. But achieving it is loaded with constraints. Instead of pointing fingers, these NGOs should try to work in collaboration with the public system departments and the private sector.

V. Limitations

1. Time limitation

Our trip to Jalpaiguri was a two-day trip, which turned out to be insufficient for carrying out an extensive study. We couldn't study all the aspects of the problem, essential to reach a conclusion. Moreover, we visited the place over the weekend when most of the gardens had a holiday. The schools for the children of the workers were also closed; we couldn't visit any of them either. This was a major limitation of our project.

2. Selection of tea gardens

There are around 150 tea gardens in the Jalpaiguri district spread over a large area. The gardens can be broadly classified into three categories: operational (private and government owned), partially closed and fully closed/abandoned. For a fuller picture, an understanding of and comparison across the all three categories is essential. Due to our unfamiliarity with the geography of the place, we had to depend on CRY's partnering NGO Jagron for sample selection. We weren't completely satisfied by the sample we covered, which included two closed tea gardens and a loss making government tea garden.

3. Selection of the people we met

Labourers reside in tea gardens in various lanes that are geographically widespread. Since we were unaware of the fact, we did not meet all the workers in any of the gardens (Kalchini and Katalguri). The people that we met were again chosen by Jagron and Swadhikar, which in our opinion didn't represent the full picture.

The representation of the other stakeholders namely the managers and the public systems managers was even more inadequate. We met just one manager in the third garden we went to, New Doars. The manager seemed a little apathetic to the cause and meeting with him did not reveal much. Moreover, we didn't meet both the workers and the management in the same garden to get a holistic picture of the problem. The opinion we got might well have been biased.

An appointment with Mr. Sudipta Samanta, Assistant Labour Commissioner in Jalpaiguri, did not materialize. The meeting would have provided us with valuable insights on the government mechanism of dealing with trade unions in the region.

4. Lack of adequate literature on the localized problem

There is limited literature available on the problems specific to the tea gardens in Jalpaiguri region. Given the short trip, this limited our study further. The literature that is available is on the Indian Industry as a whole. Whatever literature we got, specific to Jalpaiguri region, was prepared by Mr. Vaskar Nandy himself. It, again, provided us with just one side of the coin.

We also could not find sufficient literature to compare the conditions of labour conditions and tea industry in general to other countries like Sri Lanka, Kenya with those in Jalpaiguri in detail.

A more detailed literature on the history of trade union evolution and activities would have helped us understand the situation even better. However, we could not access any of it either.

VI. Annexures

ANNEXURE 1: MINIMUM WAGES ACT, 1948

Relevant extracts from the Minimum Wage Act are presented below:

The appropriate government fixes the minimum wage in respect of only those scheduled employment where the number of employees is 1000 or more.

Fixation/Revision of Wages

Norms

- Three consumption units for one earner
- Minimum food requirement of 2700 calories
- Clothing requirement of 72 yards per annum per family
- Rent corresponding to the minimum area provided under Government's Industrial Housing scheme
- Fuel, lighting, and other miscellaneous item of expenditure to constitute 20% of the total minimum wages

Other Parameters

- Children education, medical requirement minimum recreation during festivals or ceremonies and provision for old age, marriage etc. should further constitute another 25% of the total minimum wage
- Local factors and other conditions influencing the wage rate

Revision

Revise the Minimum rates at an **appropriate interval of not exceeding five years.**

National Wage Policy

“Till such time a national wage is feasible, it would be desirable to have regional minimum wages in regard to which the Central Government may lay down the guidelines. The Minimum Wages should be **revised at regular periodicity** and should be **linked with rise in cost of living**”

ANNEXURE 2: THE PLANTATION LABOUR ACT, 1951

Relevant extracts from the Plantation Labour Act are presented below

Provisions as to Health

- **Drinking water:** In every plantation effective arrangements shall be made by the employer to provide and maintain at convenient places in the plantation sufficient supply of wholesome drinking water
- **Medical facilities:** In every plantation there shall be provided and maintained so as to be readily available such medical facilities for the workers [and their families] as may be prescribed by the State government

Welfare

- **Canteens:** The State government may make rules requiring that in every plantation wherein one hundred and fifty workers are ordinarily employed, one or more

canteens shall be provided and maintained by the employer for the use of the workers.

- **Crèches:** In every plantation where one hundred and fifty or more women workers (including women workers employed by any contractor) are employed or were employed on any day of the preceding twelve months, or where number of children of women workers is twenty or more, there shall be provided and maintained by the employer suitable rooms for the use of children of such women workers.
- **Recreational facilities:** The State Government may make rules requiring every employer to make provision in his plantation for such recreational facilities for the workers and children employed therein as may be prescribed
- **Educational facilities:** Where children between ages of six and twelve of workers employed in any plantation exceed twenty-five in number, the State Government may make rules, requiring every employer to provide educational facilities for the children in such manner and of such standard as may be prescribed.
- **Housing facilities:** It shall be the duty of every employer to provide and maintain necessary housing accommodation (a) For every worker (including his family) residing in the plantation.

Hours and Limitation of employment

- **Weekly hours:** Save as otherwise expressly provided in this Act, no adult worker shall be required or allowed to work on any plantation in excess of [forty-eight hours] a week and no adolescent or child for more than [twenty-seven hours] a week. Where an adult worker exceeds the stipulated hours, he shall, in respect of such overtime work, be entitled to twice the rates of ordinary wages.
- **Spread over:** The period of work of an adult worker in a plantation shall be so arranged that inclusive, of his interval for rest it shall not spread over more than twelve hours including the time spent in waiting for work on any day.

Sickness and maternity benefits

- Every worker shall be entitled to obtain from his employer (a) sickness allowance (b) if a woman, in case of confinement or expected confinement, maternity allowance

Penalties and Procedures

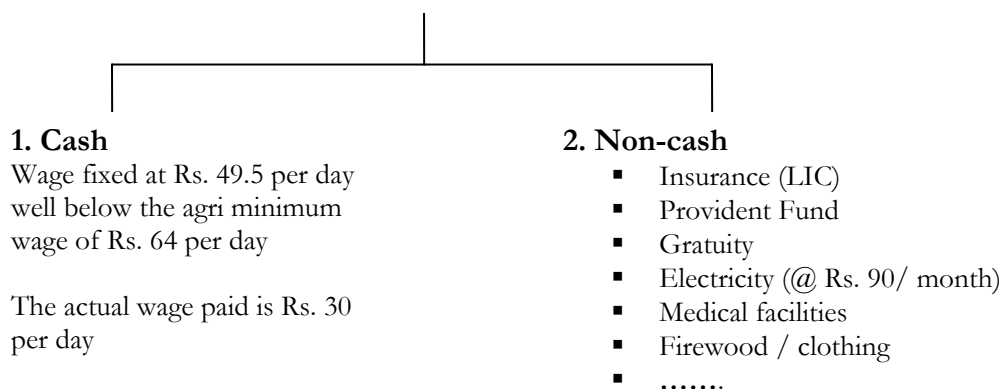
- **Contravention of provisions regarding employment of labour:** Whoever, except as otherwise permitted any or under this Act, contravenes any provision of this Act or any rules made thereunder, prohibiting, restrict in or regulating the employment of persons in a plantation, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three months, or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both.

**ANNEXURE 3: COMPARISON OF TEA INDUSTRY WAGE WITH OTHER
SCHEDULE EMPLOYMENTS**

Sector	Minimum Wage (Rs/day)
Agriculture	86.63
Stone crushing / crushing	54.28
Copper mines	54.28
Security services	54.28
Construction and maintenance of roads	54.28

**ANNEXURE 4: METHODOLOGY OF FIXATION OF WAGE STRUCTURE IN TEA
INDUSTRY (A SAMPLE)**

Tea Industry wage



**ANNEXURE 5A: LATEST TEA INDUSTRY STATISTICS – DISTRICT/ REGION/
STATE-WISE TEA INDUSTRY PRODUCTION**

Districts / States	During June		Up to June		Increase (+) or Decrease (-) in 2006 over 2005	
	2006	2005	2006	2005	During June	Up to June
Assam Valley	54864	47440	136561	130097	7,424	6,464
Cachar	3023	3419	13443	16603	(-) 396	(-) 3,160
Total Assam	57887	50859	150004	146700	7,028	3,304
Darjeeling	1109	1364	4092	3924	(-) 255	168
Dooars	16271	16664	43366	45771	(-) 393	(-) 2,405
Terai	5385	5193	16162	18965	192	(-) 2,803
Total West Bengal	22765	23221	63620	68660	(-) 456	(-) 5,040
Others	823	756	1756	1667	67	89
Total North India	81475	74836	215380	217027	6,639	(-) 1,647
Tamil Nadu	15986	18395	74823	82276	(-) 2,409	(-) 7,453
Kerala	6357	5487	35539	36541	870	(-) 1,002
Karnataka	509	490	2481	2669	19	(-) 188
Total South India	22852	24372	112843	121486	(-) 1,520	(-) 8,643
ALL INDIA	104327	99208	328223	338513	5,119	(-) 10,290

**ANNEXURE 5B: LATEST TEA INDUSTRY STATISTICS – LATEST WORLD
AUCTION PRICES**

Countries	Prices in respective countries					In US \$			
	Currency	2006	2005	(+) or (-)	(+) / (-) %	2006	2005	(+) or (-)	(+) / (-) %
North India	INR	69.84	63.33	6.51	10.28	1.56	1.45	0.11	7.59
South India	INR	49.33	45.86	3.47	7.57	1.10	1.05	0.05	4.76
All India	INR	62.14	57.40	4.74	8.26	1.39	1.32	0.07	5.30
Colombo	SL Rs	189.92	183.63	6.29	3.43	1.85	1.84	0.01	0.54
Chittagang	Taka	75.37	77.36	-1.99	-2.57	1.10	1.23	-0.13	-10.57
Jakarta	Us \$	1.24	1.05	0.19	18.10	1.24	1.05	0.19	18.10
Mombassa	Us \$	2.00	1.46	0.54	36.99	2.00	1.46	0.54	36.99
Limbe	Us \$	1.18	0.90	0.28	31.11	1.18	0.90	0.28	31.11

**ANNEXURE 5C: LATEST TEA INDUSTRY STATISTICS – WORLD TEA
PRODUCTION**

Country	January to	2006	2005	(+) / (-)
India	June	328.22	338.51	(-) 10.29
Sri Lanka	May	138.02	136.45	1.57
Kenya	May	106.34	142.70	(-) 36.36
Bangladesh	May	6.71	10.31	(-) 3.60
Indonesia	May	32.53	38.45	(-) 5.92
Malawi	May	29.01	26.95	2.06
Tanzania	April	12.44	14.28	(-) 1.84
Uganda	May	12.18	14.36	(-) 2.18
Zimbabwe	May	10.18	9.69	0.49
Total	-----	675.63	731.70	(-) 56.07

ANNEXURE 5D: LATEST TEA INDUSTRY STATISTICS – WORLD TEA EXPORTS

Country	January to	2006	2005	(+) / (-)
India	June	79.07	80.58	(-) 1.51
Sri Lanka	April	95.08	84.70	10.38
China	April	84.74	92.70	(-) 7.96
Bangladesh	February	1.78	2.47	(-) 0.69
Kenya	May	121.37	143.56	(-) 22.19
Malawi	March	14.71	15.89	(-) 1.18
Indonesia	March	25.89	26.19	(-) 0.30
Tanzania	February	4.02	5.01	(-) 0.99
Uganda	April	8.46	8.99	(-) 0.53
Zimbabwe	May	7.86	5.54	2.32
Argentina	March	18.87	18.80	0.07
Total	-----	461.85	484.43	(-) 22.58

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