

# Women Labour in the Tea Gardens of West Bengal: Changing Orientation and Emerging Challenges

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**Abstract:** India is one of the major tea producer and exporter in the world. This tea production in India was started in the 18th century by the Colonial Government to meet the supply of growing demand for tea in the world market. To work in the tea gardens, labors were indentured from various places. But the laborers were subjected to inhuman conditions of living and the women labors faced gender discrimination as far as wages were concerned. They received less pay than their male counterparts. In the contemporary pan- Indian context, it is observed that the tea gardens are facing the problem of sickness and abandonment which created a socio economic hazard in the life of the tea garden workers. The immediate upshot of sickness and closure of tea gardens fell directly on the workers, their family members and particularly children belonging to socially and economically marginalized tribal and nontribal communities. Most of the tea gardens workers suffer from the rampant hunger, poverty and unemployment, problems like illiteracy, drop-out, malnutrition, and various incurable diseases and combined with the effect of vulnerabilities of trafficking of children and women in particular. West Bengal is comprised of a huge tea belt and experiences more and less this kind of traumatic experiences from the past few years. It has been noticed that some of the northern districts of West Bengal like Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling became relatively backward in economic prosperity because of the closure of tea gardens which initiate some social ills among which Gender-based violence which constitute the domestic violence, trafficking etc became dominant. An attempt has been made in this study to analyze the nature and types of gender violence and its implications on the society through focus group discussion.

**Keywords:** Tea Garden, Women Labor, Gender Violence, West Bengal,

## 1. INTRODUCTION:

In the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century, the British introduced a new kind of economy in India, the 'plantation' mainly tea. There was a huge demand for tea in England which was supplied by China in exchange of bullion. But with the Charter Act of 1833, abolished the trade between British India and China as a result of which tea plantation was introduced in India to supplement the growing demand for tea in the world market. To work in the tea gardens, labours were indentured from various places. But the labours were subjected to inhuman conditions of living and the women labours faced gender discrimination as far as wages were concerned. They received less pay than their male counterparts. Further women were subject to more exploitation like the European *burra sahibs* used to deflower the newly married virgin wives of the tea garden workers. Therefore violence against women in the tea gardens can be traced from the time of the colonial rule. In the post-colonial period, the violence against women in the tea gardens has increased. They face the problem of sexual abuse, vulnerability to flesh trade and domestic violence.

In the contemporary pan Indian context, it is observed tea gardens are facing the problem of sickness and abandonment which created a socio economic hazard in the life of the tea garden workers. Since economic liberalization, the plantation industry of West Bengal and other parts of the country has witnessed major crises. The immediate upshot of sickness and closure of tea gardens fell directly on the workers, their family members and particularly children belonging to socially and economically marginalized tribal and nontribal communities. Most of the tea gardens workers suffer from the rampant of hunger, poverty and unemployment, problems like illiteracy, drop-out, malnutrition, and various incurable diseases and combined with the effect of vulnerabilities of trafficking of children and women in particular. The government refuses to accept starvation as the reason for the widespread deaths in tea gardens.

It ascribes these deaths to waterborne diseases and accuses those affected by them of staying away from the government hospitals. The government also seeks to lay the blame on the garden authorities for medical negligent. The state refuses to look hunger, malnutrition and the loss of immunity in the disclosure on the worker's deaths. Closure of the tea gardens is usually preceded by recurrent sickness. (Chakraborty: 2013).

The problems of domestic violence, eve-teasing and human trafficking particularly has emerged as important social issues in recent times in many part of the world. It is widely recognized that many countries of Asia serve as place of origin, transit and destination of human traffickers and that there has been steady rise in the last two decades, following increased trans-border mobility of people. West Bengal comprises a huge tea belt and experiences more and more this kind of experiences from the past few years. It has been noticed that being in the 21<sup>st</sup> century some of the northern districts of West Bengal which is known as North Bengal, became relatively backward in economy because of the closure of tea gardens which initiates some social ills among which gender based violence became dominant.

Gender based violence is an interpretation of violence through gender particularly women. It takes place virtually in all societies around the globe. It is an umbrella term used for a wide range of violations from rape during war time to sexual abuses in prisons.

It may also include violence against women, cultural practices like female genital cutting, dowry, trafficking of women as sex workers, domestic violence etc. The concept of gender has a long been central to the feminist discourse. Postmodern feminist strives for the equality of all genders. Postmodern perspective view all knowledge as socially and culturally constructed. However scope of gender based violence is continually changing in the 21<sup>st</sup> century due to the impact of globalization and technological change. Tea gardens of West Bengal are witnessing such kind of changes. Therefore it is imperative to study in this field.

## 2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The studies so far on tea industries have mainly limit to the sociological, financial management and the geographical aspects of the industry. However very few studies related to the subject under consideration is hardly traceable as per the above theme concerned. Prasanneswari (1984), in his study described the condition of labour relation in tea gardens of North Bengal with special reference to the gardens of Dooars region. The study covers various aspects of industrial relations in tea gardens like plantation hierarchy, attitudes of the management towards workers, role played by the trade union and the factors affecting the labour relations. The study is assuming the aspect of rising serious ethnic conflict among the different tribal workers of Dooars region. Ghosh (1987) in his study described in details about the history, rules and regulations, land management policies of tea garden and how the labours are exploited in the tea garden. In another study Bhadra (2004) articulates that women form the major workforce in the tea plantation, but are subjected to male supervision and authority which is often expressed in physical abuse and violence. However the women suffer from certain social prejudices and physical disabilities and is often stated that they are less suited for heavy work. She also mentions that in tea plantation women are given lower jobs as well as wages in comparison to male workers. Biswajit Ghosh (2013) through different case studies came up with the fact that due to the sickness and closure of various tea gardens in Jalpaiguri district compelled the women and children from the marginalized tribal and non tribal communities to opt for an alternative source of income for which they are being exposed to the vulnerabilities of trafficking. He also mentions that sometimes the greedy parents or husbands cannot resist the temptation of cash at the time of crisis and make the women and children to fall into the trap of traffickers, which creates a physical, mental abuse and ultimately results deaths. Sudip Chakroborty (2013) also pointed that due to the non-operating various tea gardens of tea and Dooars region of North Bengal are becoming the hunting grounds for child traffickers who push children specially the girls into slave type domestic labour or sex worker. Chaudhury (2003) mentioned about the witchcraft practices in the tea gardens of North Bengal. She puts the idea that generally those women are consider as witches whose trait highlights the quarrelsome nature and cursing tendency and who due to some disease undergo a change in their hair or skin colour. The witch craft is supported by other female members of the plantation because of insecurity. They get fewer wages than the male counterparts and this insecurity forces them to support this age old custom (superstition) silently. Many scholars have focused on the gender based violence in the tea gardens of Darjeeling Hills. Chakroborty and Sarkar (2013) in their study of closed tea gardens of Darjeeling Hills found that due to closure of tea gardens many workers suffers from the problems of medical facility. They have to opt for alternative source of income either migrating to other places or by selling liquors. Despite the availability of large numbers of writings on the proposed research, it falls short in highlighting the causes and consequences of gender based violence in the tea gardens of North Bengal. In some of the available literature one or two aspects of the gender based violence are touched upon but all the issues are not dealt with in any one of the literature. There is a complete lack of study in terms of socio-economic status of tea garden workers and indentifying the preventive measures for the victims of gender violence.

## 3. OBJECTIVE:

An attempt has been made in this study to analyze the nature and types of gender violence and its implications on the society.

## 4. METHODOLOGY

To understand the pattern, trends and types of gender based violence among the tea garden workers Focused Group Discussion (FGD) had been conducted in the area of studies. For FGD, we had selected a group of 20 to 25 persons from tea gardens to interact and discuss the critical and sensitive issues of gender based violence in the tea gardens. Case studies of trafficked victims were also collected, from victims, their family members, neighbours, schoolteachers, friends and others.

## 5. EMERGING INDUSTRIAL CHALLENGES AND VULNERABILITIES

In almost all societies of the world, violence against women is a common phenomenon. Through various activities a man exert pressure, power authority on women and tries to control on women's body and behavior. Women folk are the major workforce of the tea industry. But it will be wrong to assume that women enjoy the same right and equality with men though they are the wage earners. They perform dual work like maintaining family responsibility as well as working outside for maintaining the livelihood. Unlike the women in other industries, plantation women took up the task of maintaining family and job very strongly. They work only to maintain their family and children to earn the livelihood. Then males are known for their lazy natures. Women labour is often analyzed using a framework that divides the world into two spheres of activities, 'production' and 'reproduction.'(Bhadra: 2004). Among the tribals domestic violence, witch hunting, etc are very common. As stated earlier that due to economic liberation in 1990s many tea gardens of North Bengal had been affected by the global and local economic shocks. This shock has proved fatal for the tea garden workers specially, the women and the children.

### 5.a. AUTONOMY AND DECISION MAKING

In tea gardens women occupies the status of wife, mother and worker. They work for fulfill the economic necessity with the full knowledge of their family and husband and neighbors. They seem too happy with their job. At the same time they enjoy the

economic freedom which helps them to reduce family violence. In tea gardens most of the women accommodate their work in such a way that they could maintain the family life and professional life both. Their work schedule and working hours help them to maintain domestic life. Generally the husbands help the wives in household duties and also to look after their children. It has been seen that in the working class families, in the tea garden, although the female enjoy considerable freedom and authority in household matters, the husbands symbolizes the ultimate authority of power which is quite natural in the patriarchal family. In a joint family father-in-law occupies the highest position in the authority. However it is important in understanding the husband's attitude towards wife employment.

In tea gardens the husbands generally show a positive attitude towards wife employment. Since the wage is very poor so it became mandate for the female to work. In general, majority of plantation workers live in a family atmosphere where position and attitude are shown towards their jobs. In fact such a positive attitude of the husband helps not only to enhance the income of the family but also to maintain cordial relations within the family. Even in the joint family in-laws generally accept outside employment of their daughter-in-laws as normal. It is not economic inducement alone that has helped to develop the positive outlook. This is perhaps due to the traditional ethos. Most of the tribals and the other workers come from the agricultural background where it is normal for the women to participate in the agricultural activities. (Bhadra: 1992)

One of the most important factors that determine the status of the women is the ability of take decision in the family as well as outside. Though majority of the women workers desire to share equal participation in the decision making process but in actual practice, this is enjoyed by very few of them. In certain vital issues in the family the decision are taken both by the education and marriage of children, the decisions are taken by both husband and wife together. Women also take the major expense of daily menu, household expenditure, domestic activities etc. As women generally spend their wages for household expenditure and for the family maintenance, they have a greater say in the day to day affairs of the family. It was found that most of the male folk of the garden are lazy and spend a part of their earning on drinking rice-beers (*haria*). The females also take part in drinking *haria* as this one of their traditional habit. Sometimes quarrel may arise due to excessive drinking, which is one of the indicators of domestic violence.

### 5.b PUBLIC PLACE AND WORKPLACE

Tea garden workers are usually situated in the remote place and the workers live within the boundaries of the tea garden. Thus they have minimum of or no connection to the outside world. The life is concentrated within the ambit of tea garden.. But the women folk in the tea garden still find it insecure to move outside the garden except in the local weekly *haat*. The old or the middle aged women generally like to confine themselves within the tea garden. Their interaction with the outside world is very limited. *Haat* is place where men and women workers meet with their relatives, friends and other people and also buy household products. Very small percentage of middle aged women moves to theatre, movies, banks and other places. The work is most done by the younger members in the house. Till today the outlook of the plantation workers are comparatively low. They can be judged by their poor level of literacy. Most of the female workers have no idea about the outside world. The workers, especially those who are old do not know the name of the country from this they belong. They have no idea about the Chief Minister of the State or the Prime Minister of the country. But they encourage to the younger generation to study. As stated earlier, in tea garden the workplace is safer. But they find it unsafe to go outside alone. Tea garden is the only universe for them. Their spatial movement is restricted to few other tea gardens of North Bengal where their relative stays.

But due to the closure of tea gardens a change has been noticed among the women folk in both the districts, but noticeable changes has been observed among the workers. The fact that tea garden is serving for the major source of trafficking is evident from various media reports. Even some NGOs also report the same. During the course of study participants have mentioned about various places of visit for job purpose. Many young girls, boys and women uttered that they had visited and rather visit frequently to Delhi, Punjab, Haryana, Sikkim, Kerela and some of the even visited stayed in Kuwait for five years. When asked the purpose of their visit, most of the have replied that they either work their or had worked. But those who are returning back, they do not want be more confined themselves within the ambit of tea garden because the tea garden cannot provide them secure job guarantee. Their outlook gradually changes. Perceptions about the outside world become clear to them.

### 5.c FAMILY/DOMESTIC VIOLENCE:

We know that family violence is when someone uses abusive behavior to control and/or harm a member of their family, or someone with whom they have an intimate relationship. Family violence includes many different forms of physical and emotional abuse, as well as neglect carried out by family members or intimate partners. This is very true in the parlance of gender based violence in tea gardens. Generally in our Indian tradition not person would like to disclose their family secrets, especially when there an acute problem in the house. This was noticeable during the course of field visit. Not a single women or girl was willing to disclose the family matter when asked. From the field survey it was imperative that poverty and alcoholism was the prime concern for domestic violence and interestingly most of the female folk have accepted it. At the same time they believe that it also right for the women not to react and put up with gender based violence in home or in public place. It is also interesting to note that most of the tea garden workers still believe in witch craft, but the level of belief become low. Although from the FGD, the incident of violence is a common phenomenon in every household, especially when the garden closes down and stops providing wages and necessary amenities. The problem become more acute if there is only one working member in the house. The responsibility falling on the children is felt more if the parents are alcoholic, family is large and someone is sick in the family. If the family has a younger son or daughter, they have

no other option to migrate outside for job and to sustain their family. The same thing could be noticeable among the female member family whose husband is either deported or died.

#### 5.d. ATTITUDE AND KNOWLEDGE ABOUT DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

As stated earlier family violence is a common phenomenon in tea garden and the family members are quite habituated to it. Knowledge about the laws and recourses are limited, as they believe law or police cannot intervene in their family matter. Even they are not interested about their children who are missing from a long time because they knew that the other member who is working outside can survive from starvation. Due to their illiteracy and poor knowledge about the outside world they fear to go to the police, if not the case is very serious. They fear how to cope up with the legal expenditure when there is no food to eat.

### 6. TRAFFICKING

Trafficking refers to the movement of men, women, children from one place to another either by force, coercion or by deception into situations of their economic and sexual exploitations. The UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in person, especially women and children (known as the Palermo Protocol adopted in November 2000) defines trafficking as "... the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of person, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion of abduction, of fraud, of deception of the abuse of the power or of a person having control over another, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or others forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or service, a slavery or practice similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organ. (United Nation 2000).

The problem of trafficking has become rampant in the tea districts of West Bengal. Participants in this study has also identified trafficking has become major problem in recent. But the participants in the FGD like the father, mother, relatives and neighbor as a group could not clearly say who is going out and are trafficked. Few denied that trafficking in the garden is not an issue. This was particularly said by the workers of the good tea garden. Whereas the participants of the closed and sick tea gardens had mentioned that women and children are not been trafficked, but they are going outside for jobs in order to run their family. When asked about the children, the participants said that they send their children to go outside so that their children do not have to starve.

#### 6.1. Perception of the stakeholders about the trafficking in North Bengal

Although it is very difficult to get an estimate details about the total number of missing persons from the tea gardens of North Bengal as no such accurate evident has been so far available from any government source or from newspaper report. Migration in North Bengal has become rampant from the past couple of years. Mostly the tribal's migrate in search for better work opportunities. There are several push and pull factors for migration. Among that the push factors are low wages in the tea garden and the pull factors are attraction towards urban life, to earn quick money. In this region job facilities are available for the skilled workers. Those who are skilled they generally opt for better jobs in local brought leaf companies or different government works like road constructions, MNREGA etc.

But most of unskilled tea garden workers fall into the trap of the so called agent in eager to earn better for their families and also to upgrade their socio-economic status. Even in the running gardens the advent of agent has increased and the agent had also employed some sub-agents from among them.

**Table : 1 Place of Migration by the Tea garden Workers of North Bengal**

PLACE		
Delhi	Boys	Girls
Punjab	Boys	
Kerela	Boys	
Sikkim	Boy child	Girl Child
Kolkata		Girls
Bangalore	Boys	
Haryana		Girls
Lucknow		Girls
Varanasi		Girls
Siliguri	Boys	
Mumbai	Boys	Girls
Saudi Arab		Girls

Source: Report from the field dated 15.06.2015-21.06.2015

**Table 2 Major Cause of Migration in North Bengal**

Reason	Mother	Father	Children	Neighbour
1 <sup>st</sup>	Low Wage	Low Wage	Poverty	Low wage
2 <sup>nd</sup>	Poverty	Poverty	School drop out	/School drop out
3 <sup>rd</sup>	To earn more	To earn more	Comfortable life	Comfortable life

4 <sup>th</sup>	Domestic violence due to poverty and alcoholism	Broken family	Domestic violence	Domestic violence
5 <sup>th</sup>	Illiteracy	Illiteracy	Illiteracy	Illiteracy
6 <sup>th</sup>	Lack of awareness	Lack of awareness	Lack of awareness	Lack of awareness

Source: Report from the field dated 15.06.2015-21.06.2015

In North Bengal the main cause of migration is due to low wage, poverty. Such a condition is directly related to their non-fulfilment of essential necessities. Thus they became the victim of the traffickers. Another pertinent factor is that most of the parents are illiterate. They fall into the grip of the agents who mislead them by offering alcohols. From the FGD it appears that lack of awareness, greedy nature of the parents, alcoholism, domestic violence are the basic reason behind, the miseries of the children and women. Most of the children have been taken by the agents to work as a child labour in nearby states like Sikkim, Bihar etc.

**Table 3 Vulnerable Situation**

VULNERABLE SITUATION						
Top destinations	No. of children who migrated from 12 tea gardens in 2010					
	Those Who Migrated			Those that went missing		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Delhi	307	406	713	38	94	132
Karala	515	31	546	10	4	14
Silddim	230	180	410	15	25	40
Punjab	302	100	402	12	10	22
Bangalor	275	80	355	10	12	22
Bhutan	225	42	267	18	12	30
Siliguri	108	45	153	1	1	2
Jalgaon	110	40	150	0	0	0
Chandigarh	57	25	82	1	2	3
Pune	80	0	80	3	2	5
Ooty	45	15	60	2	1	3
Nagaland	15	45	60	1	4	5
Kalimpong	20	40	60	3	6	9
Rahimpur	20	40	60	0	0	0
Kashmir	45	5	50	5	2	7
Mumbai	10	35	45	1	5	6
Hyderabad	30	0	30	3	0	3
Kolkata	15	10	25	1	1	2
Indore	20	0	20	1	1	2
Lucknow	5	3	8	1	1	2
Saudi Arabia	10	3	13	5	3	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>2444</b>	<b>1145</b>	<b>3589</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>317</b>

Source: *The Hindu*, 5th Aug, 2012

Field experience revealed that many of the migrants have returned home safely complaining about money not found as promised or other types of exploitation like such as denial of food, clothing, physical assault, sexual harassment, verbal abuse and excessive work pressure. It is interesting to note that good tea gardens have witnessed a lower degree of trafficking in compare to than the open or sick gardens.

Despite the large scale of migration and trafficking in the closed and sick gardens of women and the children, the family members and the parents are relatively less interested about it. They had a common belief that the person who has gone outside should earn something and revert the money back to the family. They are not very fully aware of the illegal networks of the trafficker's web.

When a child or the female member of the family stops communicating with the family, they take it for grant that the members are 'missing'.

The basic reasons for migration in the tea gardens are poverty and unemployment. Beside the promise to get better job facilities, comfortable lives are another reason. When a garden is declared as sick there is a mass migration of job seekers. In closed gardens, the situation is even worse. In such a condition, the traffickers generally target their victim by offering a sum of either Rs 2000 or more.

### 7. SOME CASE STUDIES FROM TEA GARDENS OF NORTH BENGAL

During FGD, some case studies came in forward which are presented below:

- Aarti Nagesia (14), of one of the tea garden, belongs to a poor family, whose father and mother used to work in garden as a plucker. After the garden was closed last year (2014) both of her parents lost their job and Aarti had also to stop her schooling. Aarti has two younger sisters and a brother. With her parent's permission, she went to Delhi with the help of a 'friend' to work. After reaching Delhi, she called her parents. But in a month, she was shifted to Aligarh in Uttar Pradesh. One day, she desperately called her parents to rescue her immediately. Like many other victims she had been also shifted to some unknown place. She could share the problem over the phone from a public booth, but insisted that she was being tortured. Her parents quickly went to that so called 'friend' who simply denied that matter and threatened them. Poor Aarti's parents left no-where and from then they had not received a single phone of Aarti.
- Ruzan Lakra (12), used to live with his parents in tea garden. His father was alcoholic and was not one to feed 3 children and his wife. Paresh's mother was the only bread earner of the family. One day 'someone' (probably the agent) came to his parents and said there is a very good job prospect in Namchi (Sikkim). One week later that so called 'someone' handed a sum of Rs 2000 (Rupees Two Thousand) to his parents and took him away with the hope that he could also feed his family. But after two years he returned back without any money. Investigation probes that 'someone' took all the money.
- Sunita Oraon (16) is also tea garden. When she saw that her friends had brought mobile phones, she had an urge to buy the same. Due to poor economic condition she was unable to convince her widow mother. Sunita was a student of local secondary school. One evening she decided to go to Delhi when Kanchan from the same garden promised her an excellent job in a bungalow. Both of them had safely boarded in New Delhi station. This was her last information. Her mother had lodged an FIR in the local Police station, but no one could trace her findings.
- Jamuna Toppo, (10) of one of the tea garden decided to go Sikkim to work as a domestic help, when she saw her parents had lost their job. The agent had handed Rs 3000 (Rupee Three Thousand) to her father and took her away. Now it's been almost eight months her family receiving not a single penny from her and could not contact her.
- Sugi Oraon, (11), remained untraceable for the last 3 years after her mother handed over to Victoria. Her mother was not aware of her presence and also less interested to lodge FIR against her missing girl.

In one of the articles 'Trafficking Of Tribal Girls: Sick Gardens Trigger Exodus' of Times of India<sup>1</sup>, author Sumati Yengkhom had mentioned that several Delhi-based placement agencies, that claim to provide work to these trafficked girls, are being run illegally and without any registration. These agencies work in nexus with the 'agents' who are local tea garden workers and known to the victims. The ignorant poor parents, who cannot feed their children, are ready to lap up the opportunity of sending the children to Delhi for working in order to get rid of their responsibility and also in the hope of getting a regular monthly income. Once the victims reach Delhi, they stay in touch with the families for a few days. Some of them are in contact with the family. But soon they are barred from communicating with their parents and also, money stops reaching their families. Only a handful of them get work as domestic help, while the rest are either sold in brothels or for marriage. She further mentions that the schemes for the poor, like the BPL card and old age pension, are distant dreams. Most are not even aware of the existence of such schemes. There is no effort worth mentioning on part of local politicians to uplift the economic status of this tribal population. A major portion of the funds under NREGA are being pocketed by the local Panchayats.

### 8. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The picture which emerges during the course of study is really surprising. Most of the tea garden workers are not satisfied with work in tea gardens due to various reasons. The age old industry is at an alarming stage and is declining rapidly. The sickness and closure of the gardens, the attitudes of the management towards their workers, the negligence of government and the lethargy of the trade union leaders are the main cause of apathy among the tea garden workers. On looking at the total picture of the industrial relation in the tea industry in North Bengal, one may find a widespread gap among the employee – employer relationship and day by day the gap is widening. As a result the tea garden workers either migrate in search of better jobs or else fight with their fate. The result of migration in most of the cases becomes dangerous.

Both the tea belt is slowly destroying. On looking at this vulnerable situation, tea gardens have become the hunting grounds of traffickers. Both the local tea management, state administration could easily curb this problem, but need proper initiation and enthusiasm which is ultimately lacking in every stage.

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<sup>i</sup> 'Trafficking Of Tribal Girls: Sick Gardens Trigger Exodus'. [Sumati Yengkhom](http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/Trafficking-of-tribal-girls-Sick-gardens-trigger-exodus/articleshow/18785350.cms), The Times of India 4<sup>th</sup> Mar, 2013, <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/Trafficking-of-tribal-girls-Sick-gardens-trigger-exodus/articleshow/18785350.cms>

