



Working at an organic tea estate in Darjeeling, India

Qualitative study on the organic awareness, satisfaction
and health among the workers of Makaibari Tea Estate

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Abstract

Makaibari Tea Estate is one of the plantations in Darjeeling, West Bengal, which has converted to organic practices. Organic agriculture is an acknowledged farming practice, with both environmental and health-related benefits. However, workers' direct experience of working at an organic tea estate differs. This study was investigating the organic awareness, level of work satisfaction and health among the workers of Makaibari Tea Estate. The aim was to examine what advantages the workers perceive, as well as what limitations there still are to achieve a good work environment. The method used was qualitative and data was collected by interviewing 31 people from six villages belonging to the tea estate. Thematic analysis was used when coding the data. The results show that there is a lack of knowledge and awareness about the meaning of organic, both in a broader perspective, as well as within the tea estate. Even if there is a knowledge deficiency about the organic practices of Makaibari Tea Estate, the workers were very positive about Makaibari being organic. Moreover, the workers of the tea estate had very few health issues with even less of them related to their work situation. The work satisfaction was high but the majority of workers worked unwillingly. To increase the knowledge and awareness of organic, accessible information from the company should be provided on regular basis. Secondly, the wage and the education level should be raised, in order to empower the people on the tea plantation.

Key words: India, tea estate, organic, health, work satisfaction

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

FLO – Fair Trade Labelling Organizations

IFOAM - International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements

JAS – Japanese Agriculture Standard

PLA – Plantation Labour Act

T.E. – Tea Estate

USDA - United States Department of Agriculture

WHO – World Health Organization

Definitions

1 Pesticides

In this thesis, the definition of pesticides is as described by the World Health Organization (WHO 2016 I):

“Pesticides are chemical compounds that are used to kill pests, including insects, rodents, fungi and unwanted plants (weeds). Pesticides are used in public health to kill vectors of disease, such as mosquitoes, and in agriculture, to kill pests that damage crops.”

Thus, the word pesticide also includes herbicides and insecticides.

2 Organic agriculture

The word ‘organic’ is a crucial designation in this study, and it might also be one of the hardest to define. International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM) has worked since 2005 with a constitution, and has today established following definition (IFOAM 2016):

“Organic Agriculture is a production system that sustains the health of soils, ecosystems and people. It relies on ecological processes, biodiversity and cycles adapted to local conditions, rather than the use of inputs with adverse effects. Organic Agriculture combines tradition, innovation and science to benefit the shared environment and promote fair relationships and a good quality of life for all involved.”

3 Workers of Makaibari Tea Estate

When the term worker is used in this thesis, it is encompassing all the staff members of Makaibari T.E. That includes field, factory and office workers of all ranks.

4 Health

WHO (2016 II) has in 1948 defined health as *“a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity”*, which is still applicable, and will be used as a foundation in this thesis.

5 Tea garden, plantation, and estate

When reading research papers, talking to experts, or doing media research, all three terms – tea garden, plantation, and estate, are frequently used to describe the tea industry. None of them are more right than the other, and there is no significant difference in the content between them.

Table of Contents

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Republic of India	1
1.2	Tea in India.....	1
1.3	Plantation Labour Act, 1951	2
1.4	Pesticide usage.....	3
1.5	Health effects of pesticide usage	3
1.6	Organic agriculture.....	4
1.7	Aim	4
1.8	Specific research questions	4
1.9	Delimitations	5
1.10	Hypothesis.....	5
2	Background.....	5
2.1	The Darjeeling district.....	5
2.2	Makaibari Tea Estate.....	6
2.3	Certifications and community work.....	9
2.4	The organic practice at Makaibari.....	9
3	Method.....	10
3.1	Interviews	10
3.2	Selection criteria and recruitment of participants	10
3.3	Material and literature	10
3.4	Ethical considerations	11
3.5	Data processing and analysis.....	11
4	Results	11
4.1	Health among the workers	12
4.1.1	Health assessment	12
4.1.2	The relation between health and work.....	12
4.2	Organic knowledge and awareness	12
4.2.1	The meaning of organic farming.....	12
4.2.2	Organic Makaibari.....	13
4.3	Work situation and satisfaction.....	15
4.3.1	Satisfaction.....	15
4.3.2	Choice of working place	16
5	Discussion.....	17
5.1	Identified themes.....	17

5.1.1	Lack of knowledge and awareness about organic.....	17
5.1.2	Positive about organic tea estate.....	18
5.1.3	Health is wealth.....	18
5.1.4	Not only a tea estate	18
5.1.5	I work because I must	19
5.2	The challenges and opportunities among the workers.....	19
5.3	Method evaluation.....	21
6	Conclusions.....	22
6.1	Further investigation areas	22
7	References	23

List of Appendix

Appendix 1 – Interview guide IDI's

Appendix 2 – Interview information

Appendix 3 – Excerpt of transcribed data

1 Introduction

1.1 Republic of India

India is a federal republic located in south of Asia. It is, with its' population of 1,3 billion, the second most populated country in the world. Moreover, it is said to be the biggest democracy in the world (NE 2016). India gained its' independence the 15th august 1947, after nearly 100 years of colonization by Britain (NE 2016). Although Britain is known to be the first country to start the industrial revolution (McCloskey 2008), India did not experience such industrialization and economic growth under the British rule (Simmons 1987). The main way of livelihood was agriculture until independence, when industries slowly began to rise (Roy 2002). Nowadays agriculture is still crucial, but what contributes most to the GNP is service sector followed by industries and building sector (NE 2016). As comes to agricultural production, the most produced commodities are sugar cane, rice, forage products and wheat (FAOSTAT 2016). The cotton industry is also notable, accounting for 27% of the world cotton production (CotCorp 2016). Tea is only making 0,3% of the total production of sugar cane in India. Nevertheless, with its' 967 million kg produced in 2010, it stands for 23% of the total world tea production (Hazarika & Muraleedharan 2011).

1.2 Tea in India

Tea is made from leaves from the evergreen tea plant, also known as the genus *Camellia*, with the most common species known as *Camellia sinensis* (Marcos et al. 1998). It is the second most popular beverage in the world, after water (Chen et al. 2008). The Indian tea plant – *Camellia assamica* was found growing in the wild in Assam, north-east of India, in the middle of 19th century when India was one of Britain's colonies (Hazarika & Muraleedharan 2011). The biggest visible difference between the two species is the size of the crop, where *C. assamica* can grow much bigger and has bigger leaves, and *C. sinensis* is smaller in its appearance and thus has smaller leaves (Sharma & Venkataramani 1974). Both *C. sinensis* and *C. assamica* grow in tropical to subtropical climate, preferably in slopes with good access to water (Hazarika & Muraleedharan 2011). After the finding of the perfect growing conditions for the tea plant, the British started to make business out of it – introducing also the Chinese *C. sinensis* to the Indian growing ground and establishing plantations.

Tea plants, including both *C. assamica* and *C. sinensis*, are covering about 579 000 ha of India, which is approximately 0,2% of the total area of the country and 0,3% of the total agricultural area (Ibaf 2016a). The biggest tea states are West Bengal, Assam, Tamil Nadu and Kerala (Hazarika & Muraleedharan 2011) (figure 1). In 2010, 185 million kg tea was exported, which is approximately 10 % of the total world tea exports. Tea, especially black tea, is an important part of the everyday life in India, which explains why India is the worlds' biggest producer and consumer of black tea (Hazarika & Muraleedharan 2011). The tea industry is estimated to be India's second largest employer, employing around 3.5 million people across the country (Ibaf 2016b).

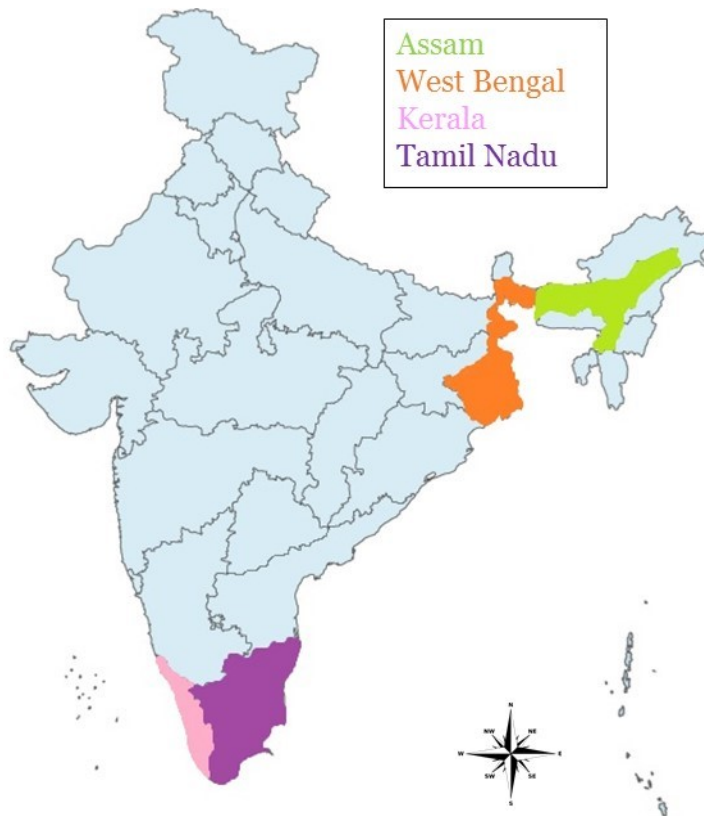


Figure 1. Map over India with the biggest tea producing states marked out.

1.3 Plantation Labour Act, 1951

The Plantation Labour Act (PLA) was constituted in 1951, due to bad conditions on plantations throughout India. The act applies to any land used as plantations with the size of at least 5 hectares and with 15 or more employees (PLA 1951). In the act it is stated that no adult worker should work for more than 48 hours per week and no adolescent or child should work more than 27 hours per week. The Child Labour (prohibition and regulation) Act (1986) states that children who have not completed their fourteenth year of age are prohibited to work, which means that the aforementioned working hours for children and adolescents are aiming to a person older than 14 years. Every worker is entitled to one day of rest every period of seven days. Moreover, medical facilities, canteens, nurseries, recreational facilities, suitable accommodation, and educational facilities must be accessible. Also, drinking water must be accessible both in the fields, as well as in workers' houses and food rations should be provided by the company (PLA 1951). Yet, the PLA (1951) is not stating anything about pesticide usage and protection measures in relation to pesticide usage.

If the company is not complying with the PLA, heavy fines and repossession await the owners. According to Besky (2008), labour unions are the most effective to ensure that the regulations are followed. She states that since there are very active labour unions on Darjeeling plantations, the labour laws are being upheld in a sufficient way. In regions where there are no active labour unions, the knowledge about the labour laws stated in the PLA is lower and hence, the regulations are not followed as strictly, affecting the workers' lives negatively. If the PLA is followed strictly, the step to Fair Trade certification is not far, which might explain why around 30% of the Darjeeling plantations are certified by Fair Trade (Makita 2012).

Although the PLA and labour unions are a great help for the labourers, the wages are still a problem. Today, the wages are too low to support a family. Hence the families of plantation workers depend on food rations, housing, and other compensations from the company (Besky 2014). Unlike on the plantations of south India, the workers on the tea plantations in north India, West Bengal included, are given rations at subsidized rate as a part of the wage. Thus, the daily wage is lower in the north compared to the south. Since the rations are a part of the wage, they are not given on the days when workers have holidays or when they are absent from work (Bhowmik 2005). The field workers in Darjeeling get a little more than one dollar per day for their work (Sen 2009, Besky 2014). On top of that, the tea pickers can get a small per-kilo incentive of a few cents. It is the Tea Board of India who sets the plantation minimum wage in Darjeeling. According to Sen (2009), most of the workers consider the wage to be very low.

1.4 Pesticide usage

In conventional tea plantations monoculture is the common way to grow the tea plants and the aim is evidently to increase production. The increase of production is helped by new agricultural technics, better fertilizers and plant breeding. This kind of optimization together with unvaried vegetation leads to a great amount of pests and insects attacking the plants (Gurusubramanian et al. 2008). 7-10% of the crops are lost because of pests and insects (Seenivasan & Muraleedharan 2011). The problem is solved by working with sanitation, different cultural practices and mechanical means. However, the most efficient way, which gives immediate effect, is application of chemical substances (Barooah 2011). The most common pesticides are endosulfan, sulfur, dicofol, ethion, chlorpyrifos, quinalphos, fenpropathrin and propargite (Seenivasan & Muraleedharan 2011). All of the above-mentioned pesticides, except propargite, are classified as moderately hazardous by World Health Organization (WHO). Propargite is classified as slightly hazardous (WHO 2009).

1.5 Health effects of pesticide usage

Many of the pesticides used on the crops is lethal to other species as well as the target species. The pesticides are not easily degradable and stay in the soil for long periods of time. The leaching of pesticides from the soil is contaminating the environment. They can also end up inside the body of an organism and from there bioaccumulate in the food chains. This can ultimately also affect the human health (Dey et al. 2013), resulting in both short- and long-term health effects (Horrigan et al 2002). The largest risk to get exposed to the different kinds of hazardous chemicals is to work directly with them, and in that way inhale, ingest or get in dermal contact with them (Dey et al. 2013).

As regards the short-term health effects on workers, approximately 220 000 deaths by severe acute poisoning are yearly attributable to pesticides. Of these, 99% occur in not industrialized countries (Dey et al. 2013). Other short-term effects are fatigue, weakness, muscle cramps, nausea, vomiting and diarrhoea. Some pesticides affect the central nervous system, leading to health effects such as anxiety, headache, confusion, convulsions, ataxia, depression of respiration and circulation, slurred speech, tremor, and generalized weakness (Eskenazi et al. 1999).

Some of the long-term health effects on workers include cancer, birth defects, reproductive problems, tumours, as well as damage of liver, kidney and neural organs (Sharma et al. 2012). According to Ascherio et al. (2006), there is a relation between exposure of pesticides and Parkinson's disease. Female workers in fertile age exposed to pesticides can suffer different kind of reproductive health problems (Manchini et al. 2005). It has also been shown that exposure to pesticides can lead to reduced vision (Dey et al. 2013) and there is also a higher risk of asthma (Hoppin et al. 2002).

1.6 Organic agriculture

The concept of organic agriculture developed in the 1930s and certified organic products have been available since the beginning of 1970. The organic standards apply on all kinds of food production, such as crop and animal production as well as production of processed foods (Browne et al. 2000). Rigby & Cáceres (2001) mean that organic practices are unique since they are the only ones codified as law. Organic production has a history of regulation and organic farming practices are therefore well-defined, even if there are differences between various organic bodies and across national boundaries. The principles of organic agriculture can include concerns for safe food production, for the environment, for animal welfare and for issues of social justice (Browne et al. 2000).

The aim of organic farming, as stated by Lampkin (referred in Rigby & Cáceres 2001), is to *“create integrated, humane, environmentally and economically sustainable production systems, which maximize reliance on farm-derived renewable resources and the management of ecological and biological processes and interactions, so as to provide acceptable levels of crop, livestock and human nutrition, protection from pests and disease, and an appropriate return to the human and other resources.”*

Mäder et al. (2002) found that organically managed soils contain more biological activity compared with conventionally managed soils. They found that the biomass and amount of earthworms were higher in the organic soil compared to the conventional. Moreover, the activity of different beetles and spiders in the organic soil was almost twice that of the conventional soil. The microbial diversity is also showing a significant increase in organic soils. Pimentel et al. (2005) found that other environmental benefits of organic agriculture are reduced chemical inputs, less soil erosion, water conservation and improved soil organic matter. As regards the farmers using organic practices, they will not be exposed to the variety of chemical pesticides which are used in conventional farming. Thus, they will avoid the negative health effects mentioned in chapter 1.5.

1.7 Aim

Organic agriculture is an acknowledged and well-regulated farming practice, with benefits accounted to both environment and health. However, workers' direct experience of working at an organic tea estate differs. This study is investigating the organic awareness, level of work satisfaction and health among the workers of Makaibari Tea Estate. The aim is to examine what advantages the workers of an organic tea estate perceive, as well as what limitations there still are to achieve a good work environment.

1.8 Specific research questions

How is the work satisfaction among the workers and what are their thoughts about their work situation?

Which health effects can occur on the employees of Makaibari T.E. and how do they assess their own health?

What knowledge and awareness is there about the concept of organic farming and the benefits of it among the workers of Makaibari T.E.?

What are the personal thoughts about Makaibari T.E. being organic among the workers?

1.9 Delimitations

This study was carried out in Makaibari T.E., Darjeeling district, West Bengal, India. No other tea estates have been visited. Apart from organic, Makaibari is also certified by Fair Trade International and the biodynamic Demeter. These two organs have restrictions on the use of pesticides, which are taken into consideration, but the other specific demands of these two organs are not focused on.

1.10 Hypothesis

An organic way of growing tea means that pesticides are avoided, which further means that workers of the tea estate are not exposed to hazardous chemicals. This should lead to a better health among the workers at Makaibari T.E. Also, a good knowledge and awareness of the benefits of organic farming should be expected, since the T.E. has been certified organic for almost 30 years.

2 Background

2.1 The Darjeeling district

Darjeeling was established as a hill station for the British to escape from the heat and diseases in the lowlands (Besky 2008) (figure 2). The British were testing what kind of crops they could grow here, and set up botanical gardens and also rubber, cinchona and tea industries. The tea industry worked out the best and to be able to maintain the industry, laborers from outside Darjeeling were recruited. Because of the political situation and the oppression of the rural people in Nepal, the new tea industries could easily persuade the Nepali people to leave their homes and families and come to work on the tea plantations (Besky 2008). The tea plantations offered them housing, farmland and schools for their children, and these were privileges that did not exist for them back home at that time. Therefore, Nepali is the common spoken language in Darjeeling district, and the present laborers are often sixth- and seventh-generation tea workers (Besky 2008). The Indian Nepalis are also called “Gorkhas”, and their land – Gorkhaland (Besky 2014). Aside from the different ethnic groups of Nepalese, the autochthonous tribes of Lepcha, the Bhutanese and Sikkimese Bhutia, Tibetan, Bengali and other Indians are inhabiting the area (Khawas 2002).



Figure 2. Map showing the Darjeeling district (Besky 2014).

There are 78 tea estates which are allowed to call their tea “Darjeeling Tea” by the Tea Board of India. These estates are covering 17 500 ha and they are producing 9 million kg tea per year. The tea estates are engaging approximately 50% of the inhabitants of Darjeeling (Darjeeling 2016). According to Bisen & Singh (2012) approximately 45% of the tea plantations in Darjeeling have been converted to organic practice, and more are in the conversion process. It is said that the tea production in Himalaya is not requiring that much agrochemical input because of the climatic and geologic conditions. Thus, the conversion to an environmentally sustainable way of production is easier compared to other tea-producing areas. Also, many plantations in Darjeeling cannot afford the high cost of chemical pesticides, which makes them organic by default (Besky 2008). The tea crops grown in Darjeeling counts to the highest grown teas in the world and are recognized by tea experts for the special flavour, aroma, and quality (Gohain et al. 2012).

2.2 Makaibari Tea Estate

The Makaibari Tea Estate consists of 7 villages, of which Makaibari village is the biggest (figure 3). The tea estate is situated in Darjeeling district, in the state of West Bengal, north-east of India, approximately 30 km south of Darjeeling. The coordinates are 26°51'16" N and 88° 15'39" E in DMS (Degrees Minutes Second).

There are all in all 1722 people living in all the villages belonging to the tea estate, of which 526 people are living in Makaibari village (Makaibari Health Center 2015). Of the 563 workers employed by the T.E., 398 are female while 165 are men. 40 of the employees are working in the factory (Anonymous b, Makaibari T.E., Oral, 2016).

The structure of the company is as follows; Field workers are working with manual work in the tea garden (figure 4). That includes assignments such as tea plucking, spraying, pruning,

mulching, making compost as well as maintaining roads. Supervisors are responsible for a group of 10-15 field workers. They get directions from the field assistants, who are coordinating several supervisors and their teams within a division. In Makaibari there are five divisions, and four field assistants. In factory, the employees are working with assignments such as withering, tea sorting and tea packing. There is one company manager and under him – assistant managers. The assistant managers have different fields of responsibility, such as the factory or the office (Anonymous b, Makaibari T.E., Oral, 2016).

The season of tea plucking is from the middle of March until middle or end of November, depending on the weather. Between November and March maintenance of the factory is done, as well as cutting, cleaning and mulching in the tea field (Anonymous b, Makaibari T.E., Oral, 2016). Makaibari T.E has an area of 670 hectares, of which 270 hectares are covered by tea crops while the rest of the area is covered by trees (Banerjee 2008).

Makaibari T.E. was established in 1859, and has been owned by the Banerjee family for four generations (Banerjee 2008). In 2014, 90% of the company was sold to Luxmi Group. The former owner, and the last link in the chain of Banerjees', Mr. Rajah Banerjee, is still remaining the chairman in the company, and is overseeing the holistic practices of Makaibari (Bolton 2014). It is, according to him, the first tea estate in India to become organic (Banerjee 2008). Further he tells that all started in the year of 1970, when he went out riding through the estate. In that time, his father was still the owner and Rajah was studying at the University of London, only coming home for a visit. During the ride, Rajah was thrown off the horse and during the fall he got a vision where he connected to the trees in the forests around him and they were crying "Save us! Save us!". It was in that moment he decided to move back home from England and participate in the work at the tea estate (Banerjee 2008). He wanted to follow the vision and try to make the tea industry more sustainable. After taking small steps to that direction, Makaibari got their first organic certification in 1988 (Banerjee 2008).

Makaibari practices a high level of transparency, letting outsiders freely roam in the tea garden, and also, accompanied by a guide, see the different stages of tea processing inside the factory. According to Besky (2014) there are only a few factories in the Darjeeling district where access to the tea-processing factory is granted. Often, the factory and the process inside it was stated as a "trade secret". In addition, tourists are welcome to stay in the villages belonging to the tea estate. 21 families are participating in the homestay program, which gives tourists the opportunity to live with locals and learn the culture and everyday life (Makaibari 2016).



Figure 3. View over a part of Makaibari village. The factory is visible in the left upper corner (Anna Daneberga, 2016).



Figure 4. Women picking tea in one of the divisions of Makaibari T.E (Anna Daneberga, 2016).

2.3 Certifications and community work

Today Makaibari is certified by EU Organic (Euro-leaf), Japanese Agricultural Standard (JAS), United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), Fairtrade International (FLO) and Demeter. The first three organs are focusing on organic farming, but all five organs have demands on the usage of pesticides. The Euro-leaf, JAS and USDA all state in their standards which pesticides are allowed to use, and which are prohibited. FLO suggests a plan to follow in which the workers should be learnt about alternative ways to fight pests and insects while Demeter is prohibiting all synthetic pesticides (EC 2008:889; JAS 2005:1605; Fairtrade International 01.05.2011_v1.2; Electronic Code of Federal Regulations [e-CFC] 2016: §205.206; Demeter International 2015). Of the most common pesticides used on tea crops (endosulfan, sulfur, dicofol, ethion, chlorpyrifos, quinalphos, fenpropathrin and propargite according to Seenivasan & Muraleedharan 2011), none is allowed by the Euro-leaf (EC 2008:889). JAS and USDA are both allowing sulfur in different forms (JAS 2005:1605; Electronic Code of Federal Regulations [e-CFC] 2016: §205.206).

Fair Trade is a label that ensures the consumer that the economic compensation is better for the product. FLO, the international governing body for Fairtrade certification, is setting a minimum price on the products, a little bit higher than the current market value. On top of that, a premium is paid, which is meant for the community (Besky 2014). In Makaibari, just like in the other Fair Trade-certified tea estates of Darjeeling (Besky 2014), a “Joint Body” composed of management and workers have meetings on a regular base – approximately twice per month. During these meetings decisions are made how to distribute the money coming from Fair Trade. The money has, for instance, been used to build a library and two community halls in two of the villages. Also, in case of severe illness, such as cancer, Joint Body helps funding the medical treatment. Yearly, they are giving scholarships to students finishing their exams, and to community members who want to get a further education, for instance in tea or hotel management (Anonymous c, Makaibari T.E., Oral, 2016).

2.4 The organic practice at Makaibari

In comparison to conventional tea plantations, Makaibari is not using any chemical preparations to prevent bugs and diseases to destroy the tea plant. Nor are any chemicals applied on the weed that surrounds the bushes.

Instead, an insect repellent spray made of herbs is applied on the field. The spray should not kill the insects, only scare them away. Another strategy for controlling the number of insects is to plant different kind of fruit trees among the tea bushes. The fruits are attracting birds, who will eat not only the fruits, but also the unwanted insects (Anonymous a, Makaibari T.E., Oral, 2016). Different kind of nitrogen fixing weeds are planted in the fields. Among them are lemon grass, weeping lovegrass, Guatemalan gamagrass and different types of legumes. These are also being cut and composted together with cow manure and other weeds, and later applied in the fields. Cow manure is also applied directly in the soil under the tea bush. In this way, there is no need to use chemical fertilizers. Once per year all the tea bushes are pruned, following a certain five-year pruning schedule. Several times per year, the weeds in-between the tea bushes are sickled. The cut branches and sickled weeds are left in the fields as mulch. Mulching keeps the soil moist under the dry season and prevents the soil to be washed away under the monsoon season. In addition, the mulched material is encouraging the growth of beneficial microorganisms. Another resource is the surrounding jungle. The fallen leaves from the trees are also being used in the compost sites as well as applied directly in the field (Anonymous a, Makaibari T.E., Oral, 2016).

3 Method

This study was conducted in the autumn and winter of 2016, in Makaibari T.E. in the Darjeeling region, West Bengal, India. The study was done in the end of the rain season, during the plucking period. Data was collected through interviews and later transcribed to computer for further analysis.

3.1 Interviews

Interviews were chosen as the method in this study. They were made with the workers of Makaibari T.E. The interviews were, as Trost (2005) describes, aiming to understand how the interviewee is thinking and feeling and what experiences and knowledge she or he possesses. Another crucial aim of the interview in this thesis was to clarify concepts, in order to understand how a certain word or concept is interpreted and look for patterns in the group of interviewees. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) is explaining concept interviewing as a way to explore and survey the pattern of conception in a group of people.

When the interviewee didn't speak English, which was in the most cases, two local men helped me with the translations between English and Nepali and vice versa. They took turns joining me for interviews, and were also a crucial guiding help in the different villages.

The interviews were not standardized, meaning that every interview differed from the other in the choice of place and the order of questions asked. The formulation of the questions also varied depending on the interviewee. Nevertheless, the interviews were structured since there was a focus on health and the concept of organic (Trost 2005).

In this study 31 interviewees were chosen. All of them were workers of Makaibari T.E., but the work assignments varied. Both Trost (2005) and Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) are suggesting that the number of interviewees depends on the aim of the study. Among the 563 workers at the T.E., the job assignments vary, as well as the level of education, family, and economical situation. Moreover, most of the workers of the tea estate do not have much spare time in their everyday life, which means that most of the interviews did not last for more than 15 minutes each. Taking all the above-mentioned conditions into consideration, 31 interviews seemed appropriate.

3.2 Selection criteria and recruitment of participants

The participants who were selected should all be current or retired workers of the Makaibari T.E., living in the villages Thapathali, Chaptay, Kailapani, Kadobari, Phulbari or Makaibari. Both men and women were selected. Since the majority of the workers of the T.E. are female, the number of interviewed women was greater than interviewed men. Interview participants were selected through convenience selection, with help from a guide/ interpreter. Some interviews were made on the field, though most of them were carried out in the home of the subjects.

3.3 Material and literature

Since the study is based on qualitative interviews, a crucial part of the realisation of the study was to create an interview guide. As the word suggests, the guide is not a script to be strictly followed by; It is a help for the interviewer to cover the areas of interest during the interview. As Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) writes, the interview guide can consist of an overview of the topics to cover and suggestions of questions to be made. Thus, an interview guide was made (see Appendix 1) in beforehand and was used in all interviews. A dictation machine was used

in all interviews and supplemental notes were taken. A camera was used to document the practice of tea gardening and manufacturing in Makaibari T.E.

3.4 Ethical considerations

Informed consent was conducted with each of the interviewees before interview started. The information was given in written form in English (see Appendix 2), and translated to Nepali by the interpreter if needed. If the participant agreed on the given information, she or he signed the paper. All the interviewees participated voluntarily and they will stay anonymous in the thesis. They were also informed about the right to leave the interview if they wanted, though no such case appeared. They were also given a brief presentation of the author of the study as well as information about the study object and possibility to take part of the finished thesis.

3.5 Data processing and analysis

Transcriptions were made to the computer after finishing all the interviews. Repetitions of words and all kinds of interruptions were noted down (see Appendix 3). The next step was to extract the essential parts of the transcription – taking away all the material that did not matter in the study. Further analyse was made using Windows Excel, where coding was done. The type of analysis conducted was thematic. It is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns, or themes, within the data. The crystallized themes within the data are meant to seize the essential core in the data, which is relevant for the research question (Braun & Clarke 2006).

4 Results

31 interviews were carried out among workers of Makaibari T.E. Six of the interviewees were retired while the rest 25 were currently working. The age range reached from 27 up to 80 years, with an average age of 48. 13 of the interviewees were men while 18 were women. Most of the interviews were carried out in the home of the interviewed person, at different times of day. Six of the villages of the tea estate were visited, number of interviews made in each village in parenthesis; Makaibari (9), Kadobari (3), Kailapani (6), Thapathali (3), Phulbari (5) and Cheptey (5). All the villages are situated close to each other – with the furthest distance of approximately 2 km from the tea factory and biggest village – Makaibari. The interviewed people were divided into three groups; those who were working in field, supervisors/assistants, and factory workers (table 1).

Table 1. Statistics over the interviews made. The chart is showing the three different groups of workers, the number of female and male in each group, average years in school and average years of working for each group.

Type of work	Number	Female	Male	Age	Years in school	Years of working
Field work	24	16	8	46	3,5	24
Supervisor/assistant	5	1	4	48	8	22
Factory worker	2	1	1	59	5	32
Total/average	31	18	13	48	5,5	26

In the results, the essence of the interviews is presented, together with quotes from the interviewees. The analysed material is put under the following headings; *Health among the workers, organic knowledge and awareness* as well as *work situation and satisfaction*. Table 1 is displaying an overview of the interviewed workers.

4.1 Health among the workers

4.1.1 Health assessment

21 of the interviewed workers did not experience any health issues, regardless of their age, sex, and job assignments. 8 workers were mentioning getting fever, cold and cough a few times per year, most commonly during the monsoon season. 2 workers mentioned past illnesses such as typhoid fever or stomach problems. The overall impression was though that health issues are not a concern among the most of the interviewees.

4.1.2 The relation between health and work

The only current case of health issues related to work that appeared during the interviews were a case of a fractured arm when slipping in the tea field. The most part of the interviewed workers had not reflected over the relation between health and their work situation, and did not think that working somewhere else would affect their health in a different way.

Among the four workers who did reflect over the fact that their working place is organic, the conclusions were both positive and negative. The negative side of it was that without pesticides in the plantation, there are more poisonous insects and snakes in the fields, which can be a health risk for the workers. On the other side, due to the overall clean environment, the existent mosquitos are not carrying any diseases – *“the mosquitos are organic”*, as one of the interviewees phrased it.

Some comparisons to conventional tea plantations also appeared, discussing the negative health effects of using pesticides.

“Other companies and here is quite different - they use pesticides. That’s why they are quite sick, the people. But here, we don’t use the pesticides or anything. That’s why we have good health here. That’s the difference.”

Also, three workers had reflections about the differences between Makaibari T.E. before and after the conversion to organic practices. For instance, before, no protective masks were used inside the factory. According to the interviewee, this led to dust coming in the lungs, which led to health problems among the workers in the tea sorting area. Moreover, a scent was mentioned. In the time when pesticides still were used, a scent similar to perfume could be felt among the workers who worked with the application of pesticides. This scent did never disappear, but followed the workers wherever they went. There were no reflections over the harmfulness of the scent, only a statement of the fact, mentioned on a humorous note.

4.2 Organic knowledge and awareness

4.2.1 The meaning of organic farming

When talking about organic, two distinct patterns could be observed. Firstly, it was most common not to have any knowledge at all about the meaning of organic among the workers who had no education. 13 interviewees did not have any knowledge about the meaning of organic farming (figure 5), and out of them 9 people had no education. 7 of them were workers in the field, and had tea plucking as their main assignment.

The second pattern observed was that almost half of the interviewees were only referring to Makaibari T.E. when asked about the meaning of organic (figure 5). The interviewees explained what they saw in their tea estate, which they linked to organic farming. The most common comments were about cow dung, no chemicals, compost, and different herbs. 15 workers mentioned these. It is in the most cases clear that the interviewee is only referring to Makaibari when describing the organic process, and not talking in general terms. The description is most often very detailed and the personal pronoun “we” is actively being used.

“There are no chemicals, there is compost, cow dung. We make the compost with the lemon grass. We take some leaf from the jungles, to put in the field – mulching. That’s what I know.”

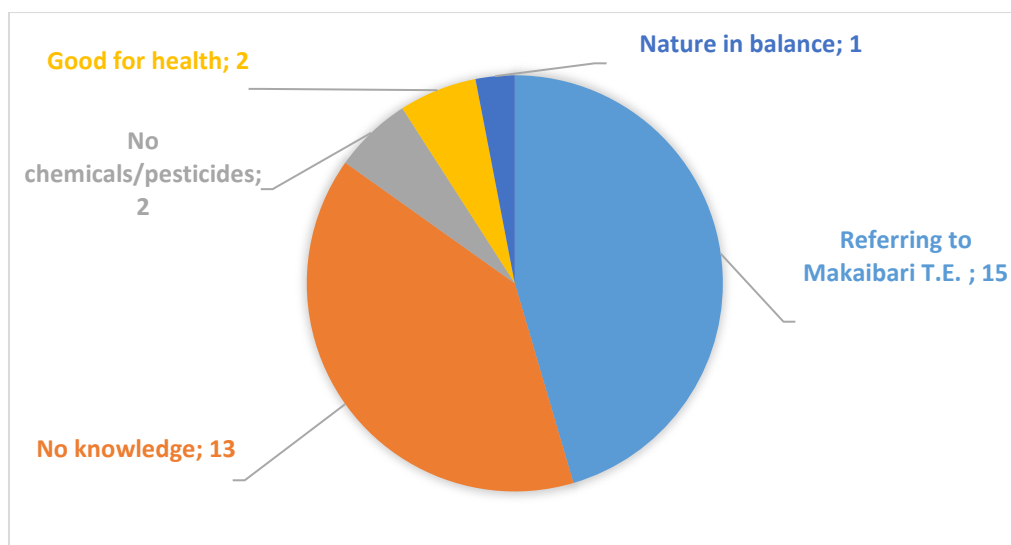


Figure 5. The knowledge about organic farming in general among the workers of Makaibari T.E.

Only three participants explained about organic farming in terms that did not only refer to Makaibari as such, but also put “organic” in a bigger perspective. One common factor for all the three participants was that they had a relatively high level of education - all of them with at least seven years in school. For instance, it is mentioned that not using chemicals is better for the health of farmers and that organic food is healthier for the consumer. Also, nature is mentioned as playing the most important part.

“For me – what I think about organic, is totally related to the nature, you know. You don’t use any chemicals, you don’t use anything else. You just keep the nature in balance. That’s in simple terms.”

4.2.2 Organic Makaibari

Same pattern was observed as in the general knowledge and awareness about the meaning of organic, when discussing the specific organic practices of Makaibari T.E.; the workers with least education also had the poorest knowledge about what makes Makaibari organic. 3 workers mentioned that they have seen the cow dung or the compost, but have no clue about how it is being used, and moreover, they were not sure if it had something to do with the organic practices. 4 workers were also explaining that they don’t have time to get deeper into the organic approaches since they have long working days. When asked if they would like to know more, for instance if an organic workshop was organized, all declined. Here too, the most common reason of turning down the opportunity was that there is no time for such things, the workers are not interested and busy with their work.

“No. Because I leave from here (home) at 8 o’clock and come back 4 o’clock. I don’t have the chance... To do the studies and things like that.”

Among the interviewees who did have knowledge about the organic approach of their tea estate, the most common observations were about the usage of cow dung and compost as well as that there is no application of chemical pesticides in the fields. Also, the workers knew about the usage of different weeds, both for fertilizing and insect repelling (figure 6). Other observations were that the jungle is kept and hence there is a high biodiversity, there are no plastics in the environment, and mulching is practiced in the field.

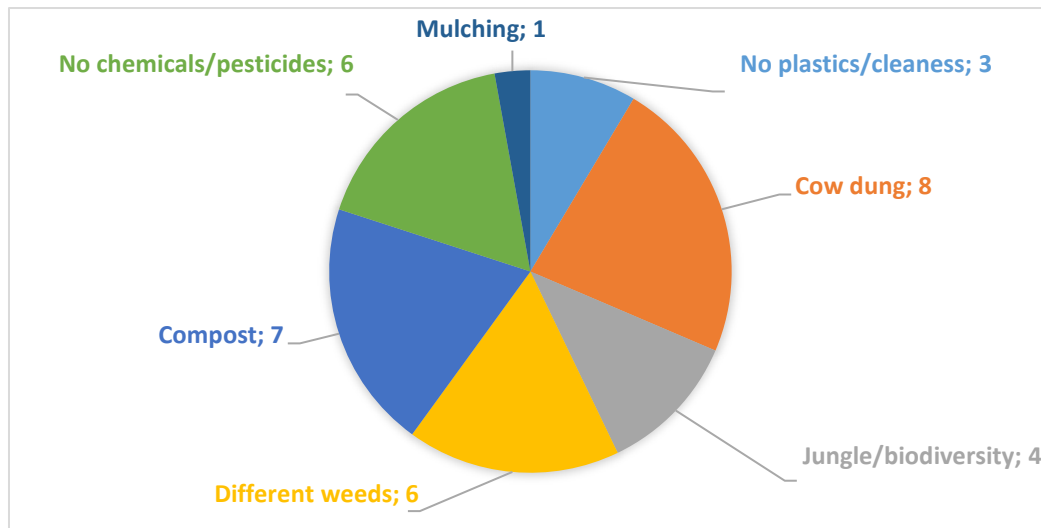


Figure 6. The different organic practices, recognized by the workers of Makaibari T.E.

The overall impression is that the interviewees sensed a difference in how Makaibari was managed before and after the conversion to organic practices, and, also, a difference between Makaibari and other tea plantations. In both cases, the difference was explained to be in the favour of Makaibari, as it is managed today.

“When we go in the field, tea gardens, I can smell cow dung. And lots of insect over there. And lots of weeds will be there - grass. They cut the grass and put it inside the... the things. That's why we think this is organic. We don't smell like medicine, we don't smell like pesticides in the tea gardens. Otherwise, other tea gardens, when you reach over there, you can feel, you can smell...It is very hard pesticides! But here is not so much. Here you can get the ginger and garlic flavour.”

When talking about the personal thoughts regarding the organic approach of Makaibari, 70% of the interviewees were positive and even expressed happiness and pride. They referred to their tea estate as famous, and were happy that so many people come to visit the tea plantation and factory. The quantity of visitors was, among the workers, connected with the special practices of Makaibari T.E. The organic practices are undoubtedly one part that makes the tea estate famous.

There were no solely negative opinions, even though some thoughts appeared. For instance, that the increase of quality led to less quantity, which, in turn, led to less plucking and as a result – less money for the women plucking tea. Apart from the people expressing their positive and negative thoughts, almost one third of the interviewees did not have any opinion at all. These were, most often, the same group of participants, who did not have any knowledge about organic, or the organic approach of Makaibari.

Four of the interviewees were mentioning the community when talking about the organic practices. The impression was that the projects and investments in the community and the community members were associated with the organic practices of Makaibari. Along with the thoughts about the community, also a concern about the future sometimes appeared. This anxiety depended most often on the change of the ownership, which took place approximately two years ago. This seemed to depend on a strong correlation which the workers made – where a positive development in the community is strongly connected to the management of Rajah Banerjee.

“I think this tea estate is... eh... it's not just about doing a farming, you know. It's about the people who live out here. Because Mr. Banerjee has done so much to the people out here. If they understand that – it's good for them. Their future will become very bright. If they don't understand, and if they compare with the people who are living in the town, or cities, or just

nearby – the neighbours whose mom and dad are working as a government employee, you know.”

It was clear that Mr. Banerjee was more important when talking about community development than the Fair Trade certification and Joint Body. When asked about the meaning of Fair Trade, 90% of the interviewees did not know what it is. Most commonly the knowledge level was higher among the supervisors, field assistants and factory workers and lowest among the field workers. 5 workers knew about Joint Body, but 3 of them had only heard the word. It was, according to them, something that was going on inside the factory, and was not meant for them to take part of.

“Because we are going to field in the morning at 8 o’clock. We go far from here. We don’t know anything about the Fair Trade. Fair Trade is only happening inside the factory. We are only the workers.”

One worker explained that Joint Body could help with loan if one have economic problems and another worker said that Joint Body helps building facilities.

4.3 Work situation and satisfaction

4.3.1 Satisfaction

When asked how the workers liked their work, three people were unsatisfied with their work situation. The main reason for the disfavour was that the work is hard and boring. All three of the unsatisfied workers had their job assignments in field – two of them doing the tea plucking and one carrying water and tea for the other workers. The lack of other options was also mentioned; the unsatisfied workers stayed at the tea estate since they did not have any other job opportunities.

“What to do... I don’t like to do this kind of job. But what to do... There’s nothing else to do anywhere, that’s why I survive this. I make the rice wine, go to the tea garden... I work, I get some money.”

Three workers were neutral in their thoughts about their work situation. They did not express either satisfaction or dissatisfaction, but described it like they do what the managers tell them or that they have no other choice, but doing this.

The rest, which is the most part, expressed their content quite openly, though almost no one gave a profound further explanation of their satisfaction. Mostly, the interviewees settled with just saying that they like it, and that this is a good job. Two interviewees were not only expressing satisfaction, but also happiness.

When asked if they would like to change anything in their work situation, more than half of the interviewees were not interested in any changes, and expressed satisfaction in the current situation. Some were referring not only to their personal work situation, but also to the whole tea estate, which, in a sense, made their opinion less personal.

“Ok, no more change. Not change anything, it’s good. Organic tea, very good. It’s very healthful, it’s not harmful. If you have green tea, white tea – it’s good for your health also.”

Among the workers who did wish for a change in their work situation, many different ideas appeared. Two workers wished to withdraw the shift of owners of the company. They were expressing worries about the new ownership and wished for Mr. Banerjee to remain in his position as the owner.

“I want to change the ownership. Because before, here was Rajah Banerjee. The owner. But now he sold 90 percent of the tea gardens to another tea company. Luxmi tea garden. That

is the company. Before that he was the only one person – owner. Now change. The ownership will be changed. That's why I wish that Rajah Banerjee would come back. He is good."

Two other of the workers who wished for a change, were as drastic as to wish for a change of workplace. They stated that this job is boring and if opportunity came their way, they would not hesitate to take another job.

"Yes, I would leave the job. But there is no chance anywhere. Because this job is boring. (laughing) It's boring."

Other examples of wished changes were change of supervisor among people working in field and change of the responsible area among the supervisors. One worker expressed a wish for change in a bigger perspective – talking about the whole society. The thought was that there is too much drinking and thus the best change would be no alcohol and a society that would be more like a family.

A retired worker was talking about a common injustice that happened frequently in the earlier days – the tea pickers were often tricked when the harvest was weighed in the end of the day. Sometimes the men who did the weighing, removed 5 kg from the total weight, which gave the workers less money. Since the tea pickers did not have any education, they felt like they could not complain to the management. This problem was something unjust which the worker wished to change, looking at it in hindsight.

One of the field assistants was talking about a change in the perspective of the challenges in the field and in which ways the different sections could be improved. The change is therefore, according to the assistant, something dynamic which is equivalent to a wished improvement in the field.

"Since the day I came, this section is like always weak (points). They are crying, they need help. So our duty is to help them. How to change this section, how to make like totally...different. It's not only about making the section beautiful... Like different Himalayan herbs, which we are making bio-pesticides of. New plants, you collect, and then make your own bio-pesticides. And you see, and if it works, you write in a book. Then make a new medicine. So it's not only about managing, but it's about learning and exploring new things, you know."

4.3.2 Choice of working place

The years of working at the tea estate varied from just a couple of years up to 48 years, depending on the age of the interviewed person. On average, the interviewees had been working 26 years at Makaibari. Five people had worked somewhere else before they started their work on the tea estate. Two of them worked with tea plucking on another tea estate before. One of the later-mentioned was only doing three weeks of substituting on the neighbour tea estate. The other worked on another tea estate for three years before changing to Makaibari. The reason to the change was because Makaibari is closer to home.

The three other people with other work experience apart from Makaibari went for work in other states of India - to bigger cities such as Delhi, Calcutta and Hyderabad. Before they started their current work at Makaibari, they worked with business process outsourcing, in the hotel industry as well as in the construction industry. One of them came back to take over the role as a supervisor after his retired father. The second wanted to try many different fields, also mentioning that the tea field might not be the last field to be tried.

"I'm getting little, little knowledge, but from every part of... work, you know. Here I'm getting knowledge from this - tea. I have a knowledge from citrus. Then again, I have knowledge with printer. Then again, this credit card. So, actually my dream is like - I want to work in every field you know."

The third was missing the family and the non-polluted environment. In the choice between higher salary and clean environment and health, the latter was chosen.

“Because health is wealth. That’s why I came back. I want to live long. If I live in Hyderabad, I die after 50. It’s the environment, pollution. I retired and came back here to work.”

All the three above mentioned people had one thing in common – their current position at the tea estate is as supervisors or field assistants.

There were two main reasons why the interviewed people were working right here, at Makaibari T.E.; 50% of the interviewees were working because of the money - to be able to support their family. Many expressed it as “family problems” or “economic problems”, while others were mentioning their children.

“We had three children, and it was difficult to survive. That’s why I started.”

The other frequently given reason was that the interviewee took after his or her parents. One third of the interviewees gave this as a reason, and it was most commonly to occur among the older interviewees. They explained, that this was the practice before – the job assignments were inherited from one generation to the next.

Apart from that, some interviewees were also explaining that since they have no education, the only option is to work in the tea plantation. A few were also mentioning that there just are no other jobs available. This was most common among the people working in the field.

Three of the workers were choosing their working place by their own free will. One of them, is the above-mentioned person, who wanted to live closer to the nature and in a clean environment, instead of making money in a big city. Another interviewee felt bored and wanted to have something to do during the days – not only doing the household duties every day.

“Before I was only at home, doing all the work of the house, like cooking the food. One day I was thinking and I went for a walk in the tea field. We also have family problems and it’s also a time-pass. I can make money also.”

The third one is from another region, and applied for the job as a field assistant in Makaibari. To get this certain post was a conscious choice and a coveted option.

5 Discussion

5.1 Identified themes

5.1.1 Lack of knowledge and awareness about organic

A distinct pattern throughout the interviews was that most of the interviewees lacked knowledge about the meaning of organic. It was common that they could narrate some of the organic practices of the tea estate, but could not put the meaning of organic in a bigger perspective.

The reason for the absence of broader knowledge about the meaning of organic might partly be explained by the low level of education among the interviewed workers. The interviewed workers had, in average been in school for 5,5 years. Among the workers in field, the average years in school were only 3,5 (see table 1). Medhi et al. (2006) did a research about alcohol and tobacco use among the youth living on tea plantations in Assam, which is a neighbour state to West Bengal. In the research, education level was also considered, and the results showed that

58,9% of the total 650 respondents did not have any education at all. According to Mukherjee (2015), the literacy rate among women in West Bengal was 77% in 2011. In the same year, the literacy rate for women in the whole of India was 59% (Unicef 2016). Thus, West Bengal is comparatively a better educated state, but it is still far from perfect. Women are discussed here since the field work is predominantly done by women, and the lowest education level was found here.

Another reason for the lack of knowledge is that the people working at the tea plantation are busy at their work from morning until around 4 o'clock. After the work in the field or inside the factory is done, the household work starts. After the dinner is prepared and eaten, it is already late evening. The days are filled with duties, and especially for women, there is not much time left for extra activities (Besky 2014). This might explain why there is not only a lack of knowledge and awareness about the organic practices, but also a lack of interest in learning more about it.

5.1.2 Positive about organic tea estate

Even if the trend among the interviewed workers was that they did not have a broader knowledge about the meaning of organic, the overall opinion about organic practices at the tea estate was positive and optimistic. Since the perception of organic mainly was focused on Makaibari T.E. as such, the positivity was also addressed mainly to the tea estate itself. Most of the workers expressed pride or happiness about the tea estate, and thought of it as a bit better than other estates.

The tea from the Darjeeling district is among tea lovers also known as “the Champagne of teas”, and has a reputation of being a luxury beverage (Besky 2014). Also, nearly 50% of the tea plantations in Darjeeling are organic (Bisen & Singh 2012). But if the workers of Makaibari T.E. are proud to belong to the organic Champagne-team and hence are happy is highly doubtful. More likely, the plantation workers have learned that many people visit Makaibari T.E. because of their organic, bio-dynamic and Fair Trade practices. Several interviewees described Makaibari as famous, which confirms this theory.

5.1.3 Health is wealth

The vast majority of the interviewed workers considered themselves healthy, and did not associate their work with any kind of health issues. Some discussed the positive effects on health of not using chemical pesticides, and compared their working place to conventional plantations. Even the seniors, who had been working in field for over 40 years, did not have any complains about their health. Dasgupta (1999) means that the British planters chose the Nepali people to work in the hill areas of Darjeeling because of their reputation as hard working. Also, they could easily adopt to the high altitudes. According to Hazarika et al. (2002) it is common that tea plantation workers in Assam suffer from hypertension. In fact, hypertension was higher among the tea plantation populations in comparison to other ethnic groups. However, this was nothing that was mentioned during the conducted interviews within this research.

5.1.4 Not only a tea estate

A recurring point of view among the interviewed workers was that Makaibari T.E. is not only about the tea business, but also about a sustainable and developing community. The workers did most often not know what Fair Trade is, and knew very little about Joint Body, but the help given to community was often recognized.

The central character in the community development was, according to the interviewed workers, Mr. Banerjee. Besky (2008) points out that workers of Fair Trade tea plantation in

Darjeeling do not always notice the transition to Fair Trade, since the Indian labour laws are quite similar to the Fair Trade regulations for tea estates. If the village belonging to the plantation is situated in an exposed location, for instance near a well-trafficked road, the tea company has probably followed the PLA quite carefully. Also, if the village and plantation is open for visitors, PLA has most probably been followed. Of all the seven villages belonging to the Makaibari T.E., the biggest one, Makaibari, is situated along a trafficked road. Moreover, there is a frequent stream of visitors coming to the plantation, factory and village. The stream of tourists might not have been the case a few decades ago, but the road has for sure been there even before the transition to organic and Fair Trade. This can be the explanation why the workers of Makaibari do not know much about the theory behind Fair Trade, and did not notice the transition. Further, Makita (2012) concluded that in most cases when assistance was funded by Fair Trade, through the Joint Body, the workers and the workers' families thought the special assistance came from the management, and was a sign of generosity. Hence the workers who got some kind of assistance, showed more gratitude towards both the owner, as well as the managers, which, of course, is in the favour of the management.

5.1.5 I work because I must

The fifth pattern that could be distinguished throughout the interviews was that working at the tea estate was not something that was done by free will. Even if most of the workers liked their job, they would be ready to leave it if it was possible. This trend was most common among the field workers, but could also be recognized among the supervisors and field assistants. The reason why it was not possible to change job, according to the interviewed workers, was that there were no other opportunities. Also, if the worker was not educated, she or he was most often aware that for a job with better wage or less hard work, education is needed. The main reason doing the work was for the money – to be able to support the family.

Most of the plantation workers in Makaibari, especially the field workers, have been working at the plantation for several generations (Besky 2008). The work in the tea field was never very desirable. Even during the colonial times, it was common for the field workers to depend on secondary incomes as a supplement to their low plantation wages (Makita 2012). As Besky (2014) is stating, the wages are today too low to support a family. To do a physically demanding job six days per week and get a very low salary for the effort helps explaining why tea plucking is considered a low status job among the field workers.

5.2 The challenges and opportunities among the workers

The life and work on a tea plantation such as Makaibari T.E., is by no means easy. Even if the plantation is certified organic, biodynamic and Fair Trade, the manual work in the field is still very hard. The hills, where the tea is growing, can be very steep and slippery. The work in field is going on under the hot winter sun as well as during the never-ending monsoon rain. After the working hours are completed, the household work starts. Children need attention, wood needs to be collected, dinner to be made.

The communities which have developed in the villages of the tea plantations in the Darjeeling hills are all similar to each other, whether the plantation itself is organic or conventional today. The colonial traditions and culture, which was brought here from the first British tea planters, still lives on, with subtle changes made by the current, Indian plantation owners (Besky 2008). Also, the introduction and the compliance of the PLA, gives all the plantations a similar foundation, or a lowest standard to live by. The families in the villages belonging to the tea estates are adopting to the present time and the demands coming with it. May it be a change of the plantation owner or a transition from conventional to organic practices. Unemployment is a big issue in the Darjeeling area (Chettri 2013), which gives the people less choices and bad wages. On top of that, the education level is low (Medhi et al., 2006, Khawas 2016), which is also lessening the chances of development. Medhi et al. (2006) did also conclude that there is

a correlation between no formal education and a higher rate of alcohol and tobacco use. Also, a higher rate of alcohol and tobacco use could be correlated with youth that had illiterate parents. Moreover, Medhi et al. (2006) noticed that youth doing manual work at the tea plantation, such as tea plucking or pruning, was significantly associated with higher rates of alcohol and tobacco use. All this put together gives a picture of the big challenges that the Darjeeling district, where the “Champagne of teas” is produced, is facing.

The results showed that the knowledge and awareness of the meaning of organic, as well as the organic practices at Makaibari T.E., were low among the workers. This goes hand in hand with the results found by Makita (2012), where it was shown 41 of the 63 interviewed tea plantation workers did not understand the concept of organic cultivation. Understanding the background as well as the current social situation of the workers in Makaibari, the results are not surprising. The circumstances are different when reviewing the employees of higher rank, such as managers, field assistants or supervisors. Here, the knowledge is broader, and education level higher. In this research, the majority of the interviewed workers were working in field, doing manual work, which accordingly gives a result from their perspective. That is also the fairest way of conducting a thesis on a tea plantation in India, since the majority of the employees are in fact doing manual work in field (Besky 2014).

Moreover, the results showed that the workers were positive about Makaibari being an organic tea estate, which is the first contradiction within the results. This, hence, as already discussed, the most of the interviewed workers did not really know what the meaning of organic actually is. When asked about the meaning of organic, the vast majority of the workers were referring to Makaibari and some of the practices done at the tea estate. Composting and mulching were two examples often mentioned. Not discussing the meaning of organic in a broader perspective could be due to misunderstandings in the translation, which will be discussed under next heading. It might also actually show that there is a lack of knowledge and awareness. Even when talking about the local organic practices, the level of knowledge and awareness was low. So, how come the attitude is so positive about something that is quite unknown? One theory is that the workers have learned that “organic” is something positive, either from management or the visitors coming to live with the villagers through the homestay program.

The second contradiction within the results is that the workers were positive about the organic practises, and were also talking very warmly about the company and the community around it, but did not work in the plantation out of free will. This might related to the above mentioned socio-economic situation of the area. It puts the tea workers in a difficult and somewhat frustrating situation; there is a lack of education, no other job opportunities, and the only work available gives a very small salary. From the beginning of the Darjeeling tea plantation history, starting from the colonial period until the present day, it has been very difficult for Gorkha men to work their way up in the tea plantation. Nepali men were, according to the British, suited for manual work as well as army service, but they could never get a management position within the plantation (Besky 2014). This culture continued even in postcolonial times, and led to a work migration of Nepali men, which is still very common. Many go to the Middle East for work in service sectors (Besky 2007). As to the women, they are left on the tea field, and they do what they must to feed their family.

The most surprising result in the study was the health status of the workers, as well as their health assessment. The vast majority of the 31 interviewed workers were healthy and had not experienced big health issues. They were assessing their health as nothing to worry about. Even the oldest interviewees, who had spent 40-50 years in the tea field did not have any health complains. There was only one case of health issues directly related to the work situation – one worker fell in the tea field and broke an arm. The arm did not heal perfectly and hence easier work is assigned for the worker. Asthma was also mentioned, and can be linked to the work situation. One worker mentioned the introduction of mouth protection inside the factory as a big improvement, which might mean that asthma and breathing problems were a bigger issue before. According to Sen (2009) the workers in the sorting department are exposed to various hazards, including asthma. Moitra et al. (2016) found that nasal allergy was more common

among the factory workers, compared to plantation workers. Khawas (2016) writes that some of the health problems occurring in visited tea plantations in Darjeeling district were liver jaundice, hypertension, mental problems, typhoid, paralysis, heart problems and asthma. I have seen some of these health issues occur in the village while living here, but they were not mentioned during the interviews.

5.3 Method evaluation

The choice to make qualitative interviews was successful, and gave a nuanced answer to the research questions.

It is crucial to consider the cultural differences and the difficulties that might follow with them when choosing interviews as a method of data collection. It is, for instance, common that the body language can differ, not meaning the same in the current culture as it means in the culture known by the interpreter (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). Also, the interpreter is very important in the context. The interpreter must be culturally accepted and of course, competent in the existent languages. It is crucial that the interpreter understands her or his role, and hence is not taking over the role of the interviewer or the interviewee (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). The biggest challenge in the procedure was to carry through the interviews with the help of an interpreter. The most of the interviewees did not feel comfortable enough, and could not express themselves in detail, if English was used. Hence an interpreter helped to translate from English to Nepali and vice versa. Two local men took turns in helping out with the translations. Both of the men were not experienced or trained interpreters, which led to situations where they answered instead of the interviewees and interrupted both me and the interviewee. Sometimes the interpreter had a long discussion with the interviewee in Nepali without translating at all or only giving me an abbreviated version of what was said. This is clearly a prominent bias of the research, since I did not get a full and fair picture of the interviewees' opinion. Kapborg & Berterö (2002) are discussing that there can be a threat to the validity of the research when the researcher, who has, for instance, Swedish as first language, formulates a question in English to the interpreter. In the next step, the interpreter is translating the question to the third language and later translating the answer back to English. As researcher, it is then difficult to know if the interpreter has in one or another way summarized or modified the response. In this case, it was sometimes obvious that the answer was summarized and/or modified.

In some cases, the core of the question was "lost in translation". For instance, as discussed earlier, many people referred only to the practices in Makaibari T.E. when asked about the meaning of organic. One possible reason to this is that the interpreter rephrased the question in a way that was pointing at Makaibari, and not to a broader perspective. Another example where the question might be rephrased when translated, was the question "How come you work at Makaibari T.E.". Here, the question "why" was avoided with purpose since it can be interpreted as questioning the life choices of the interviewee, and thus, she or he might put the guard up (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). During transcription, the answers to this particular question were often noticed to be answered a little bit in defence. The interviewees did not get angry, but rather the opposite – almost as in shame. That is certainly nothing a researcher, considering all the ethical considerations, is striving for. Of course, maybe the outcome would be the same even if the question was formulated exactly as I wanted it, thus it is inappropriate to put the responsibility only on the interpreter.

The above-mentioned problem with misinterpretations because of language barrier might have been avoided if standardized interviews were conducted. In a standardized interview the interviewer asks a series of pre-established questions, not deviating from the script. The interviewees are often only allowed a limited number of response categories (Qu & Dumay 2011). Contrary to the method used in this study, in standardized interviews all the interviewees are asked the same questions in the same order to get brief answers or answers from a list. If standardized interview was used when collecting the data, the influence of the

interpreter might have been minimized and other themes might be perceived. On the other hand, the interviewee would get less space for personal opinions. Moreover, since the researcher is taking a more active role in the question design, there is a possibility that he or she unintentionally or intentionally bias the collected data (Qu & Dumay 2011).

31 workers of approximately 600 were chosen for the interviews. The interviewees were chosen randomly, by convenience selection, and six of seven villages were covered. The age range was wide and both men and women were selected. Some of the interviewees were chosen by the guide/interpreter while some were chosen by me. A bias to consider is if some of the participants were chosen by the guide/interpreter for a certain reason. For instance, there were no cases of severe health issues among the interviewed workers, which can either mean that the workers are relatively healthy, or it can also point to deliberately selected healthy interviewees.

6 Conclusions

Makaibari T.E. is practicing organic farming, and hence no chemical pesticides are affecting the health of the workers of the T.E. The results of this study show that the health as well as the work satisfaction among the workers are satisfactory. Even if the workers do not have broad knowledge about organic farming, they are pleased with Makaibari being an organic T.E. Moreover, there is a gratefulness about the community of the T.E., and the benefits coming from it. To improve the knowledge and awareness about the organic practices of Makaibari as well as other projects within the community, accessible information from the company should be provided on regular basis

Even if Makaibari T.E. is dedicated to organic practices, and is taking care of their employees, there are obstacles and challenges for the people living at the tea plantation. Among these, low wages, low education level and no other job opportunities are the most obvious in this study. These obstacles can lead to a vicious circle, where the low salary puts the families of the tea plantation in a tough economic situation. This is ultimately affecting the next generation negatively. To improve the lives of the workers of Makaibari T.E. the wage should be raised. Moreover, the education level should be raised, in order to empower the people of the plantation.

Even if it was not the emphasis of this study, one cannot disregard the key role played by women on the tea plantation. They are carrying the greatest burden, both in the tea field, and at home. Without them, the tea plantations in the hills of Darjeeling would not exist. The empowerment of women is therefore fundamental.

6.1 Further investigation areas

- Make a more profound comparison between Makaibari T.E. and a conventional tea plantation regarding health issues, work satisfaction and level of organic awareness.
- Investigate if the health in the Makaibari community has improved since the transition to organic, using data from the archive of the local dispensary.
- Investigate the thoughts of the next generation on the tea plantation. What are their dreams, and how many of them can consider staying for work in the tea plantation?
- Research the possibility and possible future outcomes of an increase of the wage of tea plantation workers

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Appendix 1 – Interview guide IDI's

Appendix 1

Opening questions: How long have you lived in this village? How many years have you been in school?

Work experience: How come you work at Makaibari tea estate? How many years have you worked here? How do you like working here? Have you worked somewhere else before? In that case, how come you changed?

Health issues and awareness: What kind of health issues or pain have you experienced related to the work you do? In which ways do you think that your health would differ if you worked somewhere else?

Awareness of organic: What does the word “organic” mean to you? What are your personal thoughts about Makaibari being organic? In which ways do you notice that the tea estate is organic? If it would be possible, what would you think about learning more about the organic practices? What do you know about the other certifications Makaibari possesses – like Fair Trade and Demeter?

Thoughts about the tea estate: What kind of changes have you experienced in the tea estate during the time you worked here? What do you think about the changes? If you could change anything in your work situation, what would that be?

Appendix 2 – Interview information

Appendix 2

My name is Anna Daneberga, and I am a student of Umeå University, Sweden. My field is environmental health. This interview is a part of my bachelor thesis, which will be about workers of Makaibari tea estate.

I am very grateful that you want to participate in this interview. Please be aware that participation is voluntarily. You have the right not to answer any of the questions and you can leave whenever you want during the interview if you feel uncomfortable.

You and other people that you might mention during the interview will stay anonymous and there will be no way to identify you in the results of this research.

The interview will be taped and I will also take notes during the interview.

The thesis will be written in English and published in January 2017. The management of Makaibari tea estate will get access to the thesis. Feel free to address them for a copy or e-mail me to anna.daneberga@gmail.com.

Hereby I agree on the above-mentioned information,

Appendix 3 – Excerpt of transcribed data

Appendix 3

Interview 8 22/9, Thapathali

Anna: All right, ok! Hello! How old are you?

Interviewee 8: 32

A: 32... Ok, how long have you lived here, in this village?

I8: It's the second generation.

A: Ah, ok. How many years have you been working for Makaibari?

I8: Two years.

A: Two years! Ok!

Translator: Because she is young.

A: Yeah, of course... 32. Have you worked somewhere else?

I8: No. I did the job like nursing. In the hospitals, you know. We have to do the training. But now I am settled in Makaibari.

A: ah ok, I understand. So, how do you like working at Makaibari?

I8: I don't like to do this work in Makaibari (laughter).

A: Ok, it's not the favorite one?

I8: Because it is very hard to do this kind of things. That's why.

A: Mhm, what is your things? The assignments... What are you doing?

T: Assignment in the garden? She is the plucker.

A: Tea plucker? That's it? All right! How many years have you been in school?

I8: HS. Higher secondary. 12 plus. It is higher secondary but I cannot anything about English (laughter). That's the problem.

A: (laughs) That's the problem! But you can still learn! It's not too late! Ehm, why do you... why do you work at Makaibari?

I8: Because I don't have anywhere to go, for the work, you know. That's why. I am OK. Makaibari is OK for the... That's why we are here, stay here.

A: That's why you are here. You stay here because there is job here?

I8: Yes

A: Ok. Do you have any health issues or pain, related to work?

I8: No.

A: Ok. In your family? Someone...(Interrupted)

I8: I am feeling... Sometimes fever and asthma. It's like sometimes.

A: Aha ok, sometimes...?

I8: But it's not a big issue.

A: Ok. Do you think if you worked somewhere else, it would affect your health in a different way?

I8: I feel if I go to other... I cannot say like that, you know. Because I stay here, I cannot go anywhere. But I do well. Sometimes the climate will be changed, the weather is difficult. That's why.

A: Ok, I see... Hmm, what does the word "organic" mean to you?

I8: I don't know anything about the organic. (laughs)

A: Ok, easy! And how about... (interrupted)

I8: Nobody told us, like "this is the organic and things" you know.

A: Ah, ok. So, you don't have a, sort of introduction?

I8: No introductions. That's why we don't know about the organic.

A: I understand. And this about...(interrupted)

I8: You know, because we stay in the field, in a part of the Makaibari. Because Makaibari is 650 acres. It is a very big area. I go in the morning at eight o'clock and come four o'clock, from the field. We don't involve in the management, we don't go inside the factory, that things. That's why we don't know about the project of organic and things you know.

A: Yes, of course, of course. This is a different field.

I8: Different field, that's why.

A: That's also my experience from other tea pluckers I have talked to. It's the same.
(interruption)

A: Yes, I wanted to ask about the other things that Makaibari stands for. Like Fair Trade, biodynamics, permaculture... Do you know something about that?

I8: No...

A: No? Ok.
(Interruption)

A: Ok, we were at this question about Fair Trade, biodynamics and permaculture. What was about that?

I8: Ah, I don't know about anything, Fair trade and biodynamic.

A: Ok. Do you have any personal thoughts about Makaibari being organic?

T: The question again, please.

A: If you have any personal thoughts about Makaibari being organic? Now, maybe you don't know so much about organic, but maybe you have thoughts about it anyway.

I8: No, I don't think so.

A: No thoughts? That's also good, that's also great. Ehm, so there are no ways you notice it's organic? Is there something you have thought about "ah, this is organic"?

I8: No.

A: Ah, ok. Eeh, is there anything in your work situation that you would like to change?

T: Yes, she thinks so.

A: Ok. Like, some examples? Is there...

I8: Yes, supervisor.

A: You want to change supervisor?

I8: Yes. (laughs)

A: (laughs) Oh, bad supervisor! Uh-oh!

I8: Because here are some unions. Unions will be there.
(Long discussion between translator and I8)

A: What are you talking about?
(continuous discussion in Nepali)

T: We are talking about her job.

A: Yes, please explain.

T: Yes, because she is feeling not so good, you know. She is quite sick every day and couple of month she will be sick. That's why she wants to do... In this area in Makaibari there is some division, there is some team. Every supervisor has one team. Younger ones, older ones, sick ones. Sick peoples, they have fifteen sick peoples. They... in the fields, is easy work. Not so hard. That's why she is talking about, like, she wants to do in sick field. But the management, but the supervisor, they don't allow: "You can go there and there, very far from here". It's very... That's why I'm telling her: "You can go directly to the management, and talk to them. Otherwise they don't know anything. You can give the papers of hospital". She has the hospital documents, everything. "You can give them and you can just do... things". But the management told: "I have a lot of documents in here, I could not do like this kind of things". That's why I told her: "You can go for the trade. Trade union. There is also a union. Trade union you know. "You can go by there. And with the trade unions... They talk about you, to the management, you know.". Here is something difficult, management do something, and think something. It's very difficult for the workers.

A: There are many workers...

T: Yes, Makaibari 450 or 500 workers, only here. That's why she is not feeling so good.

A: Ah, I understand. So, you want a change, but you can't right now?

I8: yes. I want to do not so hard work. Because 8 hours... In the morning, we start at 8 o'clock, finish 4 o'clock. It is very hard to survive. But if I go for the sick peoples, they leave at 12, after lunch. That's the good...

A: What's the... What kind of sickness is it? Is this the fever and asthma?

T: Yes. Fever, asthma, some broke the legs and things you know. Back pains... It's different kind of sickness will be there. Not so serious, but if they not do the medicines, that's the serious. Here also, the medicines, they don't give the medicines – the company.

A: You need to pay for them?

T: Yes. Then go to private hospitals and things like that.

A: Hmm, I see. Ok, eh, I don't have any more questions. Yes, that's it! (Laughter) Thank you!

Interview 16 10/10, Makaibari

Anna: So, how old are you?

Interviewee 16: 51

A: Have you always lived in Makaibari?

I16: Yes, I'm the third generation. My father and mother are here. 95 years old (laughter)

A: How many years have you been working at Makaibari?

I16: 25 years.

A: Wow, that's a lot. Have you worked somewhere else before that?

I16: I worked over here before, like 8 to 10 years. Then I left my job, and I went to Hyderabad. I worked in the hotel industry, two or three years. And then I came back and just did the same work. Just a couple of years. Just to run away from here, change the environment.

A: Are you still working now or are you retired?

I16: Yes, I'm still working. I'm the supervisor.

A: What do you think about the job?

I16: I like it...

A: Ok. Have you been in school? And in that case, how many years?

I16: 7 years.

A: Actually, the hotel industry in Hyderabad... Why did you change back?

I16: Here is a very little amount for the workers. But I know about the.... Because there is a lot of pollution. That's why... Here is organic, pure organic, and the environment is good. Because health is wealth. That's why I came back. I want to live long. If I live in Hyderabad, I die after 50. It's the environment, pollution. I retired and came back here to work.

A: So here is less money but better health?

I16: Yes.

A: And what you do at Makaibari is being supervisor?

I16: Yes, it means that I'm a supervisor. I walk around the fields with the team. I know everything about the tea, I divide the roles. "This part is plucking, tomorrow we have to go there, the day after we have to go there, we have to cut the weeds...". We can do the mulching, the compost... I will decide for the team.

A: Because you know how everything works?

I16: Yes, that's why I do this.

A: What did you start with? Because I suppose that you didn't start as a supervisor? Did you start with the plucking or...?

I16: My work here before was to make the holes in the roof, make the holes of the road, on the field. Then I asked for promotion and became a supervisor.

A: Why do you work at Makaibari?

I16: I had a lot of money in Hyderabad, but little bit... I missed my family. Then I enjoy the environment, I enjoy the atmosphere. That's why I came back and wanted to be here.

A: Oh, ok... Have you experienced any health issues or pain in your body related to your work?

I16: There are some diseases. Some insects, some birds are here. Something is poisonous. You need to be aware. But it's... when I work... I am just aware of the snakes and birds, then everything is OK over here. Otherwise, the organic tea gardens, they don't use the pesticides. Lots of things will be here...

A: So, there are a lot of insects and snakes because of that?

I16: Yes, that's the problem.

A: Yeah, I see. Of course, because you work in nature...
(laughter)

I16: Yes, we need to be aware.

A: Yes... Did you experience any other health issues when you were working in Hyderabad?

I16: I was suffering from the typhoid. The fever. The fight of mosquito, I suffered from typhoid - I lost my hair.

A: Oh, because of that... Because the mosquitos, they are more poisonous down there?

I16: Yes, a lot more. Here are organic mosquitos (laughter).

A: Yes! I have got many bites, but nothing...

I16: Yes, but there is... If one bites, it's very dangerous.

A: Ok... So, the word "organic", what does it mean to you?

I16: Organic means... We use cow dung... We have lots of trees in our 650 acres. Lots of trees will be there. Lemongrass, gotemala, we put all together... Kotaria...cow dung and cow horns will be there. Lots of compost. Five or six months it will be there, jus compost in a particular place. In the November, December, January, February there is no plucking. We prune the bush, cut the bush. We prune the bush and we put on the soils. It's fixing the nitrogen. The nitrogen is released and is very good for the... After four months, we get the new leaves. It's very good aroma, flavor. That's the first flush. That's the compost, who is doing the character. My team is making the compost.

A: Ah, ok so they also do that? Ok. And Fair Trade, do you know something about that?

I16: No, nothing. Because I work on the field. The Fair Trade is in the factory. There is a lot of management, lots of people – 14 or 15 people. They manage the Fair Trade and everything – where the money will go. Because we are going to field in the morning at 8 o'clock. We go far from here. We don't know anything about the Fair Trade. Fair Trade is only happening inside the factory. We are only the workers.

A: Ah, I see.

Translator: There are 14 or 15 members. Joint Body. They know everything about the Fair Trade. They have some meetings; "This money will go here; this money goes over there". They have some meetings, and after the meetings, they just put notice over there. They inform everybody. But the member of the Fair Trade, they don't talk anything about that. How they use the money and everything.

I16: But sometimes they divide some tiffins. Tiffins for the lunch – hard case. They arrange Independence Day, 15th august. There are some Buddhist students, they give money. 2000 rupees or something, from the Fair Trade. Some people make their toilets, bathrooms. The loan can go to the health.

A: So, in that way you know about it?

I16: 10 000 rupees for the health issues.

A: That's a good thing.

I16: Yes, that's from the Fair Trade. I have heard about that.

A: Would you like to know more about it? Do you feel that you know... (interruption) Ehm, do you feel that you would like to know more about it? Like more information...

I16: No, because we are not in the factory, I don't want to go inside.

A: You are satisfied with the situation?

I16: Yes, yes.

A: Ok, but then again about the organic... What do you think... Your personal thoughts about Makaibari being organic?

I16: It was different before. Before, there was lots of tea. Now is organic. We need quality – aroma and flavor is ok. But the quality and quantity is less. Quality is high but quantity is less.

A: Not so much tea...?

I16: Not so much tea. Lots of insects will be there, they come to eat the tea. We don't use any pesticides. If we would use the pesticides, the insects will be gone. Tea will go up. But the tea will not be so good quality. But the organic is little bit, but quality good. That's the difference.

A: And you think it's good or bad?

I16: It's good. Cheaper. It's good. A little bit is higher...price. You can produce only 1 kg for 1400 euros. Makaibari is the high quality. You can produce only one kilogram, you can have 1400 euros. That's good for us. Other company, they don't have 1400 euros. 1 lakh, 30 000

per kilogram. It's the high-quality tea. Other tea companies, they don't do like that. It's the good one.

A: I see. Ok. Are there more ways in which you notice that Makaibari is organic?

I16: Other tea companies... The Makaibari is the best choice. Castleton (neighbor tea garden) are not organic. They have 450 tea gardens, they are a chain. They use a lot of pesticides. They don't cut the weeds. They spray – they spray very fast. Two people, they spray in a big area. But I have 20 people, they work. They just cut. We take a longer way, but the weed goes for the compost. Castleton, they spray. After two minutes, the weeds are dead. It's totally yellow. That's the problem. But here is ok.

A: Ok, I see. Since you have been working here for a long time, do you remember how it was before? And the changes?

I16: It's a big difference. It was not like now. Before Rajah Banerjee, there was not like this kind of facilities... But now we have some facilities. We made some new home. Medical facilities. That wasn't here before. Fair Trade... Joint Body... These were not before. When Rajah Banerjee started, the Joint Body, Fair Trade – everything came. Just because of Rajah Banerjee.

A: Do you think it's a positive change?

I16: Yes, positive change.

A: I see. Ok, last question. Is there anything you would like to change in your work situation today?

I16: We need a society change. The main thing – the workers and everybody look like a family. The society is... like a good society is... the family is good. We need to change the society. The thing about a bad person - no alcohols, no rice wine, no rice beer. That's the change.

A: Ok, I understand. Nice, thank you very much!

Interview 22 3/11, Phulbari

A: How old are you?

I22: 55 years old!

A: Have you been living in Phulbari all your life?

I22: Yes, born and brought up here. My family is over here, third and fourth generation. My mother also worked in the field. Then she died on the field. In this tea garden, in this village. I am the third generation.

A: Wow, ok. And you work at Makaibari as well...

I22: Yes, I still work in the Makaibari. After two or three years I will also retire. I started to work in the field when I was 18 years old. More than 30 years I have worked.

A: 37 years... Oh no, no, no, maybe 35 years... However, long time! And you are working with tea plucking or something else?

I22: Yes, tea plucking! Here is some work, some team, which has not so good health. So, the company gave me a work which is a little bit easier.

A: Ah ok, because you have had health issues?

I22: Yes, yes. Some... My hand was broken. When I walked in the field, my hand broke. That's why I can't do anything, it's painful. That's why I worked in the... When I am plucking the tea, it's not good. It's very painful, that's why I can't do that.

A: So you do easier work, but also in field?

I22: In the field, yes.

A: Ok, for instance, what is easier?

I22: Easier is... There is one team, one supervisor, he has 10 or 15 people who are not so fit. Some sick people, some pregnant ladies... These ladies will be there, in this team. They do the easy work. They don't work so long, they don't do the 8 hours.

A: Ah ok... When did you break your arm?

I22: 7 or 8 years ago. Now it's not working so good. (showing the arm)

A: I see... Yes, that's a problem. How did you break it?

I22: When I fell in the field. Slipped. Now I bring water to the others.

A: Ok.. So now you work with bringing water...

I22: Yes, tea and water and all that.

A: Ok, yes that's also very important job. How do you like working?

I22: What to do... I don't like to do this kind of job. But what to do... There's nothing else to do anywhere, that's why I survive this. I make the rice wine, go to the tea garden... I work, I get some money.

A: Ah ok, So, it's mainly for the money in that case? You are not enjoying it so much?

I22: Ha-ha, yes. Only survival for the future.

A: Before you started to work, did you go to school?

I22: I couldn't go to school. I didn't. Directly I came to the tea garden. Because in that time, it was very hard to get service to this village. In this whole area, there are no educated people. The money is very little. My mother and father didn't...

A: Ah ok. So no school for you and for your siblings?

I22: No...

A: Aha... Ehm, and the reason why you work at Makaibari, as you told me, is mainly because you need to get money?

I22: Yes... That's right.

A: Except from this broken arm, which of course is a big health issue, do you have other issues or pain in your body?

I22: Gastric... Stomach problems.

A: I see, I see. You get medicine for that?

I22: I take the hospital... The government medicines.

A: Ah ok... Do you know why you have this health issue?

I22: There is some doctor from out of country... He stayed here for one or two days. They made a health center camp. Free camp. I also went to the camp, and the doctor took the muscles. There are some kind of oils... It was good for me. The doctor told me that I shouldn't do the very hard work. Take the big heavy weights in my hands... That's why I went to the manager and told him... And now I do this kind of job.

A: I see. That's good. Did you feel that it was easy to switch jobs? The management allowed you to switch?

I22: I carried the water with baskets. It works good.

A: The word "organic" ... This is an organic tea plantation... What does the word "organic" mean to you?

I22: No, I don't know.

A: Do you know something about Fair Trade?

I22: No...

A: Ok. So, since Makaibari is organic, do you have any personal thoughts about it?

I22: No.

A: Ok. You have been working here for quite a long...

I22: I saw in the fields, the cow dung, the compost, they put it inside the bush. I have seen it in the field, but I don't know about the... That this is organic things... They cut the grass and everything. They mix with the cow dung. They compost one year, they put inside the bush. We know... But we don't know about the organic. Because, the Makaibari tea estate is doing these things for the organic, but we don't know about that. We just saw it in the field.

A: Would you like to have more information about it, or it's not interesting?

I22: No.

A: Ah, ok. Have you noticed any changes...?

I22: Every year I saw the making of compost, but I don't know about how they make it organic.

A: Ok. Now you just see it in the field, and you don't know so much about it?

I22: (nodding)

A: Ah, I understand. Have you noticed any changes in the tea estate, during the years you have worked here?

I22: Before, there was lots of tea. But now is very much less. Tea is very much less. Because now, the organic, it makes the quality. Before that – they were not organic, they took all the things and put inside the basket. Now is less. Quantity is less.

A: Ah, I see. That's the biggest difference?

I22: Yes, that's the difference.

A: Any other differences?

I22: No... Now, after one or two years I will retire. I will leave everything.

A: Ah, you don't need to care anymore... Are you happy for the retirement?

I22: If I am retired, I am happy. (laughs)

A: So, these last years, you have left before retirement, is there anything you would like to change? Even if it's not possible?

I22: No. Before, we had a cow, we sold the milk...

A: You would like to have that again?

I22: Yes...

A: I see, ok. So that's one thing. Ok, I don't have any more questions! Thank you very much!



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