CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

The history of human civilization today is witnessing something momentous and unprecedented as the world's urban population has exceeded the world's rural population for the first time. In the background of this; the talk of disappearing villages and vanishing country sides in India lately by the sociologists and economists alike has generated a great deal of debate and of course concerns. Indeed this concern is more in terms of the dwindling viability of agriculture and hence the threat to the very existence of the villages, rather than in terms of its landscape transformation towards urban setting given its slow urbanization in comparison to global standards. This disillusionment is reflected in the trends of migration towards cities and the burgeoning of slum areas around metros. According to the 2001 census data, four percent of India's population, 22 percent of the population of the towns/cities (population more than 50,000), 32 percent of Maharashtra's population and 49 percent of Mumbai's population (other metro figures are only slightly less) live in slums. Besides, as projections suggest around 2025, 40 percent of India's population will be urban, with 75 percent urban in Tamil Nadu, 60 percent in Maharashtra and more than 50 percent in Gujarat and Punjab. Tami Nadu as of now has crossed the 50 percent mark. In 2025 Karnataka and Haryana will also be largely urban and Uttarakhand will be more than Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal or Kerala (Debroy: 2006).
There is no doubt that over the years the importance of rural sector has been on the decline. Agriculture, for instance, accounted for 59 percent of the GDP shortly after independence, as against 13 percent and 28 percent in the case of industry and services respectively. But today agriculture accounts for merely 24 percent of GDP, while the other two make up 25 percent and 51 percent respectively. And interestingly and crucially if we look at the figures related to dependence of workforce in various sectors, we realize the situation has hardly changed. For instance the proportion of the workforce just after independence in three sectors namely agriculture, industry and services were 74: 11: 15 respectively which have moved to 57: 18: 25 now. Clearly there has not been corresponding shift of manpower dependence on agriculture (Shariff and Pany 2005).

In a country where roughly around 70 percent of its more than one billion population live in villages this disenchantment with the ‘rural’ is a matter of grave concern. More than the pull of the cities (which of course is a significant factor) it is the ‘push factors’ in rural areas such as dismal infrastructural development including health and educational amenities (the number of hospitals, for instance in urban India is double than that of rural India though about 70 percent of population live in villages and over 75 percent urban households are electrified as against only 30 percent for rural India), fragmentation of land (roughly 85 percent of landholdings are below 5 acres and about 63 percent are below even 3 acres), lack of technological upgradation in farming, absence of any agricultural extension services and
marketing networks, poor land reforms measures making a vast number of actual tillers completely landless and asset less and of course some serious misgivings and under estimation of the productive ability and economic reasoning of the people living in villages by the agents of interventions, which need to be interrogated and re examined with a fresh perspective informed by grass root experiences.

Furthermore, the relative productive ratios of 1.3: 4: 4.2 per units of labor in agriculture, industry and services respectively explains as to why the growth in the agriculture has been stunted and on decline. In the absence of any support system in terms of technical know-how, right information about the seeds and farming techniques, network of rural credit and crop insurance mechanism and agencies etc the farming as a profession is fast becoming the last choice. As one study conducted by the Gokhale institute of Politics and Economics (GIPE), Pune in collaboration with the Centre for Rural Development, Karaikudi (Tamil Nadu) based on the analysis of agriculture ministry’s Situational Assessment survey concluded that farmers were in severe distress and the given a choice, 40 percent of farmers would want to quit agriculture and to take up other career (The seeds of farmer suicides, The Times of India, April 14, 2006). Also the trends in the Rural Non-Farm Employment (RNFE) point towards the withering of the rural ethos and the marginalization of village and agriculture. Till 1983 there were twelve states where the RNFE was below 20 percent. These states included Punjab, Maharashtra, and Gujarat. This left only five states where the RNFE was more than 20 percent. In 1999-2000, roughly twenty years later the situation
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has changed dramatically. Now twelve states have RNFE figures above 20 percent and only five are below 20 percent (see Gupta 2007: 217-218). Also if one takes into account the number of male workers engaged in agriculture one again finds a significant decline in numbers from 77.5 percent in 1983 to 71.4 percent in 1999-2000. In other words about 30 percent of male workers in rural India are not working on the primary sector any more (Chadha 2003: 55; Simmons and Supri 1995: 136).

Of late a number of strategies have been put forth by the experts and the policy makers to revive Indian agriculture and to arrest the decline and vanishing trends of villages in India. Diversification of crops with special emphasis on horticulture, floriculture, and the cultivation of aromatic and medicinal plants etc have been strongly recommended to generate income as well as rural employment. In all this other than the burgeoning domestic consumer market the possibility of export is being also seen as major niche. Lately the growth in floriculture segment in India despite its almost negligible contribution in the world trade in the flower market highlights the possibilities in this direction. There are however others who do not quite approve of this route of rural regeneration by mainly citing the reasons such as infrastructural unprepared ness and the lack of economic wherewithal etc. The instances of farmers' suicides as reported from Andhra Pradesh, Punjab and Maharashtra are cited as dangers of treading in the cash-crop direction. It is another matter that some studies on these suicides have a different view point. While crop failure is indeed an issue, studies by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economoics (GIPE) have shown that this factor has been acting only as a
“trigger” for a complex range of socio-economic factors that lead to suicides. The analysis by the Agro Economic Research Centre under GIPE revealed that although the devastating impact of crop failure was felt by the entire farming community, those who committed suicide were drawn to do so by the additional burden of hostile sociological factors. For example, analysis of 30 farmer suicide cases revealed that among small farmers while 36.37 percent committed suicide due to loss of agricultural income and indebtedness, in the case of medium farmers this factor amounted to 25 percent of suicides and in the case of large farmers, barely 14.29 percent. On the other hand, 54 percent of large farmers in Vidhrbha committed suicide because of family problems, old age and illness while another 14.29 percent committed suicide due to drinking and gambling habits (Mohanty 2005: 243-276). Also even in the case of small farmers the reasons are primarily lack of infrastructure and complete dependence on unscrupulous local money lenders that drives the farmers to the debt trap. Agribusiness, per say, has not been found to be singularly responsible for suicides. In fact, on the contrary a recent study by Sucharita Sen and Saraswati Raju of floriculturists in Uttar Pradesh finds such ventures economically profitable in terms of net returns when compared to other conventional crops like wheat and sugarcane, for even the small and middle farmers. That there is a lesser degree of persistence of this segment with such crop and the tendency of risk aversion is very high, as the study suggests, is a different issue altogether (The Economic and Political Weekly Vol. XLI No. 26, June-July 2006).
The present study, as discussed earlier, of a few agripreneur families growing flowers in four villages of the terai region of the state of Uttaranchal throws considerable light on the complex dynamics of socio-cultural factors playing a critical role in shaping the destiny of agriculture and its decision making processes. In a milieu where diseconomies of the system largely owing to the dismal external inputs (in terms of technology, capital and infrastructural bottlenecks) when combines with a specific socio-cultural environment which is characterized by inter community hostility and traditional values, it creates a rather uncertain agronomic environment.

Some of the significant findings and observations of the study can be put forth as follows:

1. Culture of agriculture determines the course of agribusiness: it has been found that the tendency to adopt new technology and new crop such as floriculture is high amongst the settlers from Punjab origin in comparison to the people from the hills. This indifference to floriculture among the pahari community can be easily attributed to the marginal significance of agriculture as an economic activity in the tradition bound hill community. As one old lady from hills aptly summarized the peripheral location of agriculture in their cognitive universe when she said: "In the hills the whole day you work on your field and in the evening when you look back you find you have hardly moved". The minimalist, subsistence variety of agriculture that the people of hills have known or exposed to for so long seems to work as one of the demotivating factors. This is of course determined by...
the adverse landscaping of arable lands in the hills. In contrast the settlers from Punjab and western U.P. are more inclined to take risk for the betterment of their lives. As it was evident when some of the respondents clearly attributed their success in agribusiness to their past which was always fraught with odds and challenges and as refugees they have been conditioned to convert a crisis in to an opportunity. Moreover these people inherited a culture of agriculture as majority of them got uprooted from the land, namely undivided Punjab, which was known for its agriculture. Also as one respondent explained that their past of refugee life made them perennially insecure and hence the making up of a collective psyche which is insatiably pre-disposed for growth and economic security. It is therefore safe to argue that once an agriculturist, always an agriculturist; at least the community shows positive signs and responses to the idea of agribusiness as a productive economic exercise. It would also be worthwhile to mention here that among the Punjabis in general and the Sikh farmers in particular agriculture is not looked down upon as much as it is among the paharis. The disenchantment from agriculture is all pervasive but the moment there is any prospect and chance of profit making a Sikh farmer would lap up the opportunity, as we observed in case of Jitender Kler’s case from Bari farm. One can say agriculture is in their genes the configuration of which is being altered by the extraneous factors primarily related to deficit infrastructure and general neglect of rural life etc., which is driving people to cities and look for opportunities beyond the village boundary.

It is however important to mention that the culture of agriculture or tradition of
agriculture is not a static domain rather it is always in the process of becoming. Favorable state intervention and educative agriculture extension services networks can make a difference. In other words, the high success rate and adoption of agribusiness practices among the Panjabi settlers is indicative of the fact that the history of culture of agriculture and its primacy in their world view definitely give them an edge over others when it comes to making a decision about whether to grow gladioli or not. This is amply reflected in the way even some of the marginal farmers, all from Punjab, in Dinanagar and at other places have adopted floriculture and have persisted with it successfully.

On the other hand a typical pahari attitude would be to discount the idea on its very mention. Paharis would prefer sending their sons to army and other government jobs, for these jobs offer a sense of security and predictability in terms of income flow. Early anthropologist like Berreman and more recent works of the historian Ramachandra Guha in the Uttarakhand hills underlines the limitedness of agriculture as the domain of economic enterprise. The kind of organic and symbiotic relationship that the people of the hills share with its natural setting does not quite induce or encourage the element of what is referred to as 'exploitation of resources' in the development discourse for better life. Guha especially stresses upon this aspect of hill life in his book 'Unquiet woods' as he argues that the strong collective spirit that the hill people exhibit emanates from their understanding about their natural environment. For the hill people, for instance, land and forest is more of an item of reverence rather than a factor of production.
2. Contrary to the general understanding that the level of education leads to higher entrepreneurial drive, what we find in case of agriculture is that there is no such convincing correlation. Rather sometimes it hinders or demotivates the farmer, as for instance in the case of a farmer of Bari who had a post graduate degree and hence he thought it to be a demotion to work on the field round the clock like his neighbor who was growing gladioli. While it is also true that some amount of education does help in understanding the market etc. when it comes to growing cash crop such as gladioli, as in case of Resham singh (a matriculate) and Singhara singh (10th fail) of Dina nagar. However there are cases like Sudhir Chaddha, for instance whose education helped him in his endeavors but again there can be no such direct correlation between his education and his agripreneurial success. A certain degree of education though definitely works as enabler. In the context of this study it appears that higher formal degree has no clear correspondence with the higher level of entrepreneurship when it comes to adoption of new ideas in agriculture. That is, a high land owning individual farmer with a very high educational profile may or may not be interested in floriculture while a small farmer with a modest educational background may be very keen on an agribusiness option. What is however required is relevant information available to ordinary farmers. Given the fact that agriculture is considered a backward option, having a high formal degree actually can have a negative impact on the individuals as he would find it a misfit to think of a career option in agriculture. Even in cases such as with Sudhir Chaddha of Socio-Cultural Dimensions of Agribusiness Practices in Selected Villages of the Terai Region of Uttarakhand
Chakaluwa and Vijay and Ajay singh of Kundeswari their education degrees have little to do with their success. Interestingly a study document prepared by the National Knowledge Commission team on entrepreneurship also highlights this point where it was found that 'only 16 percent of the overall sample said that they consider their education relevant for their particular entrepreneurial venture' (see page 54 of the document, Entrepreneurship in India 2008, a study by National knowledge commission, GOI).

3. In the dominant discourse the reasons behind aversion or indifference towards innovation or agribusiness are attributed primarily to lack of capital and technical wherewithal and not much attention is given to the socio-cultural factors and its resultant dynamics which affect the choice making process at the ground level. As we have seen in these four villages a host of factors comprised of the local politics, inter-ethnic/community rivalry, the gossip circle of the village, the fragmented world of the village with little trust towards each other, the ritual and religious understanding about the seed, land etc., decide the course and the intensity of agri-business currents. The intriguing level of indifference that exists among the paharis around the successful floriculturist farm defies any rational-economic explanation. The notion of deviance that is associated with crops such as floriculture is again sociologically very important. Majority of the farmers simply refuse to tread the path owing to hosts of factors, namely the fear of failure, loss of social honor, by the demanding nature of the crop etc. The contrast is most visible in the village of Chakaluwa where the paharis
would respond with so much contempt about the success of Chaddha farm. They would find it derogatory for the women of the Chaddha family to work on their farm despite being so rich. Hence in Chakaluwa, as elsewhere, the normative understanding about agriculture is quite in contrast among the paharis and the Panjabi farmers. For a typical pahari family it is much more sensible and rational to lease out their land and enjoy the fixed returns from the land. For the paharis the best source of social capital is to join the forces in Indian army befitting to their long history and tradition with the army. Hence the hierarchy of professions among the paharis and the Panjabi farmers would differ substantially.

Similarly in these villages floriculturists would try and undermine their success in the farms as they do not want competition from within the village. So it is not conspicuous consumption rather conspicuous under consumption that underlines these farm families. The neighbors and those in gladioli cultivation in other villages would allege each other for giving wrong information and spurious seeds. In the absence of any authentic source these stories about spurious seeds and information become very critical. Interestingly on the other hand, the stories of failure of a farmer's crop would travel far and wide in no time. The world of convention and tradition weighs heavily on the choice making, that is, whether to grow gladioli or not, for example. And the fear of loss of honor in case of failure is as much significant, or perhaps even more, as the fear of loss of capital. The constraints such as not being able to visit their distant relatives or pilgrimage etc., associated with floriculture also emerge as factors influencing the decision making.
4. It is a case of broad generalization to argue that Indian farmers or Indians are guided by value orientation rather than purely utilitarian economic rationality. This perhaps emanates from the much articulated dichotomy of the ‘spiritual East’ and the ‘materialist West’ (Abbe Dubois 1906, Max Weber 1958, K. William Kapp 1963 etc.). Indeed, as Weber and others argued, there is some validity in the negative correlation between the religious tradition such as Hinduism and economic pursuits and orientations, yet it would be wrong to ignore the fact that the pursuit of wealth and material power represents a distinct motif within the Hindu tradition, exemplified by the worship of Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, and the existence of artha (wealth) as one of the four roads of salvation. Material pursuits therefore have not been entirely non-existent in Indian psyche, as Milton Singer (1956) and others like economic historian M.D.Morris (1967) argued. In fact Morris argued that “there is no precise definition of a ‘Hindu value system’ that can be identified as a significant obstacle to economic growth or change”. However a more balanced view would be to have a context-sensitive understanding of the relationship between various religious traditions and the spirit of economic growth. For instance in the present study the Hindu farmers in comparison to the Sikh farmers would largely be not very keen on the idea of prosperity through agribusiness. In some villages most of the small tea and kirana shops would be run by the Hindus. During my study in the terai I did not even once come across any Sikh running a petty tea shop. In the urban areas they may be in all sorts of business but in the villages they were mostly in
to agriculture. This perhaps can be attributed to the fact that unlike Hinduism, Sikhism has less other-worldly orientation and Gurus emphasized household responsibilities more than the notion of renunciation. Many legends about Guru Nanak, the first Guru of the Sikhs, highlight the sacredness of agriculture in human life. The in-worldly orientation of the Sikhism can be seen as one of the factors behind higher degree of agripreneurship among the Panjabi settlers in general and the Sikhs in particular. Even within the Hinduism different denominations such as Arya samajis, the Jains and the banias show varying and differing degrees of economic orientations. Also it is important to mention that culture of agriculture is not a constant or a fixed resource. It keeps changing, albeit slowly, but altering and undergoing modifications all the time. Paharis may be showing very little or less agripreneurship but years of interaction with the panjabi counterparts and the latter's enterprising attitude may rub off on the former and usher in a change in their attitude. Culture of agriculture is therefore associated with the phenomenon of social inheritance which is independent of ethnic moorings of the group or the community. Yet long association with a particular kind of calling or vocation creates its own culture which then gets intertwined with the identity of a particular group. There are, for example, instances in history where marwaris were given land by the Britishers in certain transactions but soon they found it difficult to handle and they immediately disposed them off. Similarly it has been found in a study which made a comparative analysis of the Punjabi and Bengali refugees in this region that the Punjabi
and the Bengali both got money and land from the government but while the Punjabi prospered the Bengalis missed their roots and could not really make their presence felt in the region (see Awasthi 1989).

5. Contrary to the stereotypes about women as change-resistant, tradition bound and conservative, it has been found that the women are generally more entrepreneurial and show risk taking streaks in the families of both the adopters and the non-adopters. In all the four villages it came across most strongly, that women of the family of the floriculturists, across the board, were more encouraging and supportive of the idea of new crops. While the older women will not just help in supervising the activities at the farm and looking after and interacting with the female employees who are incidentally in majority on these floriculture farms, the younger ones help in taking care of the household and the children so that menfolk are totally focused on the farm activities. Meenu chaddha of chakaluwa, the mother of Jitender kler and Vijay singh in Bari and Kundeswari respectively, wife of Resham singh and Singhara singh – all have been the backbones of their farms. In fact even among the non-adopters the women showed inclination towards the crop, though they could not act on it because of the lack of voice in household decision making. In Dina Nagar, the women of the families around Resham singh (floriculturist) would verbalize their helplessness in not being able to convince their husbands enough. In many cases, such as in Singhara singh of Dinanagar, his wife was instrumental in motivating her husband to try gladioli and now she and her daughters are the ones who take care of the gladioli on their small piece of land. Women can be in the forefront of this type of agribusiness activities.
Small help groups of women with sufficient market network mechanism and other infrastructure can be seen as a huge possibility. The description of conventional crops like rice and wheat as ‘mardon ki kheti’ or Masculine crop by a woman laborer in Bari is so very appropriately articulated to reflect the changing equations of women vis-a-vis their ecological setting in a village.

6. The overall trend seems to be that the middle level land holding farmers are more inclined towards adoption of new technology or new crop. The large land landholding farmers wait and watch. They will not look very willing to try new things, especially crops such as floriculture which would mean round the clock surveillance and personal involvement. Most positive response one gets from the lower middle peasantry who would be eager to sweat it out with the new experiments in quest of better returns. To this extent it conforms to the Cancian model, as discussed in the second chapter. This is however explained primarily by a set of socio-cultural factors. In India the hierarchy in the villages gets reflected through an individual’s distance from the field. Higher the caste and higher the status longer the distance from the field- this has been the norm in Indian villages. Hence large land holdings give rise to complacency in the minds of the farmers and they are not so enthusiastic about trying new things, especially crops such as floriculture which is highly demanding and requires personal involvement and not just supervision. Lower middle and small farmers tend to be in the look for lucrative options more than the others. This drive or trigger may be both desperate as well as planned.

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fact Sudhir chaddha rejected the argument put forth by his pahari neighbors that the fragmentation of land is the reason behind their lack of interest in it. Sudhir in fact believed that it is not the amount of land but the use of the land which is critical for Indian agriculture. He cited the example of many European countries who do not have much land but they way they use it is what give them an edge in the world market. He in fact cites his own example that he has been successful not because of the amount of land he possessed but the way he used them. His new projects in the surrounding areas and even in chakaluwa have a substantial leased in land. Similarly in Dina nagar we find the choice making by the small land holding farmers and the use of the land that becomes major incentive for agribusiness like floriculture. In Kundeswari as well as in Bari similar trend can be observed. This tendency towards profit maximization through most efficient use of technology, labor and innovative methods among the smaller farmers has been recognized in some studies. Rehman Sobhan, for instance, observed:

...at least in monsoon Asia there is ample evidence to establish the relative efficiency of small farmers' use of the new technologies compared to large farmers. Fragmentary evidence for Latin America suggests that small holders are not noticeably less efficient than rich farmers in using new technologies. Where the technology is divisible and/or supported by institutional intervention in both technology diffusion manipulation of the market regime in favor of small
farmers, there is nothing to suggest that large farmers are inherently more efficient adapters than small farmers. In the case of most crops, appropriate technology is not particularly associated with large farms (Sobhan 1993: 123).

Sobhan in fact further states that ‘there is a considerable literature on the market responsiveness of small peasants in the third world and evidence that failure to respond to market signals may be due to supply side constraints such as lack of access to capital and technology’ (ibid., 116). Similarly where land is used for arable farming, however, it is more intensively used on smallholdings where the record of multiple cropping is much better than that for larger units also engaged in arable farming. More evident is the fact that factor productivity on small farms also tends to be more efficient (Berry and Cline, 1979). In fact Berry and Cline's conclusion that a redistribution of land from large to smaller holdings will be conducive to the expansion of productive forces deserve attention.

7. The level of indifference shown by the non-adopters to these floriculture farms which are pockets of prosperity within the village topography emanates from a mixture of ethnic, social and political reasons. More often than not, the farm houses are victims of social envy and their success is not just undervalued and undermined but also attempts are made to sabotage the process and indulge in vilification campaign, as exhibited by the neighbors of Chaddhas in Chakaluwa. Migrant workers who are given shelter and patronage by the farm owners are generally made soft targets.
by the disgruntled groups under one or the other pretext. Migrant workers are indispensable for these floriculturists as they need trained, settled and stable flow of labor for various technical and non-technical jobs on the farm. This is portrayed by the opposition group as neglect of local manpower by the farm owners and as evidence to indicate the latter’s apathy to local development. Similarly the inabilities of the farm owners to devote much time for local social engagements are also cited as signs of their snobbish attitude. All this as we have seen in Chakaluwa, for instance, results in to a vicious cycle where the pocket of prosperity is seen in perpetual conflict with the vast zone of indifference inhabited by the non-adopters.

8. Mass media such as television and newspapers may have brought the information revolution to the villages but they have also weakened the already fragile network of relationship and trust among the villagers. Television, in particular, has affected the leisure activity of the villagers in a big way. While Chaddhas use internet to connect to their clients, barely at some distance his pahari neighbor enjoy various tele-serials in the afternoon. In Bari, however, the newspapers and televisions have impacted in creating awareness among the dalits about their rights and also hype about the possibilities in city life among the youths of the village in particular. At the same time, these channels have also helped in making the farmers aware of the market trends and new opportunities in agriculture. Most of the newspapers carry weekly pages on agriculture which are of great use for the enterprising farmers. Floriculturists in terai
region showed pride in being reported in the newspapers. They would keep these press clippings, sometimes with their photographs, glass framed and will put it on the wall for the visitors.

9. The social configuration of the population in the village seems to be a significant factor. That is whether the village is homogeneous or heterogeneous in terms of its composition is also very important in the way a particular crop is going to be accepted and be successful. For instance for a successful sunflower cultivation it works better if a group of farmers grow it, rather than a few individuals. Also, if the members are from the same community it would be better, as informed by one farmer in Bari.

The reason being sunflower cultivation requires a degree of cooperation among the neighboring farmers, especially when it comes to ward off the birds who are the enemy no. 1 of the flowers. By inference, it makes a difference to have some degree of cooperation among the farmers for a successful agribusiness activity. Agribusiness therefore presupposes at least some degree of peaceful, harmonious and conflict-free social environment. This applies to the floriculture as well, as the farmers, especially the smaller ones, who are growing gladioli; felt that it would make their life much comfortable to work in a group or in a co-operative. This they feel would help in sharing the insecurity and risk involved with the flower cultivation. Also more people as floriculturists would mean diverting the sole attention of the villagers and the outsiders on an individual and it would not be seen as an act of madness or deviance.

Besides working in a group helps in having a more pronounced division of
labor where some can execute the marketing part like taking the flowers to the mandis etc. while others could take care of the flower on the field while still others could visit the pilgrimage or attend the social functions like marriages etc. The responsibility is shared amongst the farmers as in case of Resham Singh and Singhara Singh of Dina Nagar. After Singhara joined Resham Singh life was better for the latter's family as it provided them with some time to breathe and relax. Earlier it was not possible and in fact it was actually demotivating Resham to look for some other option. Now when he is not well or goes to attend some ritual or function to distantly placed relatives, Singhara takes care of the crop. No wonder after having a company he has leased in more land to grow gladioli.

10. The nature of relationship shared between the landowners and the laborers has also undergone qualitative changes. It is more of a modern type employer-employee kind of an arrangement with specific and defined terms of contract rather than guided by old traditional terms of reference pertaining to jajmani system. As witnessed on the floriculture farms the primacy accorded to the skilled and disciplined labor force, instead of depending on the old ties from the local reservoir of labor force is a pointer in that direction. Similarly the views expressed by Jitender kler, son of Ranjit Singh regarding his understanding towards whether to keep or drop a contract with various stake holders like firms or labor or marketing agents etc. define the changing values among the new generation of agriculturists. Jitender’s value orientation seems to be far more instrumental and rational than his father. Profit and goal orientation is
much more pronounced among this younger lot. His primary consideration in recruiting labor force is the skill component and then the local affiliations or loyalty. In fact most of the agripreneurs prefer migrants as labor for the floriculture as they are more disciplined, trusted, less prone to social politics and easy to handle. In Chakaluwa, for instance, the chaddhas employed a south Indian young man as their lab assistant. Though this has its side effects as we have seen in both Bari and Chakaluwa it creates a lot of intra village factionalism and rivalry. Several other studies also show similar ethos of undermining of traditional jajmani system and caste neutral spaces etc. The agribusiness farm houses are the pockets in rural India where this decline in traditional ties is most visible and also prominent prevalence of modern values is easily discernible.

11. One of the salient features of the floriculturist families has been the level of participation showed by all its members in the new venture. Unlike the non-floriculturists every member of the family contributes in its operation in one way or the other. When situation demands they directly help in various activities. Both on Chadha farm and In Kundeswari we saw the support provided by the womenfolk from the respective families in times of emergency and otherwise. The invocation of the word ‘family-business’ for floriculture by its practitioners signify this ethos. In contrast there will be distinct indifference shown towards agriculture by the families of non-floriculturists, especially their women and children. Floriculture being a new, promising and unconventional crop hog more attention.
Agriculture and hence the villages of India is poised for unprecedented change and interventions in the era of globalization. The thesis highlights the role of socio-cultural conditions, such as the community profile of the village, ethnic background etc. in pursuing agribusiness activities such as floriculture in the villages of the terai region of Uttarakhand. India's growth and its sustainability depend on how effectively reforms and market linkages are established in its rural sector. China, for example, with its achievements in its farm sector stands as a model. China today, in less than 50 years after some devastating famines, is the world's largest food donor only behind the United States and the European Union on the list of global food donors. This is all the more remarkable given that China has only 14 percent of its territory, much less than China, fit for agriculture. Various reports suggest that this could be possible through a combination of sound agricultural policy, development of rural infrastructure and investment in the research and development in the farm sector (Pallavi Iyer, The Hindu, August 10, 2006). This is most visible in the way, for instance, the Chinese have gone about importing Soya beans (which is officially classified as grain in China) instead of producing it as it lacked domestic suitability in its agriculture. China used to grow its own soya bean while importing value added products like soya oil, today it imports the bean and process it domestically. This means China is creating more jobs in the country. What it suggests essentially is that the key for farm growth lies in trying out newer and out of the boxes ideas and combinations to enhance the efficiency and productivity.

All this, if it has to be replicated in Indian farm sector, needs the participation
of the private sector for more investment and more market linkages and networks. What is referred to as 'contract farming', can be one of the options and here the Thailand model can be considered. Thailand has emerged as one of the pioneers in contract farming in Asia and the interesting dimension of this model is the active role of the Thai state in promoting such collaborations since the mid 1990s. Because of this state involvement there is some evidence to believe that the contract farming has been implemented and managed differently which has resulted in better overall agricultural growth and developmental efforts through the shift to high yield crops. Also there is enough evidence to suggest that it is working for even the small and the marginalized and even the landless farmers making the process and the experiment all-inclusive (see Sukhpal Singh's article 'contract farming system in Thailand' in the EPW, Dec 31, 2005). Finally it is important to note here that in the new scenario the role of the small and the middle peasantry given their higher aripreneurial inclinations, as this study from the terai region of Uttarakhand indicates, need to be given prime focus. The boom in the export of grape cultivation in parts of Maharashtra and its positive impact especially for the co-operatives of farmers comprising mainly of small and medium landholding farmers need to be seen as a lesson in this regard. A study by Shardini Rath (2003) in the Narayangao area in Januartaluka in Maharashtra examined the issue in detail to assess the effects of the liberalization in the agricultural sector. The study gives an insight into how the rural labor market can take advantage of the availability of organized high wage work, resulting in poverty reduction. Rath argues,' in a dry area like Narayangao if a farmer
does not have access to enough water to cultivate sugarcane, then grapes become the next desirable cash crop, which requires dip irrigation which can be run on well water. The member farmers of the cooperative are mostly small to medium farmers, with grape holdings ranging from 5 acre to 6 acre. The cooperative structure of the export venture gives the small farmers a very important opportunity to share in the large profits (p: 481)'.

What is there to be learnt from the findings from the present study from the terai region in Uttarakhand and from else where is that our focus has to shift from the individual large landholders in the countryside towards small and middle level farmers forging an alliance in the form of cooperative structure and benefiting from the new opportunities. The degree of agripreneurial streak will vary from community to community, from region to region, but the key will lay in creating conditions that can encourage individuals or groups to breakthrough their inhibitions and enable them to try newer combinations to create better opportunities and economic returns. In a country like India where tradition still has its say there has been considerable shift in the attitude of people towards the idea of business which is amply reflected in the way a new crop of business and corporate heads have attained iconic status. The idea of gain which perhaps was lying dormant all these years have gained in currency. But the transition from 'grain to gain' is easier said than done given that unlike industries, agriculture is a domain of culture, symbols, religiosity and inheritance of conventions. Yet a new agriculture policy with its thrust on diversification of crops, enhancement of rural infrastructure and more
investment to generate both farm and non-farm opportunities can create that environment which will enable Resham Singh of Dinanagar to pursue his pursuits of prosperity through flowers despite being holders of what Barrington Moore called "Tiny handkerchief size plots" and a pahari farmer can be motivated to surmount attitudinal bottlenecks.
Endnotes:

1. “Status of farmers who left farming in Punjab-2007”- a report compiled by the Punjab state farmers’ commission in collaboration with the department of Economics of Punjab Agricultural University (PAU), Ludhiana.

2. A study conducted by the Gokhale institute of politics and economics (GIPE), Pune in collaboration with the centre for rural development, Karaikudi (Tamil Nadu), based on the agricultural ministry’s situational assessment survey concluded that farmers were in severe distress and given a choice as many as 40 percent of farmers would like to leave agriculture in favor of other careers (the seed of farmers’ suicide, the times of India, April 14, 2006).

3. The word “agripreneur” is being used in various agribusiness management literatures. Though the origin of the word is not clear and established, it comes across as a very appropriate word to make a distinction between the entrepreneurship in agriculture and industries.

4. According to a report (1978) based on the findings of a study team appointed by the social welfare directorate, Uttar Pradesh, some 1300 settler families had grabbed land from the Tharus and Buxas who had owned it for a century or so (Rawat 1998, 196-230). Though there are conflicting estimates about the extent of grabbing of land but it is very evident and conclusive that a large chunk of arable land was usurped by the new settlers from the tribal population.

5. कामुक्तप्रामण कृष्यां तु स्वयमेव कृषीवलः।
विक्रीणित तिलाज्ञुद्रान्वतराध्यंतिरस्तिष्ठतान्।।

218
A Brahmin is not supposed to sell or trade in grains; rather he is supposed to donate the surplus.

Brahmins are not supposed to sell or trade in grains; rather he is supposed to donate the surplus.

Any human being who trades in oilseeds and grains, he is born in next birth as insects and eats dog’s shit.

A Brahmin if he sells meat or salt immediately denigrates himself in to lower order and he becomes a shudra in three days if he sells milk.

Sources: Manusmriti 10th chapter
6. Scientific name Gladiolus, common names gladula, glads, sword lilies.

7. Even though one may contend that the Sikhs are more liberal and their ethos is of hard work and earning ones’ own bread, it is also true that the local context does impact on these values. The caste-entrenched local context and the its upper caste land owning segment’s behavior pattern towards agriculture acts as a reference point for others to emulate in that direction.

8. Following the assassination of Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, by her security guards who happened to be Sikhs, anti-Sikh riots broke out in various parts of the country including Delhi killing thousands of innocents Sikhs and damaging their property (see ‘when a tree shook Delhi by Manoj Mitta and H.S. Phoolka, 2007, Roli books Pvt. Ltd. Delhi).

9. यों ध्रुवाणि परित्यज्य्, अधुराणि निशेवते।
ध्रुवाणि तस्य नशयति, अधुरं नशस्तेव हि।।

Source: Hitopadesh by Narayan Pandit
Traditional Agricultural Patterns in Uttarakhand

TERRACED FIELDS

THRESHING RICE GRAIN

FRAGMENTATION OF LAND AS REFLECTED IN THESE TINY PLOTS

WINNOWING
पपीते की रवेती में क्रान्ति

किसान भाइयो
50,000/- रुपये
प्रति एकड़ कमाएँ

नई हाइब्रिड किस्म ‘फार्म सलेक्शन-1’
भारतीय कृषि अनुसंधान परिषद् द्वारा राष्ट्रीय पुरस्कार से सम्मानित, प्रगतिशील किसान कृषि वैज्ञानिक श्री सुधीर चड्ढा के 16 वर्षों के अनुसंधान द्वारा पपीते के पौधों में गुणात्मक एवं माजरात्मक विकास हुआ है जिससे पपीते के पौधों में बौनापन एवं फलोत्सवाद में आर्थिक वृद्धि हुई है।
* बैने पेड़ पर 1 फुट की उंचाई से ही फल लगना प्रारम्भ हो जाता है।
* पौधे पर 80-100 किग्रा. पपीता लगता है।
* पौधे एक वर्ष में ही फल देने लगते हैं।
* फल 1 किग्रा. से 4 किग्रा. तक का होता है।

चड्ढा सीड फार्म
पौ.आ. चक्कलूआ जि. नैनीताल (उ.प्र.) फोन. 05942 421733, फोन/फैक्स 42237
निर्माता: हिन्दुस्तान सीड सिस्टर्स एण्ड प्रूटीसाइडस 99, इंद्रा मार्किट, दिल्ली-7 फोन. 011-2929042, 3979421
नियम साधारण
1. पत्ति का भाग न सारी जग में पौधा से बनता है नर्मान के पास पौधा २ बार बनाया। 2. मह निजी वाह गोरे बहुत काफिला निर्देशदार राजस्थान में भरोसे २ वर्षों ३. उत्तर प्रदेश में २ बार बनाया नर्मान के पास निजी वाह गोरे बहुत काफिला निर्देशदार राजस्थान में भरोसे २ वर्षों


"FARM" Selection-I

सतीश दीवा फार्म द्वारा विशेष

सतीश दीवा फार्म में कृषि विभाग के साथ बनाया गया पापया विभाग के काफिला निर्देशदार राजस्थान में भरोसे २ वर्षों नर्मान के पास पौधा २ बार बनाया।}

उत्तरकार : चड्ढा सीड फार्म
पी॰ ॰ चकलुआ
वाया : हिन्दुनागर
जिला : नैनीताल (उ.प.)

CHADHA SEED FARMS
P.O. Chakalua (Via Haldwani)
Distt. Nainital (U.P.),
Phone : (05942) 42237, 42173
To,

Dear Sirs,

Following Flowers being sent to you. Kindly acknowledge it by ................. Pkts. ................. Nos.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>PARTICULARS</th>
<th>PACKING</th>
<th>QUANTITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

For VIJAY FLORICULTURE & SEEDS

[Signature]