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REAL WAGES, EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME OF AGRICULTURAL
LABOURERS IN INDIA

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Introduction

An increase in agricultural production implies an increase in income of all strata of the agrarian population; (therefore) given the fact that Indian agriculture has made significant strides with the new technology, it should result in rising demand for labour and thereby higher real wages for agricultural labourers -- is the central theme of a paper by Deepak Lal titled "Agrarian Growth, Real Wages and the Rural Poor in India." ^{1/} A similar argument is found also in an earlier paper by Herdt and Baker dealing with the same subject. ^{2/} There are, however, numerous other studies on Indian agriculture, which on the basis of available empirical evidence seem to highlight the opposite phenomenon and dwell on a theme of unequal sharing of benefits within agriculture. Such studies ^{3/} give support to what Deepak Lal calls as "new orthodoxy" on income distribution in agriculture. He also raises doubts about the factual basis of such studies, where apparently the authors have arrived at pessimistic and even erroneous conclusions, because they all have analysed the wrong kind of data.

This paper is primarily an attempt at defending the data that seem to support the 'new orthodoxy' hypothesis. In the process we also raise some questions on the validity of the hypothesis implicit in all such studies; that wage rates of agricultural labourers are directly determined by the supply-demand conditions in the rural

labour market and that changes in the market situation can be measured by the movement of wage rates. In Section II, we look into the relative merits and demerits of the different sources of agricultural wage data, and in the subsequent section, making use of the information available in the various labour enquiries, we attempt to explain how in the Indian context factors other than wage rates might be crucial in the determination of real earnings of agricultural labour households. In Section IV we examine the relative changes in the real earnings of agricultural labour households derived from wage employment in different States between 1963-64 and 1970-71. A comparison of these indices of income with those agricultural wage rate indices for the same period brings out clearly that the latter as such are inadequate to explain trends in the income of agricultural labourers in different States.

II

Since the data on incomes of agricultural labourers are scanty or non-existent, the studies on the trends in the real income or levels of living of agricultural labourers have relied on wage data for the analysis. There have been attempts to put together the available information on wages across States. The two principal sources of such Statewise data are: (1) Agricultural Wages in India (AWI), annually published by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics of the Union Ministry of Agriculture; and (2) periodic Reports of the Central Statistical Organisation from studies organised through the National Sample Survey. V.M. Rao has discussed at length the relative reliability of these two sources of data.^{4/} Rao's study while highlighting

the incomparability of AWI and NSS wage data, and also the unsuitability of AWI data for studying seasonal variations, however, does not exclude the possibility of these being used for analysing spatial variations and long term trends in the behaviour of wage rates. The studies referred to above as they bank on the AWI data, do establish for most States a declining trend in real wage rates during the 'sixties. Deepak Lal takes exception to such findings and argues that the picture would have been different had they been using the more reliable NSS wage data.

It must be pointed out that the use of AWI data has been motivated by different set of considerations. They render possible the examination of yearly changes in wage rates with reference to fixed points in each State for a longer span of time. This is not the case with the NSS data, where, there are only three reference points between 1956-57 and 1970-71. Therefore, the choice of the AWI data enables the researcher to focus attention more on trends, and thereby to avoid being tied down to mere discussions on the magnitude of increase between terminal years.

A perusal of the State-wise AWI and NSS estimates of wage rates for male agricultural labourers for 1956-57 and 1970-71 (See Table 1) indicates that the former overstates or the latter understates the wage rates in 1956-57 in all States, and also that over the years the degree of differential between AWI and NSS figures have declined in all States.

The consistent tendency of the AWI data to overstate agricultural wages is sought to be explained by V.M.Rao^{5/} in terms of certain pervasive features of the AWI scheme like, the relatively smaller coverage of the samples and the atypicality of the villages and the respondents

chosen. In this context, we should also point out the bias towards understating money wage rates that was implicit in the procedure adopted in the NSS scheme for purposes of converting kind wages into their cash equivalents. As per findings of the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry for about 50 per cent of the mandays worked by agricultural labourers payments were received in kind.^{6/} The various labour enquiries have followed different methods to evaluate these kind wages. In the First Agricultural Labour Enquiry of 1950-51, retail prices were used,^{7/} while in the Second Enquiry and the Rural Labour Enquiry of 1963-65, wholesale prices were used for the purpose.^{8/} The 25th round of the NSS which reports the wage rates paid to rural non-cultivating labourers, has however used retail prices for converting kind wages into their cash equivalents.^{9/} Whereas, in the AWI scheme, the money equivalent of the kind payments are estimated at the source of the respondent, and this method has been pursued consistently. The divergence between AWI and NSS wage rates noticed in 1956-57 and the convergence between them in 1970-71 would be partially explained in the light of this observation. If this were the case, the greater increase in real wage rates noticed in different States through the use of NSS data for the period 1956-57 to 1970-71 (given in Deepak Lal's study)^{10/} would become a questionable finding.

Given the fact that retail price of wage goods exceed the wholesale prices by a minimum of 20 per cent, there should have been an under-estimation of the money wage rates at least by 10 per cent, in 1956-57.

III

The very hypothesis that increase in real earnings of agricultural labour force, takes effect through adjustments in real wage rates, itself is questionable. Wage rates per se would fail to serve as indicators of real earnings of the rural wage labour force. Real earnings of an agricultural labour household are primarily dependent on three variables; (1) the agricultural wage rates; (2) the quantum of employment per year available per worker; and (3) the price of wage goods consumed by members of the household. There is considerable interdependence between these three variables, and they together act to determine agricultural wage income in each State. This would mean that an increase in the first variable, i.e., say the wage rates, need not necessarily reflect an increase in income levels of agricultural labour households, as it could also be accompanied by a decline in the annual availability of employment and/or an increase in the price of wage goods.

How these three variables - employment, wages and unit value of wage goods - cumulatively determine the real earnings of agricultural labourers in various States can be examined with the data made available through the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry of 1956-57 and the Rural Labour Enquiry of 1963-65. These reports give the money wage rates and also the days of employment of actively employed adult male agricultural labourers in various Indian States for the two reference years. From these we can estimate the annual earnings of agricultural labourers from wage employment. The reports also provide an ideal deflator which renders possible the comparison of their real earnings. Data on the State-wise differences in per capita/wage good - cereals - consumption of the in agricultural labour households, are available for the two points of

time. The unit value of wage goods consumed, derived from these can be used to estimate the real earnings of agricultural labourers from wage employment. Tables I and II give the money wage rates and the annual days of employment of male agricultural labourers and also the unit value of cereals consumed in agricultural labour households across States for the two years 1956-57 and 1964-65. Table II gives the real earnings estimated from these figures and also the relative positions of various States with their level of earnings in relation to Punjab/Haryana, where the real earnings of agricultural labourers have the highest value in both the years. In Table III, are given the percentage increases in money wage rates, days of employment, the unit value of cereals and the real earnings of agricultural labourers, between the two years, 1956-57 and 1964-65.

The data bring out several interesting observations which are summarised below:

- i. There are considerable variations across States with regard to the relative magnitudes of the three variables wage rates, employment and the value of cereals consumed, and therefore those of real earnings of agricultural labourers.
- ii. The ordering of the variables in different States, is different in each case. However, they roughly retain the same ranking at ^{the} two points of time.
- iii. The wage rates, the employment and also the value of the deflator have increased between 1956-57 and 1964-65. But there are wide inter-State variations with regard to the magnitudes of increases.
- iv. The State-wise differences in the real earnings of agricultural labourers narrowed down in the latter year. Several States moved closer to the level of Punjab/Haryana and some could alter their ranking in the earnings posit

This has come about through differential rates of increase of the three determinant variables.

- v. The inter-State differences in money wage rates also declined considerably. A measure of such differences given by the coefficient of variation declined from 33 per cent in 1956-57 to 26 per cent in 1964-65. The corresponding value for real earnings declined from 37 per cent to 29 per cent during the same period.

It is interesting to note that in the case of Punjab/Haryana which showed the highest value of real earnings in both the years, there was a decline during the intervening period. Real wage rates also declined there, for an 8 per cent increase in money wage rates was offset by an 18 per cent increase in the price of wage goods. In 1956-57, the real earnings of agricultural labourers in Kerala was the lowest among Indian States, where the number of days of employment was also found to be the lowest. By 1964-65, the real earnings in Kerala increased by about 50 per cent mostly through an increase in real wage rates. However, the crucial observation to make is that the magnitude of increase in real income and also the determinants of this increase differed from State to State. This clearly establishes that no individual factor, particularly the wage rate, could be deemed as proxy for analysing the long term trends in income of agricultural labourers.

We also need to examine the picture for the period after 1964-65; and it would be particularly interesting for that period is being described as the 'Green Revolution' phase in Indian agriculture. One important question that arises is whether in those States where real wage rates have reportedly increased between 1964-65 and 1970-71 as per NSS data, levels of wage income also bear out the same trend; more pointedly, whether the quantum of employment available to agricultural labourers has risen or at least remained constant leading to increase in real income of agricultural labourers in such States. The absence of a comprehensive labour enquiry after 1964-65, limits the prospects of extending the analysis farther so as to derive the employment or wage effect of a rise or fall in real income of agricultural labourers.

However, there is sufficient indirect evidence which suggests the possibility of a decline in the employment opportunities available to agricultural labourers during the period after 1964-65. The data made available by the 27th round of the NSS show that in recent years there was very considerable increase in the numbers seeking wage employment. Between 1964-65 and 1972-73, while the total rural male labour force increased from 129.5 million to 196.2 million, the number of wage employees went up from 34.4 million to 66.8 million. This finding is also confirmed by the Census returns of 1971, which show an 80 per cent increase in the number of male agricultural labourers during the previous decade. ^{12/} An important study by Raj Krishna on the concepts and measures of rural unemployment, where he extensively analyses the various NSS data sources, leads to

the finding that there is an increasing trend in unemployment and underemployment in rural India during the 'sixties.^{13/} It is quite likely that the available employment opportunities in agriculture are being shared by a larger pool of labourers in different States, leading to decline in their real earnings.

Moreover, an examination of the growth performance of agriculture in India suggests that the period since the mid-'sixties was one marked by stagnation in per capita output in several States. The rates of growth of output achieved in many States between 1963-64 and 1971-72 were of a low order, compared to those of an earlier phase-- i.e., between 1957-58 and 1963-64 (See Table IV). It was only in Punjab/Haryana, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Assam and Kerala that there took place some acceleration in the rates of growth. In the case of majority of States where agricultural growth rates decelerated after the mid-'sixties one cannot be unduly optimistic about an increase in agricultural wage income corresponding to what was achieved in the earlier period.

The estimates of annual wage income of rural landless labour households, made available through the 25th round of NSS, seem to support such a contention. The Rural Labour Enquiry of 1963-65 provides information on yearly income from wage employment earned by labour households without land in each State. Such data were collected in the 18th round of NSS during 1963-64. The 25th round of NSS which covered the weaker sections^{14/} in rural areas gives comparable estimates of income for the same category of people, i.e., the rural non-cultivating wage labour households in various States during 1970-71. The increase in money income between the terminal years when deflated by

the corresponding increase in the Consumer Price Index Numbers for Agricultural Labourers in each State, would give the magnitude of increase in real income per household. Table IV gives the State-wise indices of increase or decrease in real income from wage employment thus estimated. It clearly brings out that real wage income of rural non-cultivating labour households declined in most of the States during the period under review.

We have also examined the trends in aggregate income (which includes income from sources other than wage employment) of agricultural labour households during the same period. ~~Here, the situation becomes slightly~~ better. The figures in column C and D of Table IV indicate that the total real income of agricultural labour households has declined in most States, but the magnitude of decline is smaller when compared to wage income alone. Similarly, in the case of States where aggregate income of agricultural labour households has increased between 1963-64 and 1970-71, the rise is found to be more than proportionate to that of income from wage employment. This only implies that during the period under review, there has been ~~all round~~ decline in the relative share of wage income in the total income of agricultural labour households, and that non-agricultural sources of income, particularly self-employment is becoming prominent in the income basket of such households.

The Rural Labour Enquiry and also the report on the 25th round of the NSS give information on the relative sizes of the agricultural labour households in each State. ^{15/} From the given estimates of household size, we can work out the increases or decreases in per capita real wage income and also aggregate income of agricultural labourers in various States between 1963-64 and 1970-71. From figures in Columns E



and F of Table IV, it follows that the per capita wage income has registered a decrease in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Orissa and Rajasthan. The increase in total income which came about in Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala and Orissa is only marginal, whereas in Punjab/Haryana and U.P. there has been a significant increase between the terminal years. We may, however, also note that such increases in real income have been affected by the upward bias of income estimates made in 1970-71, resulting from the use of retail prices to evaluate kind payments, as compared to those of earlier labour enquiry when wholesale prices were used for the purpose.

In any case, these results are not quite in agreement with the trends in real wage rates estimated for different States in the various studies mentioned above. We noted earlier (though, with reservations) that wage rates of male agricultural labourers, estimated on the basis of NSS data, registered significant increases in most States between 1964-65 and 1970-71. Such trends are borne out by data on per capita income of agricultural labour households, only in selected States like Punjab/Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. In several other States the two indices have actually moved in opposite directions. The point we have already made, that the wage data alone may fail to reflect trends in the income of agricultural labourers hardly needs to be emphasised again.

Conclusion

The real links in the relationship that exist between agricultural output and income levels of agricultural labourers however require detailed probing. In analysing wage data alone for bringing out this relationship, the implicit assumption is that wage rates truly depict the labour market situation, and that changes in the supply-demand side are reflected in movements of wage rates. The studies in this line, fail to explain adequately the structure and dynamics of the rural labour market. Deepak Lal also tries to explain the State-wise differences in increase in real wages within a supply-demand framework.^{16/} He puts the entire male agricultural work-force (agricultural labourers plus a large category of owner cultivators, who are not necessarily dependent on wage employment) in different States on the supply side, and the increase in grain output on the demand side. The model would still be incomplete without taking into account women and children in the agricultural labour force; and also several crucial factors like cropping pattern, coverage of irrigation, cropping intensity, etc. on either side. Here the incidence of a large number of 'odd cases', and also the wide margin of confidence intervals assigned to the regression coefficients would cast doubts on the very relevance of such models.

We mention this only to point out that more 'research' needs to be done into the actual process of rural wage determination before we can make definitive assertions about the supposed relations between agricultural output and agricultural wage incomes. For that we need to go beyond the realm of figures; for many of those phenomenal factors which we find in the rural areas like: caste, systems of bonded labour, and indebtedness which are far more important to the process of wage determination often fail to be caught within the sophisticated models designed to explain the behaviour of wages.

△The interest shown in this work by Professor T.N.Krishnan has been most encouraging. I am thankful to him and to Professors N.Krishnaji and A.Vaidyanathan for their comments on an earlier draft.▽

Table 1

Money Wage Rates of Male Agricultural Labourers

(Rs. per day)

STATES	A.N.I. Estimates		N.S.S. Estimates		
	1956-57	1970-71	1956-57	1964-65	1970-71
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Andhra Pradesh	1.14	2.97	0.87	1.21	2.22
Assam	2.20	3.92	1.54	2.21	3.78
Bihar	1.19	n.a.	0.91	1.39	2.29
Gujarat	1.44	3.06	n.a.	1.47	2.45
Karnataka	1.24	2.33	0.84	1.21	1.91
✓ Kerala	1.45	4.89	1.28	2.11	3.25
Madhya Pradesh	1.07	2.08	0.76	1.11	1.68
Maharashtra	1.31	2.78	n.a.	1.47	2.28
Orissa	1.00	2.12	0.80	1.33	1.90
Punjab/Haryana	2.27	6.89	1.98	2.13	4.60
Rajasthan	n.a.	n.a.	0.98	1.76	3.03
Tamil Nadu	1.32	2.56	0.84	1.39	2.42
Uttar Pradesh	0.80	2.52	0.92	1.10	2.47
West Bengal	1.63	2.98	1.43	1.81	n.a.

Sources: Columns 1 and 2, Table I, A.V. Jose (1974) op.cit.

Columns 3 and 4, Table 4.4 in Rural Labour Enquiry, 1963-65
Final Report.

Column 5 gives wage rates of working men (13-14) years in rural non-cultivating wage earner households taken from Kalpona Bardhan, "Rural Employment, Wages and Labour Markets in India, A Survey of Research", Part II, EPW, Vol. XII, No. 27 July 2, 1977.

TABLE II

Annual Days of Employment of Male Agricultural Labourers $\frac{A}{B}$
 Unit Value of Cereals Consumed in Agricultural Labour House-
 holds $\frac{A}{B}$, Real Earnings of Male Agricultural Labourers $\frac{C}{D}$
 and Indices of Relative Positions of States with Respect to
 the Level of Earnings $\frac{C}{D}$, in 1956-57 and 1964-65.



	A		B		C		D	
	1956-57	1964-65	1956-57	1964-65	1956-57	1964-65	1956-57	1964-65
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Andhra Pradesh	229	231	0.45	0.53	442.7	527.4	40	48
Assam	282	297	0.60	0.77	723.8	852.4	65	78
Bihar	221	222	0.47	0.57	427.9	541.4	38	49
Gujarat	n.a.	289	n.a.	0.51	n.a.	833.0	--	76
Karnataka	217	247	0.40	0.49	455.7	609.9	41	56
Kerala	170	187	0.55	0.67	395.6	588.9	35	54
Madhya Pradesh	240	245	0.37	0.47	493.0	578.6	44	53
Maharashtra	n.a.	259	n.a.	0.43	n.a.	885.4	..	81
Orissa	207	256	0.40	0.59	414.0	577.1	37	53
Punjab/Haryana	215	232	0.38	0.45	1120.3	1098.1	100	100
Rajasthan	236	282	0.37	0.48	625.1	1034.0	56	94
Tamil Nadu	193	208	0.43	0.52	377.0	556.0	34	51
Uttar Pradesh	211	225	0.40	0.50	435.3	495.0	43	45
West Bengal	241	297	0.54	0.74	638.2	726.4	57	66

Source: A. Table 3.3. in Rural Labour Enquiry 1963-65 Final Report.

B. Worked out from Tables 6.6 and 6.7 in *ibid*.

C. Estimated from Col. A, B and also Col. 3 and 4 in Table 1.

D. Estimated from Col. C taking figures for Punjab/Haryana = 100.

Table III

Percentage Increase in the Money Wage Rates $\frac{A}{B}$ the Days of Employment $\frac{B}{C}$, the Unit Value of Cereals $\frac{C}{D}$ and the Real Wage Earnings of Agricultural Labourers $\frac{D}{E}$ in Different States between 1956-57 and 1964-65

	A	B	C	D
Andhra Pradesh	39.08	0.87	17.78	19.13
Assam	43.51	5.32	28.33	17.82
Bihar	52.75	0.45	21.28	26.52
Gujarat	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Karnataka	44.05	13.82	22.50	33.84
✓ Kerala	64.84	10.00	21.82	48.86
Madhya Pradesh	46.05	2.08	27.03	17.36
Maharashtra	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Orissa	66.25	23.67	47.50	39.40
Punjab/Haryana	7.58	7.91	18.42	-1.98
Rajasthan	79.59	19.48	29.73	65.41
Tamil Nadu	65.48	7.77	20.93	47.48
Uttar Pradesh	19.57	6.64	25.00	2.00
West Bengal	26.57	23.24	37.04	13.82

Source: Estimated from figures in Table I and II.

Table IV

Compound Rates of Growth of Aggregate Agricultural Production /A/ And Indices of Increase in (i) Consumer Price Index Numbers of Agricultural Labourers /B/ ii. Real Income from Wage Employment /C/, and iii. Total Real Income /D/ of Agricultural Labour Households; iv. Per Capita Real Income from Wage Employment /E/, and v. Per Capita Total Real Income /F/ of Agricultural Labourers in Different States between 1963-64 and 1970-71.

/Index for 1963-64 = 100/

State	A (in percentages) 1957-58 to 1963-64 to 1963-64 1971-72		B	C	D	E	F
Andhra Pradesh	2.63	-0.23	164	66	86	71	92
Assam	0.80	2.86	178	69	85	70	87
Bihar	5.37	2.57	175	78	85	91	99
Gujarat	6.46	1.93	163	74	87	86	101
Karnataka	3.22	2.49	172	83	94	91	103
Kerala ✓	2.20	3.79	195	97	97	107	107
Madhya Pradesh	1.96	1.66	166	117	130	127	140
Maharashtra	1.25	-3.66	173	87	95	89	96
Orissa	5.74	0.56	161	70	84	86	100
Punjab/Haryana	3.13	7.48	170	102	161	114	161
Rajasthan	1.70	4.05	168	34	53	40	64
Tamil Nadu	3.37	2.60	141	112	113	124	125
Uttar Pradesh	3.21	3.53	146	99	153	111	171
West Bengal	4.32	2.80	157

Sources:

- Col.A. From A.V. Jose: "Growth and Fluctuations in Indian Agriculture: 1957-58 to 1972-73," Working Paper No.58, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum. (1973)
- B. From Statistical Abstract of the Indian Union 1972 (Govt. of India). The methodology used for estimating the index numbers for Uttar Pradesh and Tamil Nadu in 1963-64 is discussed in A.V. Jose (1974) op.cit.
- C. and D. Worked out from figures given in Annexure 5.2. Rural Labour Enquiry and Tables 12 and 13 in NSS 25th Round, Report No.262, (Government of India)
- E. and F. The per capita income figures were estimated by dividing the annual income of the household by the respective size of household (Source for 1963-64, Table 2.5 Rural Labour Enquiry and for 1970-71, Table 5.4, NSS Report No.257) in both the reference years and the index numbers were worked out.

Notes and References

- 1/ Deepak Lal, "Agricultural Growth, Real Wages and the Rural Poor in India," EPW, Vol.XI, No.26, June 26, 1976.
- 2/ Herdt R.W. and Baker E.A. "Agricultural Wages, Production and High Yielding Varieties", EPW, Vol. VII, March 25, 1972.
- 3/ i. P.K.Bardhan, "Green Revolution and Agricultural Labourers in India" EPW, Vol.V, Special Number, July 1970.
 - ii. Krishnaji N. "Wages of Agricultural Labour", EPW, Vol.VI, September 1971.
 - iii. Jose A.V. "Trends in Real Wage Rates of Agricultural Labourers", EPW, Vol.IX, March 30, 1974.
- 4/ V.M.Rao, "Agricultural Wages in India: A Reliability Analysis", Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics, Vol.XXVII, July-September,
- 5/ Ibid., p.49.
- 6/ Labour Bureau, Simla (Ministry of Labour, Government of India) "Agricultural Labour in India", Report on the Second Survey, Vol.I, All India, p.107.
- 7/ Report of the Second Survey, op.cit. p.111.
- 8/ Labour Bureau, Simla (Ministry of Labour, Government of India), "Rural Labour Enquiry 1963-65, Final Report", p.26.
- 9/ C.S.O. Government of India, National Sample Survey, 25th round, Report No.230/1 of sub round 1 (mimeo), December 1972.
- 10/ Deepak Lal, op.cit. Table A2.
- 11/ K.N.Raj, "Trends in Rural Unemployment in India: An Analysis with Reference to Conceptual and Measurement Problems", EPW, Vol. XI, No.31-37, August, 1976.
- 12/ Census of India, 1971, Provisional Population Totals, Paper I of 1971 Supplement, Table E.
- 13/ Raj Krishna, "Rural Unemployment - A Survey of Concepts and Estimates for India" (mimeo) paper presented at a symposium on the concept and measurement of rural unemployment in the Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum, July 1976.
- 14/ "Weaker section households for the purpose of the survey were composed of two sets of households, viz., (i) small cultivator households and (ii) non-cultivating wage earner households. Small cultivator households were defined as the lowest ten percent of the households having some cultivated land either owned or leased in, during the reference period July 1969 - June 1970; and 'non-cultivating wage earner households' were defined as households having no cultivated land whatsoever during the same reference period. See, NSS 25th Round, No.262 (Government of India, 1976) p.1.

- 15/ As per findings of the 25th round Survey, there is an apparent fall in the size of agricultural labour households compared to the figures furnished by the Rural Labour Enquiry, 1963-65. It may however be pointed out that the 1970-71 figures relate to rural non-cultivating landless wage earner households, while the 1963-65 figures represent landholding agricultural labour households also. Empirical evidence available in this field suggests that landless labour householders have smaller sized families compared to landholding families, and that the family size tends to become smaller as we move down the size classes of land distribution. See, P.G.K.Panikar, T.N.Krishnan and N.Krishnaji, "Population Growth and Agricultural Development: A Case Study of Kerala" (mimeographed paper of a study sponsored by the FAO, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum, August 1976), Chapter IV.
- 16/ Deepak Lal, op.cit.

