

Economic Dilemma and Suicide Among Farmers In Punjab

Vipan Chaudhary¹ and (Dr.) Shruti Shourie²

1Research Scholar, Department of Psychology, Panjab University Chandigarh.

(Email id- vipanchaudhary87@gmail.com)

2 Associate Professor, D.A.V College, Sector- 10, Chandigarh.

Abstract

The current paper attempted to understand the economic dilemma and suicide among farmers in Punjab. For this purpose, a sample of 230 farmers was presented with nine questions, on whether they have taken any debt, reasons for high suicide rates, purpose of taking loans, reasons for not paying instalments of loan on time, and the biggest problem faced by farmers in Punjab in today's time. Farmers reported to close-ended questions, which had response options, such as, yes/no or other multiple responses. Data was analysed with regards to frequencies of responses for every question. These numerical proportions were further represented through a pie chart. Results are further discussed and suggestions are made based on the findings.

Keywords: Farmers, Punjab, Debt, Farmer Suicide, Indebtedness, Loans

Introduction

Agriculture is related to the word farming, and farming supports more than fifty per cent of the Indian population (Ashalatha & Rajeshwari, 2018). However, the contribution of agriculture in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of India is declining steadily over the years due to myriad reasons related to social, political, and psychological aspects.

Despite Punjab's economic growth going forward, it boosts one of the highest unemployment rates in the country (Singh, 2018); therefore the farmers of Punjab, due to helplessness, rely upon farming as their only source of income. Farmers are not in a very rosy condition. They are facing distress due to factors such as cyclones, excessive or very little rainfall, drought, inflation, and floods. These factors have led to high mortality rates, revolts, protests, and frustration among farmers in the past few years (Ashalatha & Rajeshwari, 2018).

Farmers are accumulating high debt while lacking alternative sources of income. Upon analysis of case studies related to farmer suicides, it was found that most of the farmers committed suicide because they were troubled by the financial burden of marrying off their

sisters or daughters and also because of indebtedness and crop failures (Singh & Manisha, 2015).

The agrarian crisis in Punjab has led to a rise in suicide rates. Records from the past 16 years show that 2,62,630 farmers have committed suicide all over India. 80% of farmers who have committed suicide belong to the small and marginal farmer category (Dadasaheb, 2018; Ashalatha & Rajeshwari, 2018). According to the United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, one farmer committed suicide every 32 minutes between the year 1997-2005.

Apart from political and sociological factors, individual factors also play a significant role in increasing the risk of suicide in farmers. Feelings of isolation, loneliness, an expectation of society from males to possess masculinity and lifestyle factors have emerged to be important elements of suicide ideation among farmers (Perceval, Kolves, Reddy & Leo, 2017).

A study conducted by Garg (2019) analysed psychiatric reasons leading to suicide ideation among farmers, such as depression, distress, lack of self-efficacy, etc. While the current understanding of farmer's depression and suicide dictates that it is a political issue or agricultural crises, it is imperative to note that this issue is strongly linked with mental health as well. Garg (2019) recently found the prevalence rate of depressive symptoms among farming population be more than 90% which calls for serious attention. Lack of access to mental health services in rural areas and the stigma attached to seeking treatment is also the reason for prevailing depression among farmers from rural areas of Punjab (Nadaf & Biradar, 2019)

Nagthan et al. (2011) have found out through their survey that 53% of suicide victims consume insecticides or pesticides followed by hanging themselves and jumping from the well. Another updated study, which was commissioned by the state government, found that 16,606 agrarian suicides (9,243 farmers and 7,363 labourers) took place between the year 2000 and 2015 (Bharati, 2019).

Reports on small and marginal farmers have shown that benefits of government schemes and policies do not reach out to them. It is the big farmers having landholding of 10 acres and above who receive the benefits of government schemes (Sood, 2018). Only 10 per cent poor and small farmers with average land holding of 1-4 acres have benefitted from the

government schemes and subsidies. Farmers have also shared that they do not get any farming-related information from their officials in the agriculture department.

Objective of the Study

To understand Economic Dilemma and Suicide among Farmers in Punjab

Study Design

The present investigation used the survey method to elicit information from married male farmers in rural Punjab. A total of 230 farmers were contacted to know about their socio-economic realities. A set of nine questions was framed pertaining to whether they have taken any debt, reasons for high suicide rates, purpose for taking loans, reasons for not paying instalments of loan on time, and the biggest problem faced by farmers in Punjab in today's time. Farmers reported to close-ended questions, which had response options, such as, yes/no or other multiple responses. Data was analyzed with regards to frequencies of responses for every question. These numerical proportions were further represented through the pie chart.

Results and Discussion

Farmers were asked to compare their **economic** and household **condition** to five years ago from now. 55.7% (n=128) reported that their economic condition **became worse**. 41.3% said that it was the **same** (n=95), while the remaining rare 3 per cent of them reported that their economic condition had become **better** (n=7) (Figure 1).

On similar lines, Kingra (2015) found that farmers on an average lived poorer than non-farming rural households. Monthly per capita consumption of the farm household turned out to be 9.3 per cent lower than that of non-farm rural households. They also found age to be a significant factor for economic conditions, such as, older farmers being more cautious of their domestic as well as farm expenditure in comparison to young farmers who tend to take risks and loans beyond their capability.

Another factor that is a significant determinant of the economic condition of farmers' household is education. Literate farmers are more knowledgeable and manage the socio-economic status of their family in a better way. Statistics show that a large chunk of farmers in Punjab are illiterate (Kingra, 2015), and this trend needs to be changed through awareness campaigns.

Figure.1 In comparison to five years ago, how is the economic condition of your household today.

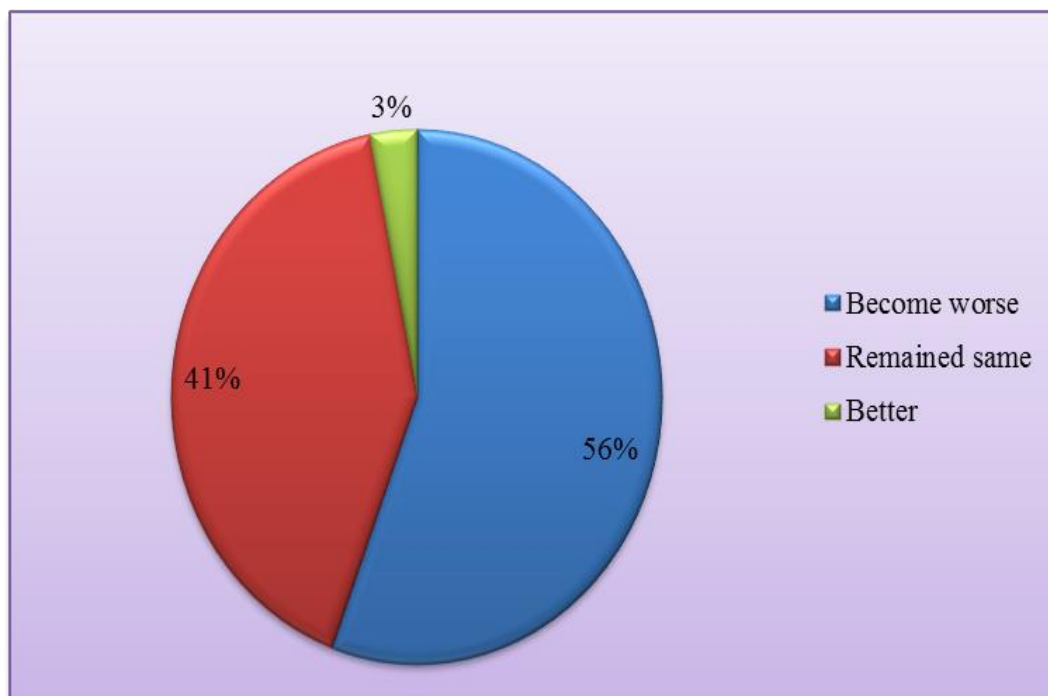
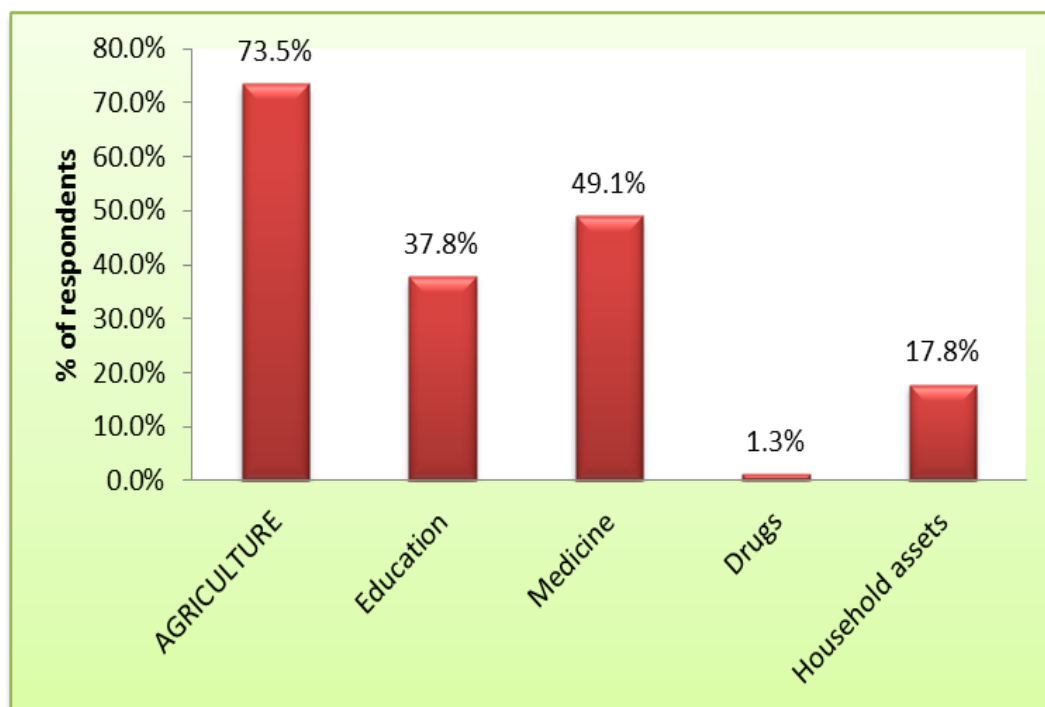


Figure 2 shows demographic information for where do they spend their earnings mostly. Results revealed that 73% cases spend their money on an **agriculture**-related purchase, 37% of farmers reported their expenditure going on children's **education**, 49% on **medicines**, 1% on **drugs** and 17% **farmers** in this sample spent their money on household assets. It is also observed that farmers spend a maximum amount of their income on socio-religious functions and alcohol as well (Kingra, 2015).

Singh, Kaur, Kaur, and Kaur (2019) analysed what all the farmers spend their money on. They found that large farm size owners spent more money on socio-religious ceremonies, followed by durables (house construction, electric fans, coolers, AC, TV, radio, bicycles, scooters and jeeps and so on), nondurables (foodgrains, milk, sugar/gur, edible oils, clothing, footwear, tea, light and fuel, intoxicants) but the small and marginal farmers spend their expenditure only on non-durable items.

Therefore, where a farmer spends the earnings depends upon whether he belongs to a small and marginal category or large farm size category (Singh et al., 2019).

Figure.2 where do you spend maximum earnings?

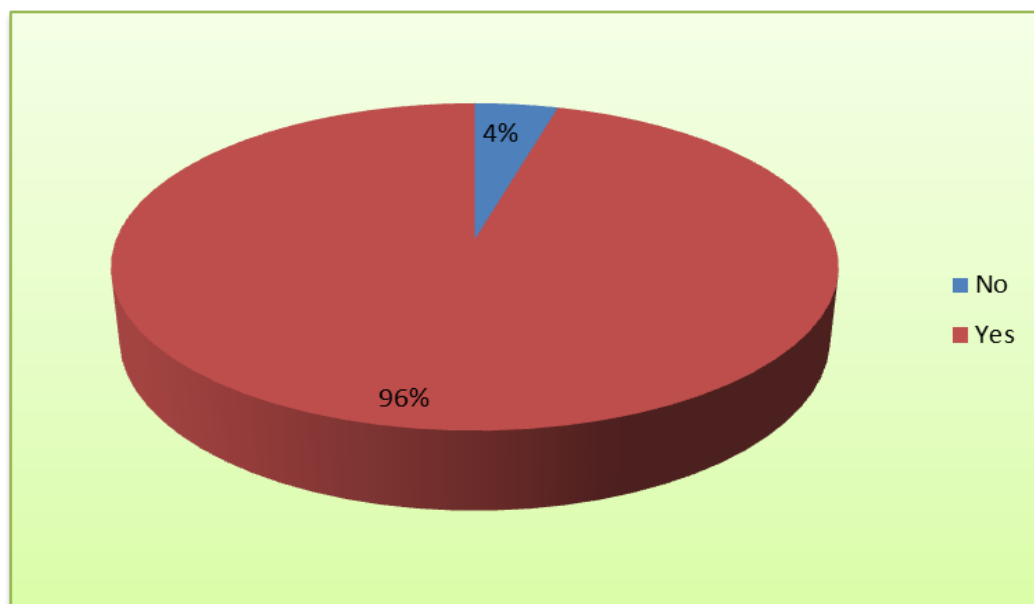


On being asked if the farmers have **taken any debt**, 95.7% (n=230) out of 230 reported in affirmation and the remaining 4.3% (n=10) denied having taken any debt (Figure 3) The same can be observed in newspaper reports wherein it has been reported that indebtedness of farmers is the biggest reason for rising in farmer suicides. Faulty government policies have pushed farmers into the debt trap (Mallick, 2019). According to a study conducted by Nadaf and Biradar (2019), 280 suicides in the state of Karnataka were due to unpaid loans from state commercial banks in the year 2015. Most of the farmers are facing repayment problem due to failure of crops.

In another report by Khanna (2019b), 6,943 farmer suicides have occurred in Punjab during the last 13 years. Out of these, 6,387 (91.99%) suicides were due to debt, and 556 (8.01%) were due to non-debt. Another report from a study done in Punjab Agricultural University claims 7,000 suicides among farmers in the past 15 years (Kingra, 2015).

A study funded by the Punjab State Farmers Commission has also found that on an average a farmer has been indebted up to 64 per cent of his annual income but the marginal, small and semi-medium farmers are indebted up to 90 per cent of their annual income (Singh, Singh, Kaur & Kingra, 2007; Kingra, 2015). Fertiliser and diesel prices have also risen as per recent studies (Prakash, 2019). The cost of input has been increasing faster than the output (Singh, 2019).

Figure.3 Have you taken any Debt?



On being asked if the farmers have taken any **loan** from the **government**, 43.2% reported in the affirmative (n=95). 20.5% (n=45) reported that they had taken a loan from the **private sector**, and 36.4% took a loan from **both** government and private companies (n=80) (Figure 4).

Reports show that four-fifths of farm and agricultural labour households are under debt in Punjab. A study conducted by Rao, Gawda, Ramachandran, and Andrade (2017) revealed that the amount of debt per indebted household increases as the farm size increase, which implies that the burden of debt is greater on the lower farm size categories as compared to the upper farm size categories.

Prior studies have found that private loans are more popular, which is contrary to the finding of the current study where government loans took the lead. Studies have found that farmers who prefer to borrow money from money lenders do so because it is cumbersome to obtain formal credit from the government (Deshpande, 2002). Besides, commission agents, dealers, and sub-dealers also provide loans at a high-interest rate, thereby exploiting farmers (Ray, 2018).

As debts keep rising, the farmers get caught in a vicious cycle. They are unable to sell at good prices, while interest rates are exorbitant. As a consequence, private moneylenders forcefully seize the land from the farmers (Mukherjee, 2009). According to Nagraj (2008), the relationship of moneylenders with farmers is essentially a predatory one.

The importance of informal credit in agriculture has prevailed over the years. Informal credit refers to taking loans from money-lenders, traders, landlords, and commission agents. They do not discriminate between loans required for personal reasons and professional reasons, but often their interest rate is very high (Basu, 2013; Ray, 2018), thereby taking advantage of farmers' helpless and ignorance. Formal credits come from government banks and commercial banks.

In the past few years, the reasons for farmers relying more upon private loans despite their high-interest rate were that the government did not adequately meet the expected demands of the farmers. Political interferences also made matters worse. Therefore, farmers had to rely more upon private loans.

However, this trend has not been observed in the present study, where farmers are taking more percentage of loans from government sectors.

Figure.4 Loan taken form the government or private

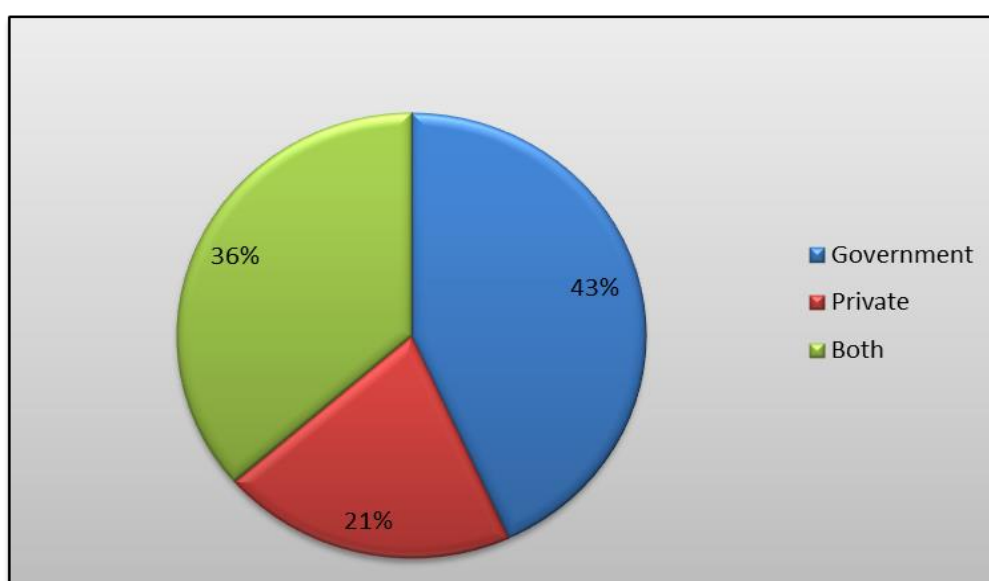


Figure 5 shows the **purpose** of taking a loan. 74.5% took a loan for **agriculture**, 14% took a loan for **education**, and the remaining 11% took it for **daughter's marriage**. The same has been supported in a study by Nagthan et al. (2011) who found that heavy financial commitments of farmers are on account of education and marriage of children and that these commitments put them under a lot of stress. Ray (2018) also found that farmers take loans not only for productive activity related to the farm but also for personal reasons, such as loans for expenditure on marriages, religious ceremonies, education of their children and health-related reasons.

Figure.5 What is your purpose for taking loan

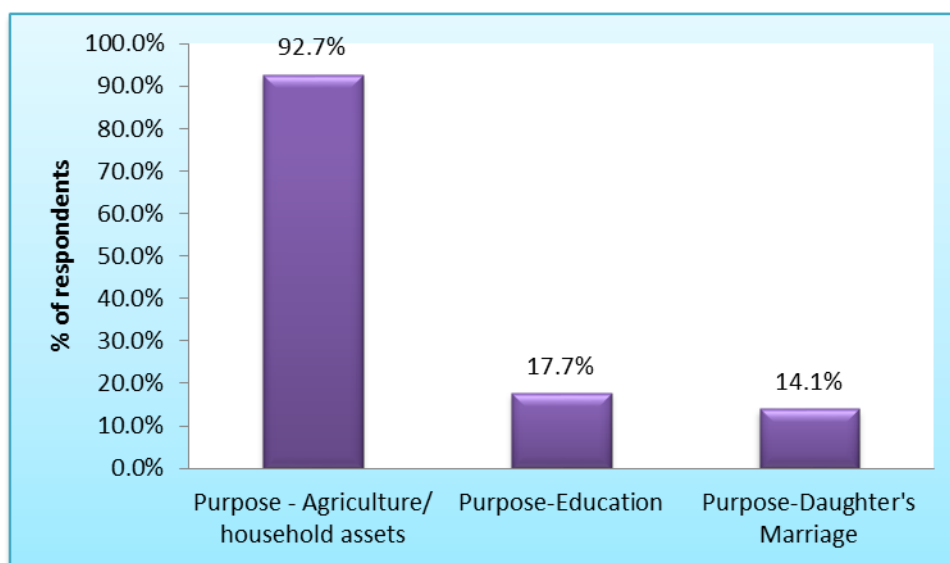
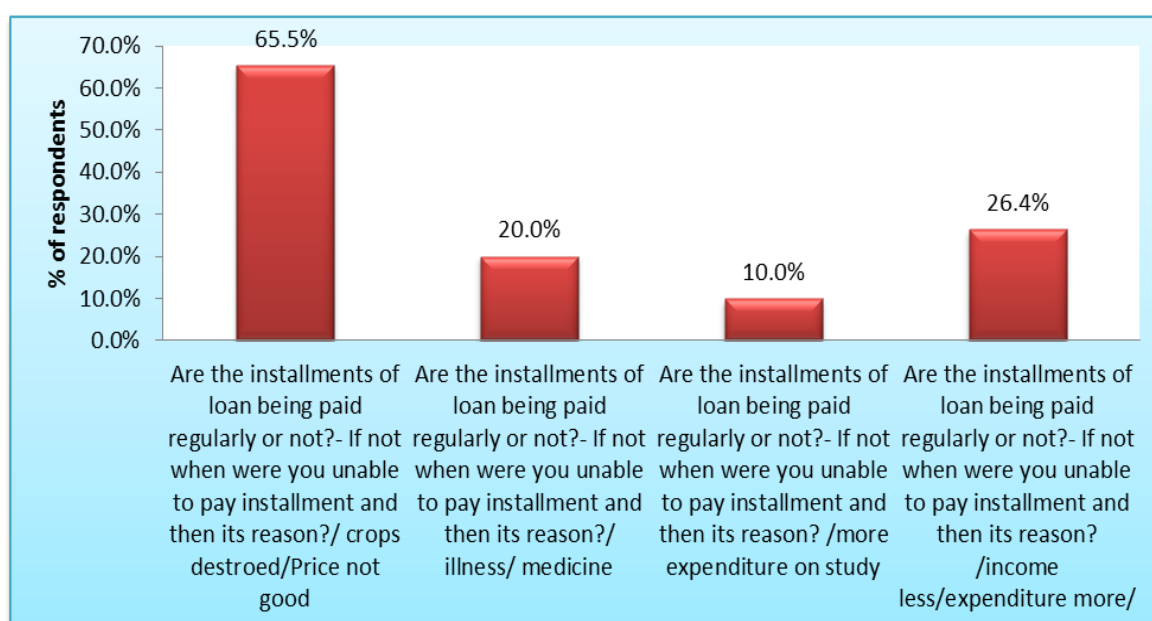


Figure 6 shows responses to the reasons for not making loan payments regularly. 144 out of 230 farmers said that they could not pay instalments on time because the crops were destroyed. 44 out of 230 said that they could not regularly pay due to illnesses. Therefore, looking after farmers' physical health is as necessary as looking after their mental illness. 8% of them said that they could not pay the loan because of lack of expenditure and the remaining 21% could not pay the instalment on time because they were in loss. Most of them also report being cheated in terms of what was promised to them by the Punjab Government (Khanna, 2019b).

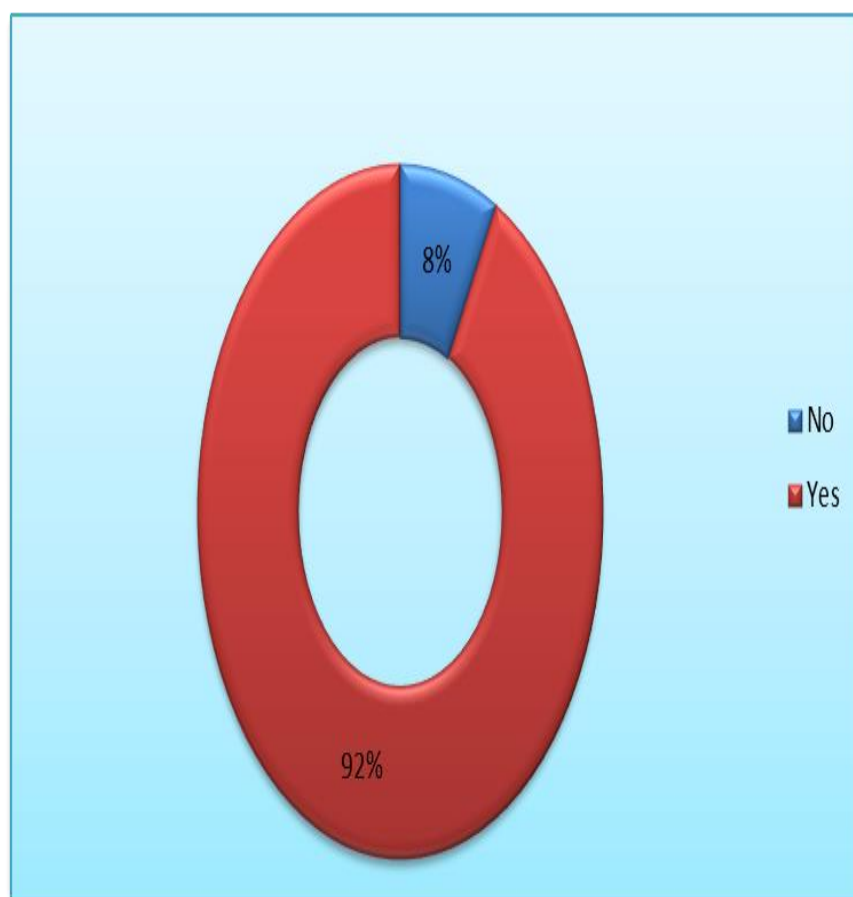
Figure.6 reasons for not paying loans on time



To the following question: “**In your knowledge, has anybody in your village or area committed suicide in the last five years?**” 92.2 percent (n=212) reported **yes**, and 7.8% of the minority reported **no** (n=18). This coincides with other studies, which have also found a rise in suicide rates among farmers in Punjab (Figure 7)

This alarming statistic highlights the need for mental health workers to work proactively in Punjab’s rural areas. Prior reports have found that farmers commit the maximum number of suicides in the Malwa belt of Punjab (i.e., 97%) including districts of Sangrur, Mansa, Barnala, Faridkot, Ferozepur, Ludhiana, Moga, Muktsar and Patiala (Singh, Bhangoo & Sharma, 2018). Out of these, 55.96% of farmers and 44.04% farm labourers have committed suicide (Khanna, 2019a).

Figure.7 In your knowledge has anybody in your area committed suicide in the last five years.



When asked about **reasons for committing suicide**, 46.7% of farmers said that the reasons were **inflation, economic loss, fewer savings, more expenditure and unemployment** (n=170). 15.9% said that suicide ideation happens due to **crops destroyed or**

price not good enough in the market (n=58). 136 out of 230 farmers reported a **debt** to be another reason for suicide (37.4%).

Upon analysing the reasons for suicide, the government needs to make policies and bring reforms for farmers (Figure 8). Singh, Bhangoo, and Sharma (2018) investigated that the reasons for increased suicide rates in Malwa belt of Punjab are high rural poverty rate, low literacy and sole dependence upon agricultural activities for a living. People in these areas do not have other job opportunities, thereby left with no other option other than losing hope and committing suicide (Khanna, 2019a).

An investigation carried out by Nagthan et al. (2011) found factors affecting suicide among farmers from Karnataka. Regression model revealed that suicide incidence was negatively predicted by landholding size, age, education, and net income.

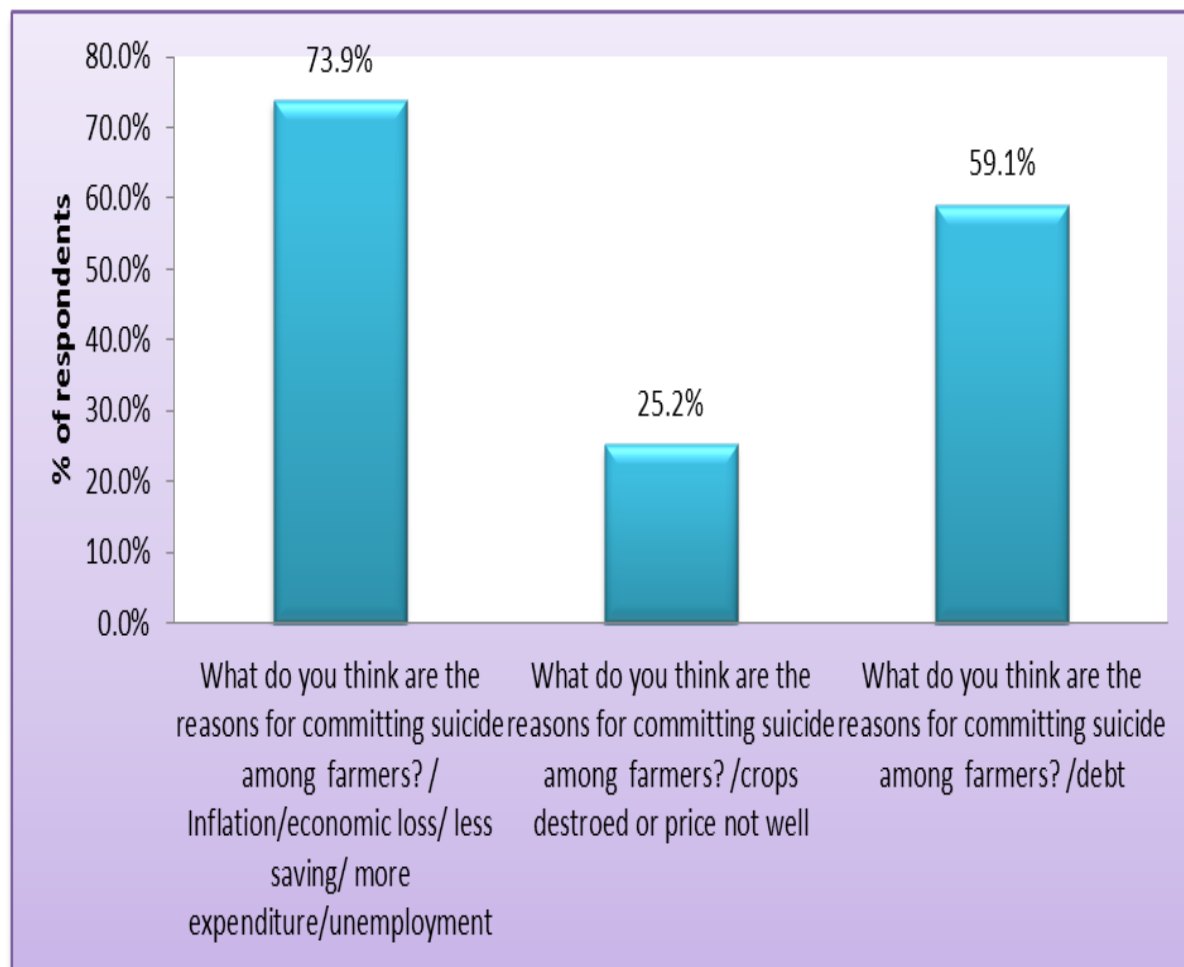
Another study also found the role of age in committing suicides (Nadaf & Biradar, 2019). Most of the farmers who committed suicide belonged to the age group of 31-50, and very few percentages of farmers who committed suicide were above 60 or between 20-30.

Dongre and Deshmukh (2012) found debt to be the most important reason for suicide among farmers; followed by addictions, environmental issues, and price rises. Other studies have also recognized similar causes for farmer suicides viz. indebtedness (20.6%), alcoholic or drug abuse (4.9%), failure of crops (16.8%), family problems (20.01%) and the most common reason of bankruptcy or indebtedness (20.6%) topping consistently across several studies (NCRB, 2015).

Studies have also found that farmers who have a higher proportion of their land area being irrigated have lower suicide rates in comparison to farmers who have to depend upon monsoon rains for their fields (Kale, Khonde & Mankar, 2014). Poor irrigation is the root cause of why farmers have to move towards moneylenders to save their crops and therefore, experience increased indebtedness (Gedela & Prakasa, 2008).

In Behere and Bhise's (2009) study, indebtedness (87%) and deterioration in economic status (74%) were found to be significant risk factors for suicide (Mishra, 2006; Ray, 2018).

Figure.8 Reasons for committing suicide among farmers

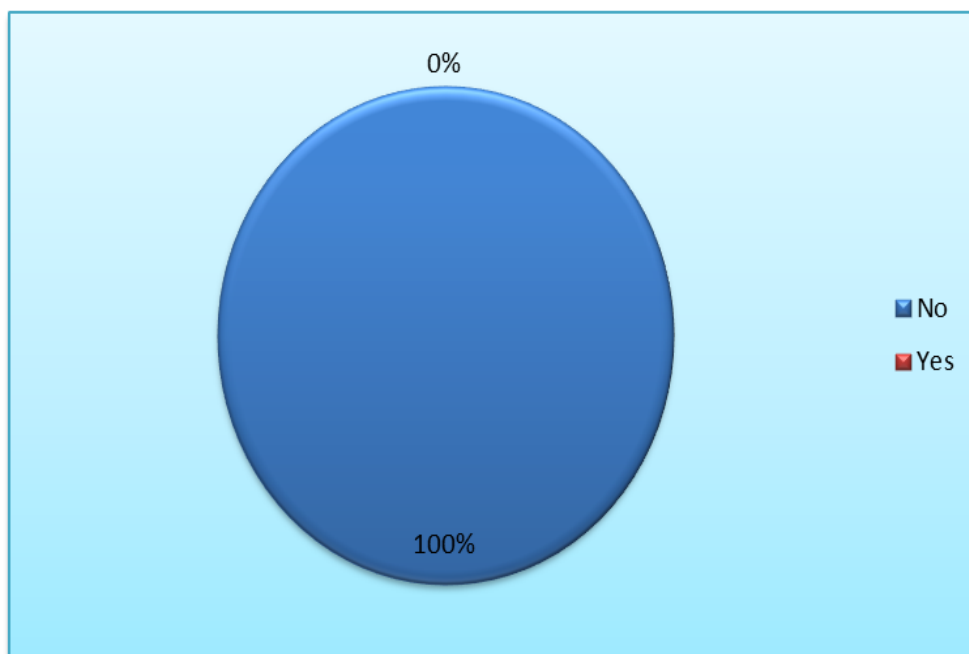


One of the most unnerving findings of the current study was to the question of **whether farmers felt they needed psychological help**. 100% of the sample acknowledged the need for psychological help (Figure 9).

With the motto of “Karoge gall, Milega Hull” of Project Utshah, Punjab Agricultural University aims to provide mental health care and counselling services to farmers in distress. The centre provides psychological first aid (PFA) to farmers and equips them to handle stress well as far as 980 farmers came to the stall names Utshah when it was launched.

Dr Sarabjeet Singh has expressed his concern about providing psychological aid to farmers. According to him “apart from agricultural and remunerative pricing solutions, we need to take care of farmers’ mental health. They need to be trained to imbibe resilience and coping skills to battle with negative thoughts. Financial literacy and importance of savings should also be a part of farmer training” (Jain, 2018).

Figure.9 Do you feel the need for taking psychological help?



All of the findings mentioned above can be supported from prior researches. Nagthan, Poddar, Kunnal, Basvaraja, and Banakar (2011) attempted to understand socio-economic and psychological profile of farmers' suicide in Karnataka. Families of suicide cases and non-suicide cases were approached. Results showed that maximum suicides took place between the age group of 36-50 years (middle-aged adults). Out of all the suicide cases, 87% were dependent upon agriculture, especially on dry farming, and 58% of these farmers suffered from severe psychological stress due to humiliation from private moneylenders, crop failure and debt burden. Out of ten causes of suicide, the top most was debt burden, which needs to be tackled through farm credit policies.

Loss of rural assets is a matter of extreme humiliation for farmers who are unable to pay loans on time (Ray, 2018). The shame and financial burden that they have to face results in tremendous psychological pressure driving them to take away their lives or sell their kidney (Moha, 2008). According to Deshpande (2002) and Mukherjee (2009), the disappearance of strong social support systems in villages has also been a critical factor adding to farmers' sense of isolation and depression.

Industrialisation and non-farming sectors must be developed in rural areas so that farmers have an additional source of income to rely upon (Kingra, 2015). Further, free education in the form of technical training must be imparted to the illiterate section of small and marginal farmers so that they use farming practices wisely.

Crop failure is a major source of mental distress for farmers. Therefore, it can be suggested that effective crop insurance schemes must be launched at a low premium cost and high maturity value. Proper training is required for farmers by agricultural assistants or professors. If crop failure leads to mental distress, crop insurance schemes must be prevalent.

After understanding the demographic realities of farmers of Punjab through this humble initiative, one can conclude that there is a need to organize non-political, non-profit private associations involving intellectuals, social workers, counselors, and experts from agriculture who would attend to farmers in distress as well as educate them about their rights, way to go about things, and inculcate protective psychological factors, such as self efficacy, resilience and well being along with teaching stress management techniques (Nagthan et al., 2011). These are a few strategies that can go a long way in enhancing the well being of our farmers at a social and psychological level.

References

- Ashalatha, K.V., & Rajeshwari, N. (2018). An Overview on Farmers Suicides in India and Intervention to Curb. *International Journal of Current Microbiology and Applied Sciences*, 7(9), 3032-3040.
- Basu, K. (2013). *Agrarian Structure and Economic Underdevelopment*. New Delhi: Routledge.
- Behere, P.B., & Bhise, M. C. (2009). Farmers' suicide: Across culture. *Indian Journal of Psychiatry*, 51(4), 242-243.
- Bharati, V. (June, 2019). Farm suicides unabated in Punjab, over 900 in 2 years. *The Tribune*. Retrieved from <https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/punjab/farm-suicides-unabated-in-punjab-over-900-in-2-years/727671.html>
- Dadasaheb, M. (2018). *Farming Distress orientation among Farmers in Parbhani District*. Published Doctoral Dissertation. Parbhani, Maharashtra: Vasantrao Naik Marathwada Krishi Vidyapeeth
- Deshpande, R. S. (2002). Suicide by farmers in Karnataka: agrarian distress and possible alleviatory steps. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2601-2610.
- Devi, P.I. (2010) Pesticides in agriculture—A boon or a curse? A case study of Kerala. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 45, 26-27.

- Dongre, A. R., & Deshmukh, P. R. (2012). Farmers' suicides in the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra, India: a qualitative exploration of their causes. *Journal of Injury and Violence research*, 4(1), 2-6.
- Garg, K. (2019). Depression, Suicidal Ideation, and Resilience among Rural Farmers. *Journal of Neuroscience in Rural Practice*, 175-176.
- Gedela, S. P. R., & Prakasa, R. (2008). Factors responsible for agrarian crisis in Andhra Pradesh (a logistic regression analysis). *World Applied Sciences Journal*, 4(5), 707-713.
- Ghuman, R. S., Singh, S., & Brar, J. S. (2006). *Rural Students in Universities of Punjab*, Patiala: Punjabi University.
- Gruère, G., & Sengupta, D. (2011). Bt cotton and farmer suicides in India: An evidence-based assessment. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 47(2), 316-337.
- Jain, L., Kumar, H., & Singla, R. K. (2015). Assessing mobile technology usage for knowledge dissemination among farmers in Punjab. *Information Technology for Development*, 21(4), 668-676.
- Jain, M. (September, 2018). Punjab Agricultural University reaches out to farmers in distress. *Times of India*. Retrieved from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/ludhiana/pau-reaches-out-to-farmers-in-distress/articleshow/65745545.cms>
- Kale, N. M., Mankar, D. M., & Wankhade, P. P. (2014). Consequences of farmers suicide and suggestions perceived from victim's households to prevent suicides in Vidarbha region. *Global Journal of Science Frontier Research: Agriculture and Veterinary*, 14(10), 42-46.
- Khanna, B. (May, 2019a). 97% suicides in Punjab Farms were in Malwa region in 2000-2013. *Times of India*. Retrieved from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/ludhiana/97-suicides-in-punjab-farms-were-in-malwa-region-in-2000-2013/articleshow/69153261.cms>
- Khanna, R. (March, 2019b). Why are Punjab farmers unhappy despite loan waiver, cash in hand. *DownToEarth*. <https://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/agriculture/why-are-punjab-farmers-unhappy-despite-loan-waiver-cash-in-hand-63491>
- Kingra, H. S. (2015). *Agrarian crises and status of marginal and small farmers in Punjab*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, India.

- Mallick, S. (February, 2019). Pressure from the Banks pushes Farmers to Commit Suicide. *Down To Earth*. Retrieved from <https://www.downtoearth.org.in/interviews/agriculture/-pressure-from-banks-pushes-farmers-to-commit-suicide--63293>
- Manak, S. S. (January, 2019). *Around 430 small and marginal farm laborers in Punjab committed suicide in last one year: Bharitya Kisan Union*. Retrieved from <https://www.opindia.com/2019/01/around-430-small-and-marginal-farmers-and-farm-labourers-in-punjab-committed-suicide-in-last-one-year-bhartiya-kisan-union/>
- Ministry of Agriculture. (2016). *Ninth report: National Project on Organic Farming*. Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi.
- Mishra, S. (2006). Farmers' suicides in Maharashtra. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1538-1545.
- Moha, M. (2008). The Relationship between Farmers and Herders during the Food Crisis in Roumbou-Sakabal. *Afrique Contemporaine*, (1), 137-159.
- Mukherjee, S. (2009). Examining farmer suicides in India: A study of literature. *MPRA*.
- Nadaf, M. H., & Biradar, R. R. (2019). Regional Patterns of Farmer's Suicide in Karnataka: It's Causes and Remedial Measures. *International Journal of Research*, 8(4), 640-650.
- Nagraj, K. (2008). *Farmer Suicides In India: Magnitudes, Trends and Spatial Patterns*. Madras Institute of Technology, Macroscan. Retrieved from http://www.macroscan.org/anl/mar08/pdf/Farmers_Suicides.pdf.
- Nagthan, S., Poddar, R., Kunnal, I. B., Basvaraja, H., & Banakar, B. (2011). A probe into socio-economic and psychological profile of farmers' suicide in Karnataka. *Karnataka Journal of Agricultural Sciences*, 24(2).
- NCRB. (2015). *Accidental Deaths and Suicides in India*. National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.
- NSSO. (2005). *Household Indebtedness in India as on 30.06.2002*. AIDIS, NSS 591H Round (January-December 2003), Report No. 501, Government of India, New Delhi.
- Nyakundi, W. O., Magoma, G., Ochora, J., & Nyende, A. B. (2012, September). A survey of pesticide use and application patterns among farmers: a case study from selected horticultural farms in rift valley and central provinces, Kenya. In *Scientific Conference Proceedings*.
- Perceval, M., Kolves, K., Reddy, P., & De Leo, D. (2017). Farmer suicides: A qualitative study from Australia. *Occupational medicine*, 67(5), 383-388.

- Prakash, K. (May, 2019). 86% farm households in state under debt: Study. *The Tribune*. Retrieved from <https://epaper.tribuneindia.com/2152217/The-Tribune/TT-13-May-2019#page/4/2>
- Punjab Agricultural University. (2015). *Statistics of Punjab Agriculture*. Ludhiana: Punjab Agricultural University.
- Rao, T. S., Gowda, M. R., Ramachandran, K., & Andrade, C. (2017). Prevention of farmer suicides: Greater need for state role than for a mental health professional's role. *Indian Journal of Psychiatry*, 59(1), 3-5.
- Ray, K. B. (2018). Farmers' suicide in India: Ground Realities. *Artha Beekshan*, 27(3), 48-58.
- Singh, G., Kaur, R., Kaur, G., & Kaur, S. (2019). Levels of Living of Farmers and Agricultural Labourers in Rural Punjab. *Journal of Rural Development*, 38(1), 78-101.
- Singh, H., & Manisha. (2015). Crisis in agricultural heartland: farm suicides in malwa region of Punjab, India. *International Journal of Advancements in Research and Technology*, 4(2), 107-118.
- Singh, K. R. (December, 2018). A pattern of Farmer Suicides in Punjab: Unearthing the Green Revolution. *KALW*. Retrieved from <https://www.kalw.org/post/pattern-farmer-suicides-punj-ab- unearthing-green-revolution#stream/0>
- Singh, K., Singh, S., Kaur, M. & Kingra, H.S. (2007) *Flow of Funds to Farmers and Indebtness in Punjab*. Punjab State Farmer's Commission, Mohali & PAU.
- Singh, L., Bhangoo, K.S., & Sharma, R. (2018). *Agrarian Distress and Farmer Suicides in North India*. New Delhi: Routledge.
- Sood, J. (March, 2018). India's Deepening Farm Crisis: 76% farmers want to give up farming, shows study. *DowntoEarth.org*. Retrieved from <https://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/indias-deepening-farm-crisis-76-farmers-want-to-give-up-farming-shows-study-43728>.