

## **GENDERING OF THE ECONOMIC RELATIONS**

**E**conomy refers to the activities related to production, distribution and consumption of various goods. These activities involve collective and cooperative participation of people and, therefore, they are social activities or relations taking place among the human beings. The ownership and control of the means of production determine the distribution of work and products and the pattern of consumption of the products by the people. Since in the activities of production, distribution and consumption both the sexes participate it is but natural that the economic relations are formed on the basis of the cultural constructs of sex (gender). This gender construction and

perception that enters all aspects of the economic relations characterize them as gender relations as well in a society. These gender relations exhibit some stereotyping of the means of production, tools, market relations, occupations/jobs, incomes, distribution of goods, services and facilities, capacities, modes and extent of consumption of goods, and mutual obligations. The patterns of stereotyping vary among the groups of the same society and differ among the societies of various levels of economic and cultural development.

This Chapter attempts to examine the gendering of economic relations in Dewan Tea Garden Village. Therefore, the patterns of gender stereotyping of and gender disparity in occupations, incomes, expenses and property ownership are taken up for discussion to explain the nature and determinants of the status of women in the rural setting.

### **Occupational Status**

Women at a low economic level such as in the tea garden setting have always been engaged in some kind of wage earning. Their economic activity is not a matter of equity or self-actualization but rather a matter of economic survival. Occupational status of the respondents is shown in the Table 5.1.

**Table 5.1: Distribution of the Respondents into the Categories of Occupation by Community, Religion and Caste**

Categories Of Occupation	Community, Religion and Caste																		
	Bengali			Hindustani										Oriya	Santal	Grand Total			
				Bhojpori Hindu			Bhojpori Muslim		Hindi Speaking			Hindustani Total							
	OBC's	SC's	Total	OBC's	SC's	Total	OBC's	SC's	Total	OBC's	SC's	Total	OBC's	ST's	OBC	SC	ST	Total	
House Wife	5	-	5 (38.46)	7	2	9 (36.0)	1	-	1 (50.0)	1	8	3	11 (33.33)	1	-	14 (36.36)	3	-	17 (34.0)
Permanent Labour	2	-	2 (15.38)	4	2	6 (24.0)	-	2	-	2 (66.66)	6	2	8 (27.27)	2	1	10 (26.68)	2	1	13 (26.0)
Casual Garden Labour	3	1	4 (30.76)	6	2	8 (32.0)	-	-	-	-	6	2	8 (27.27)	2	1	11 (28.94)	3	1	15 (30.0)
Domestic Labour	1	-	1 (7.69)	1	-	1 (4.0)	-	-	-	-	1	-	1 (4.54)	-	-	2 (5.26)	-	-	2 (4.0)
Permanent Labour with Wine Selling	-	-	-	-	1	1 (4.0)	-	-	-	-	-	1	1 (12.5)	-	-	-	1	-	1 (2.0)
Casual Garden Labour with Domestic Service	-	1	1 (7.69)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1 (2.0)
Retired from Garden Work	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1 (4.54)	-	-	1 (2.63)	-	-	1 (2.0)
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>13 (100)</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>25 (100)</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3 (100)</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>30 (100)</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>38 (100)</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>50 (100)</b>

The data show that the respondents are classified in seven occupational categories, in all. Of the respondents two thirds are engaged in the wage labour of various kinds (permanent, casual and domestic) and the rest are the housewives taking care of household chores. Of the women, 28% pursue casual labour, 26% have permanent service in the garden, 6% are occupied with domestic labour and 2% each are engaged in permanent work at garden allied by wine selling, casual labour of garden with domestic labour and those who have retired from garden work.

Community wise, 15.38% of the Bengali, 26.68% of the Hindustani (24% of the Bhojpuri Hindu and 66.66% of the Hindi speaking), 40% of the Oriya and 50% of the Santal respondents are occupied with the permanent garden labour, 30.76% of the Bengali, 26.68% of the Hindustani (32% of the Bhojpuri Hindu), 40% of the Oriya and 50% of the Santal constitute the casual labour of garden, 7.69% of the Bengali and 3.33% of the Hindustani (4% of the Bhojpuri Hindu) are engaged in the domestic labour and 38.46% of the Bengali, 36.66% of the Hindustani and 20% of the Oriya respondents are housewives.

Caste wise, 26.31% of the OBCs, 20% of the SCs and 50% of the STs are occupied with the permanent labour, 28.94% of the OBCs, 30% of the SCs and 50% of the STs are casual labour, 5.26% of the OBCs constitute the domestic labour, 10% each of the Scheduled Castes are engaged in the permanent labour allied by wine selling and the casual labour allied by domestic services and 36.84% of the OBCs and 30% of the SCs are the housewives.

Thus, more than half of the womenfolk are engaged in different types of wage labour. To understand gender differences in occupational distribution and life chances the occupational status of the respondents have to be compared with the occupational status of their male counterparts. Distribution of these males is shown in the Table 5.2.

**Table 5.2: Distribution of the Male Counterparts of the Respondents into the Categories of Occupation by Community, Religion and Caste**

Categories of Occupation	Community, Religion and Caste																		
	Bengali			Hindustani										Oriya	Santal	Grand Total			
				Bhojpur Hindu			Bhojpuri Muslim		Hindi Speaking			Hindustani Total							
	OBC's	SCs	Total	OBC's	SCs	Total	OBC's	OBCs	SCs	Total	OBC's	SCs	Total	OBC's	STs	OBC	SC	ST	Total
Permanent Garden Labour	5	-	5 (38.46)	8	3	11 (44)	1 (50)	1	1	2 (66.66)	10 (45.45)	4 (50)	14 (46.66)	-	1 (50)	16 (42.10)	4 (40)	1 (50)	21 (42)
Casual Labour	2	1	-	2	1	3 (12)	-	-	-	-	2 (9.09)	1 (12.5)	3 (10)	1 (20)	-	5 (13.15)	2 (20)	-	7 (14)
Domestic Labour	1	1	3 (23.7)	1	1	2 (8)	-	-	-	1 (33.33)	2 (9.09)	1 (12.5)	3 (10)	-	-	3 (7.89)	2 (20)	-	5 (10)
Government Service	1	-	2 (15.38)	1	-	1 (3)	-	-	-	-	1 (5.54)	-	1 (3.33)	-	-	2 (5.25)	-	1 (50)	2 (4)
Casual Garden Labour & Domestic Labour	-	-	1 (7.69)	3	-	3 (12)	1 (50)	-	-	-	4 (18.18)	-	4 (13.33)	1 (20)	1 (50)	5 (13.15)	-	-	6 (12)
Casual Garden Labour & Firewood Collection	-	-	-	1	2	3 (12)	-	-	-	-	1 (5.54)	2 (25)	3 (10)	2 (40)	-	3 (7.89)	2 (20)	-	5 (10)
Shop Owners	1	-	-	1	-	1 (4)	-	-	-	-	1 (5.54)	-	1 (3.33)	-	-	2 (5.25)	-	-	2 (4)
Cow Boy	1	-	1 (7.69)	1	-	1 (4)	-	-	-	-	1 (5.54)	-	1 (3.33)	-	-	2 (5.25)	-	-	2 (4)
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>13 (100)</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>25 (100)</b>	<b>2 (100)</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3 (100)</b>	<b>22 (100)</b>	<b>8 (100)</b>	<b>30 (100)</b>	<b>5 (100)</b>	<b>2 (100)</b>	<b>38 (100)</b>	<b>10 (100)</b>	<b>2 (100)</b>	<b>50 (100)</b>

The data show that the male counterparts of the respondents are classified in nine occupational categories and 96% of these are engaged in manual labour. The rest are either Government servants or shop owners. Besides, 42% are engaged in the permanent garden labour, 14% in the casual Garden labour, 12% in the casual labour as well as the domestic labour and 10% in the casual labour as well as firewood collection.

When compared one finds that the women are either the housewives fully engaged in unpaid work or both the housewives and the labour force. On the other hand, the males are only the labour force. Besides, of the labour force the women constitute only two thirds of the permanent labour and half of the casual labour of the males in the garden. Mostly they constitute the casual labour in the garden or domestic sphere. They do not have any share in the occupations of shop keeping and cow rearing. Therefore, gender is used as a tool for depriving people even among the most deprived one. Hence, there is the low status of the women as the work is distributed on the basis of gender consideration.

Here, a question springs up: What is the nature of wage distribution between the sexes of the people? The question is attempted in the following discussion.

### **Wages**

So far as wage discrimination is concerned, the tea industry practises no discrimination between male and female labourers. The wage discrimination is found in domestic services. The domestic work which includes storing water from river, well or pond, cleaning floors, washing cloths, utensils, etc. is the major occupation of 6% respondents. The male workers received the wages of Rs.50 to 60 per day whereas wage rate for female labourers is not even fixed. The female labourers generally get some raw vegetables and rice and a one-time meal or the wages ranging between Rs.15-20 along with a one-time meal. The duration of time and type of work for the domestic servants is one of the important factors for wage discrimination on the sexual basis. Male labourers generally do heavy work like repairing of houses, making of bamboo fences, etc. for eight hours a day. On the other hand, the female labourers do comparatively light work for no fixed duration of time. But both the domestic labourers, male and female, get the same wages for the same work like harvesting, etc. where the labour is urgently required. Therefore, the domestic labour

reflects both the sexual discrimination in the wage distribution and the sexual stereotyping of the jobs.

The women not only contribute to the production of economic significance but generate income and property in their families. However, control over the income and property varies from society to society in terms of the culturally defined rights and privileges of the two sexes.

### Control over Income

Though the women earn from different sources, mostly they have no control over their own incomes. The types of control over the women's income generated from various occupational sources are shown in the Table 5.3.

**Table 5.3: Distribution of the Respondents into the Types of Control of Incomes by Occupation**

Incomes Controlled by	Occupation of the Respondents					
	Permanent Labour	Casual Labour	Domestic Labour	Permanent Labour with wine shop	Casual Labour with Domestic Labour	Total
Oneself	2 (15.38)	1 (6.66)	-	-	-	3 (9.37)
Husband	5 (38.46)	7 (46.66)	1 (50)	-	1 (100)	14 (43.75)
Oneself and Husband	6 (46.15)	7 (46.66)	-	1 (100)	-	14 (43.75)
Son	-	-	1 (50)	-	-	1 (3.12)
<b>Total</b>	<b>13 (100)</b>	<b>15 (100)</b>	<b>2 (100)</b>	<b>1 (100)</b>	<b>1 (100)</b>	<b>32 (100)</b>

The data reveal that the women engaging 38.45% of the permanent labour, 42.85% of the casual labour, 33.33% of the domestic services and 100% of the casual labour with domestic services have no control over their own incomes which are mostly utilized by their husbands; those

engaging 46.15% of the permanent labour, 50% of the casual labour and 100% permanent labour with wine shop have partial control (along with husband) over their income and those engaging only 15.38% of the permanent labour, 7.14% of the casual labour and 33.33% of the wage labour have full control over their incomes.

It means that the women have very less control over whatever they earn and those who have the control over their incomes do not constitute more than one third of their number in any of the occupational categories.

But it may vary in terms of the community, religion and caste. Therefore, the data are further examined in their structural contexts. The relationship between the control over incomes and the social structure is shown in the Table 5.4.

**Table 5.4: Distribution of the Respondents into the Types of Controls over Income by Community, Religion and Caste**

Incomes Controlled by	Community, Religion and Caste																					
	Bengali			Hindustani											Oriya		Santal		Grand Total			
				Bhojpuri Hindu			Bhojpuri Muslim	Hindi Speaking			Hindustani Total											
	OBCs	SCs	Total	OBCs	SCs	Total	OBCs	OBCs	SCs	Total	OBCs	SCs	Total	OBCs	STs	OBC	SC	ST	Total			
Herself	1	-	1 (12.5)	1	-	1 (6.26)	-	-	-	-	1	-	1 (7.69)	2	1	4 (17.39)	-	1 (50%)	5 (15.62)			
Husband	3	-	3 (37.5)	6	2	8 (50%)	-	1	-	1 (50%)	7	2	9 (53.84)	2	-	12 (52.17)	2	-	14 (43.75)			
Herself and Husband	2	2	4 (50%)	3	3	6 (37.5)	-	1	-	1 (50%)	4	3	7 (30.76)	-	1 (50%)	6 (26.08)	5	1	12 (37.5)			
Son	-	-	-	1	-	1 (6.26)	-	-	-	-	1	-	1 (7.69)	-	-	1 (4.34)	-	-	1 (3.12)			
Total	6	2	8 (100)	11	5	16 (100)	-	2	-	2 (100)	13	5	18 (100)	4	2	23 (100)	7	2	32 (100)			



The table shows that among the working respondents 46.87% have no control over their incomes that are utilized mostly by their husbands and marginally by their sons, too. Only 15.62% working respondents have full control and 37.5% have partial control (along with husband) over their incomes.

Community wise, 37.5% of the Bengali, 50% each of the Hindustani (50% of the Bhojpuri Hindu, 50% of the Hindi speaking) the Oriya respondents have no control over their incomes; 50% of the Bengali and 38.88% of the Hindustani (37.5% of the Bhojpuri and 50% of the Hindi Speaking) have partial control over their own income, and 12.5% of the Bengali, 5.55% of the Hindustani (6.26% of the Bhojpuri) and 50% each of the Oriya and the Santal respondents have full control over their own incomes.

Caste wise, 52.17% of the OBCs and 28.58% of the SCs have no control over their incomes, 26.08% of the OBCs, 71.42% of the SCs and 50% of the STs have partial control over their incomes and 17.39% of the OBCs and 50% of the STs have full control over their own income.

Thus, irrespective of caste and community women are like bonded labour in their families. Almost all respondents whose incomes are controlled by their husbands give their whole incomes to their husbands because they feel that to sustain the families their help is must. The women who have full control over their incomes spend not only for their own needs but also for family consumption.

Sabitri Bhuyan, Maloti Goala and Anita Bawri – a permanent labour, a casual labour and a domestic servant respectively- buy necessary commodities like rice, oil, salt, etc. for their families from their wages. The housewives looking after household, collecting firewood and taking care of children have no rights to spend their husbands' incomes without their consent.

## **Family Property**

Land holding, animals, household items and ornaments constitute the property of a family in the village. Landholding as a means of family property gives status and recognition to the owners

and also gives rights and powers over the means of production. The rights and powers are inherited from the previous generations and transmitted to the next generations in institutional forms. Here, the property and its ownership is discussed in terms of gender relations.

## Landholding

Landholding forms a prime source of the property for their existence and living. The landholding status of the respondents' families is shown in the Table 5.5.

**Table 5.5: Distribution of the Respondents' Families into the Size of Landholding by Community, Religion and Caste**

Size of Landholding (in bighas)	Community, Religion and Caste																				
	Bengali			Hindustani										Oriya		Santal		Grand Total			
				Bhojpuri Hindu			Bhojpuri Muslim		Hindi Speaking			Hindustani Total									
	OBC's	SC's	Total	OBC's	SC's	Total	OBC's	OBC's	SC's	Total	OBC's	SC's	Total	OBC's	ST's	OBC'	SC'	ST	Total		
Nil	7	1	8 (61.53)	10	5	15 (60%)	1 (50%)	1	1	2 (66.66)	12 (54.54)	6 (75%)	18 (60%)	2 (40%)	1 (50%)	21 (55.26)	7 (70%)	1 (50%)	29 (58%)		
1-2	3	1	4 (30.76)	6	2	8 (32%)	1 (50%)	1	-	1 (33.33)	8 (36.36)	2 (25%)	10 (33.33)	3 (60%)	-	14 (36.84)	3 (30%)	-	17 (34%)		
3-4	1	-	1 (7.69)	1	-	1 (4%)	-	-	-	-	1 (5.54)	-	1 (3.33)	-	1 (50%)	2 (5.26)	-	1 (50%)	3 (6%)		
5-6	-	-	-	1	-	1 (4%)	-	-	-	-	1 (5.54)	-	1 (3.33)	-	-	1 (2.63)	-	-	1 (2%)		
<b>Total</b>	11	2	13 (100)	18	7	25 (100)	2 (100)	2	1	3 (100)	22 (100)	8 (100)	30 (100)	5 (100)	2 (100)	38 (100)	10 (100)	2 (100)	50 (100)		

The table shows that 58% of the respondents' families are landless, 34% have 1-2 bighas, 6% have 3-4 bighas and 2% have 5-6 bighas of land.

Community wise, 61.53% of the Bengali, 60% of the Hindustani (60% of the Bhojpuri Hindu, 50% of the Bhojpuri Muslim and 66.66% of the Hindi Speaking), 40% of the Oriya and 50%

of the Santal families of the respondents are landless; 30.76% of the Bengali, 33.33% of the Hindustani (32% of the Bhojpuri Hindu, 50% of the Bhojpuri Muslim, 33.33% of the Hindi Speaking) and 60% of the Oriya families have 1-2 bighas of land and 7.69% of the Bengali, 3.33% of the Hindustani (4% of the Bhojpuri Hindu) and 50% of the Santal families have 3-4 bighas of land.

Though 42% respondents' families have landholding and 100% have household items like chair, table, bed, utensils, radio, T.V., etc. But they lack control ownership of their family property. It is shown in from the Table 5.6.

**Table 5.6: Distribution of the Respondents into the Ownership Patterns of Family Property by Community and Religion**

Family Property Owned By	Community and Religion							
	Bengali	Hindustani				Oriya	Santal	Grand Total
		Bhojpuri Hindu	Bhojpuri Muslim	Hindi Speaking	Hindustani Total			
Husband	10 (76.9)	20 (80%)	1 (50%)	3 (100)	24 (80%)	4 (80%)	2 (100)	40 (80%)
Father-in-law and Husband	3 (23.07)	4 (16%)	1 (50%)	-	5 (16.66)	1 (20%)	-	9 (18%)
Son	-	1 (4%)	-	-	1 (3.33)	-	-	1 (2%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>13 (100)</b>	<b>25 (100)</b>	<b>2 (100)</b>	<b>3 (100)</b>	<b>30 (100)</b>	<b>5 (100)</b>	<b>2 (100)</b>	<b>50 (100)</b>

The table reveals that the respondents (females) in all the communities own nothing of their family property either in the form of landholding or household items. Their husbands, fathers-in-law or sons own the property. Three fourths of the respondents have the family property owned by their

husbands. About one fifth (18%) of the respondents share the ownership with their husbands or fathers-in-law. In case of a small fraction their sons control the property.

About four fifths of the Bengali, Hindustani and Oriya respondents and all the Santal respondents have the family property owned by their husbands. About one fifth of the Bengali, Hindustani and Oriya respondents have it owned by their husbands and fathers-in-law. Only in case of one Bhojpuri Hindu sons own the property.

### **Property Inheritance**

The property is inherited through male line. The respondents whether they are earning members or housewives have no grievance in this regard. The respondents like Kaushalaya Kahar- a 32 years old middle school pass housewife, Laxmi Hazam– a 30 years old high school pass house wife and Saraswati Koiri – a 35 years old illiterate casual labour feel that the property should be remain under the control of their men as they are not intelligent enough to take care of it.

It shows that the male dominance of economic affairs is imbedded so deep in social values of the females that they cannot even think of their rights and participation to control the family property.

### **Household Roles**

Along with their outdoor work for earning in the tea garden the women have to look after their domestic responsibilities in their families. The actual role of the respondents in their households is reflected in the Table 5.7.

**Table 5.7: Distribution of Respondents into the Types of Households Roles by Community, Religion and Caste**

Types of Household Roles	Community, Religion and Caste																				
	Bengali			Hindustani										Oriya		Santal		Grand Total			
				Bhojpuri Hindu			Bhojpuri Muslim		Hindi Speaking			Hindustani Total									
	OBC's	SC's	Total	OBC's	SC's	Total	OBC's	OBC's	SC's	Total	OBC's	SC's	Total	OBC's	STs	OBC'	SC'	ST	Total		
All Domestic Works	6	1	7 (53.84)	15	2	17 (68%)	1 (50%)	1	1	2 (66.66)	17 (77.27)	3 (37.5)	20 (66.66)	2 (40%)	1 (50%)	25 (65.78)	4 (40%)	1 (50%)	30 (60%)		
Cooking	-	-	-	2	3	5 (20%)	-	1	-	1 (33.33)	3 (13.63)	3 (37.5)	6 (20%)	-	-	3 (7.89)	3 (30%)	-	6 (12%)		
Cleaning House, Utensils, etc.	1	-	1 (7.70)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (2.63)	-	-	1 (2%)		
Cooking and Collecting Firewood	3	-	3 (23.7)	1	1	2 (8%)	-	-	-	-	1 (4.54)	1 (12.5)	2 (6.66)	2 (40%)	-	6 (15.78)	1 (10%)	-	7 (14%)		
Cooking, Collecting Firewood & Fetching Water	-	1	1 (7.70)	-	1	1 (4%)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (12.5)	1 (3.33)	-	-	-	2 (20%)	-	2 (4%)		
Collecting Firewood & Fetching Water	1	-	1 (7.70)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (2.63)	-	-	1 (2%)		
Looking after Children & Collecting Firewood	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (50%)	-	-	-	1 (4.54)	-	1 (3.33)	1 (20%)	1 (50%)	2 (5.26)	-	1 (50%)	3 (6%)		
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>13 (100)</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>25 (100)</b>	<b>2 (100)</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3 (100)</b>	<b>22 (100)</b>	<b>8 (100)</b>	<b>30 (100)</b>	<b>5 (100)</b>	<b>2 (100)</b>	<b>38 (100)</b>	<b>10 (100)</b>	<b>2 (100)</b>	<b>50 (100)</b>		

The data show that three fourths of the respondents carried out all kind of domestic tasks such as cooking, washing, cleaning, collecting firewood, fetching water and looking after children. 50% to 67% of the respondents in all the communities have to carry out all the domestic tasks in their families.

Therefore, the respondents have to perform a dual role, i. e., at the work outside and within the household sphere. They have to carry out the sex-stereotyped domestic activities like cooking, etc. and contribute their labour outside the household to earn for their families. The phenomenon appears clearly the Table 5.8.

**Table 5.8: Distribution of the Respondents into the Types of the Households Roles by Occupational Categories**

Types of the Households Roles	Occupational Categories of the Respondents					
	Permanent Garden Labour	Casual Garden Labour	Domestic Labour	Permanent Labour + Wine Shop	Casual Garden Labour + Domestic Service	Total
All Domestic Works	7 (53.84)	6 (42.85)	-	-	1 (100)	14 (43.75)
Cooking	2 (15.78)	2 (14.28)	-	-	-	4 (12.5)
Cleaning House & Utensils, etc.	1 (7.70)	3 (21.42)	-	-	-	4 (12.5)
Cooking and Collecting Firewood	2 (15.78)	1 (7.14)	1 (33.33)	1 (100)	-	5 (15.62)
Cooking, Collecting Firewood & Fetching Water	-	1 (7.14)	1 (33.33)	-	-	2 (6.25)
Collecting Firewood & Fetching Water	1 (7.70)	1 (7.14)	-	-	-	2 (6.25)
Looking after Grand Children & Collecting Firewood	-	-	1 (33.33)	-	-	1 (3.12)
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b> (100)	<b>14</b> (100)	<b>3</b> (100)	<b>1</b> (100)	<b>1</b> (100)	<b>32</b> (100)

The data show that of the working respondents, 43.75% carried out all kinds of domestic works along with their outside works for earnings.

Occupation wise, 53.84% of the permanent labour, 42.85% of the casual labour and 100% of the casual labour with domestic service performed all domestic works, 15.78 of the permanent labour, 14.28% of the casual labour do only cooking and rest of the respondents of different wage labour categories perform the household works like cooking, collecting firewood, or cleaning cloth, utensils, or looking after grand children and collecting firewood.

It indicates that majority of tea garden women are heavily burdened with work. It is common to see a number of women carrying heavy loads of firewood/water pots on their heads in Dewan. A woman's day starts early in the morning and ends late in the evening. After finishing all the domestic works they go to their work place outside. When they return home they bring firewood for cooking at night.

Extent of the help rendered to the respondents in their domestic work by their husbands, children, relatives or maidservants is shown in the Table 5.9.

**Table 5.9: Distribution of the Respondents into the Types of Helping Hand in the Household Works during Normal Conditions by Community and Religion**

Types of Helping Hand	Community and Religion							
	Bengali	Hindustani				Oriya	Santal	Total
		Bhojpuri Hindu	Bhojpuri Muslim	Hindi Speaking	Total			
None	8	16	1	2	19	2	1	30 (60%)
Grown up Daughter	3	6	-	-	6	1	-	10 (20%)
Female In-law Relatives	2	3	1	1	5	2	1	10 (20%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>50 (100)</b>

The table reveals that during normal conditions of family functioning three fifths of the respondents get no help at all in the household works. The remaining gets the help but only from the females such as grown up daughters or in-law relatives. This Fact is true for all the communities.

But the respondents were helped in their domestic work during the time of emergency conditions. It is shown in the Table 5.10.

**Table 5.10: Distribution of the Respondents into the Types of Helping Hand in the Household Works during Emergencies Conditions by Community and Religion**

Types of Helping Hand	Community and Religion							Total
	Bengali	Hindustani			Oriya	Santal	Total	
		Bhojpuri Hindu	Bhojpuri Muslim	Hindi Speaking				
Husband	4	4	-	-	4	1	-	9 (18%)
Grown up Daughter	5	8	1	1	10	1	-	16 (32%)
Grown up Sons	-	4	-	1	5	-	1	6 (12%)
Female In-law Relatives	3	8	1	1	10	3	1	17 (34%)
Maid Servants	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	2 (4%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>50 (100)</b>

The table reveals that even during the situations of illness, pregnancy, etc. it is the female in-law relatives and grown-up daughters who extended helping hand in the household works in the



case of over two thirds of the respondents. Among the males who helped them are the husbands and grown-up sons of the respondents.

Thus, despite being earning members in their family, the women in no way neglect their socially defined roles of cooking food, maintaining houses, childcare, etc. Their husbands and grown up sons help them during some emergency when not even a female family member is available or the daughters are too young to render any kind of help. If it is possible, a maidservant is asked to help. Anupama Yadab and Anita Bawri did so during their condition of illness or other emergencies. In Anupama Yadab's conjugal family her husband is unable to cook. So, she had to take help of a maidservant when she fell ill. Anita Bawri took help of a maidservant when she fell ill or had some other emergency as her daughter cannot cook.

Thus, the women bear the brunt of the household works along with their significant economic contribution. But even this does not arouse any role conflict among them as they are steeped into the traditional patriarchal values. They have to face a kind of exploitation and sex stereotyping of works both inside and outside the house.

In sum, it reveals that the women in Dewan also equally earn for family and work more than the men but most of them have no control over their own incomes. They do not legally own the family property in the form of landholding or household commodities. Nevertheless, they neglect none of their household duties. This indicates the low economic status of the women as compared to the men. The traditional sex stereotyping values of work effectively sustain their conventional duties and also burden them with the new ones, without any relief from the conventional ones, in the changing life conditions.