

**NEGOTIATING GENDER AND SPACE: FEMALE  
WORKERS IN TEA GARDENS IN  
NORTH BENGAL**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfilment of  
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**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

**BRIJIT SUCHITA KUJUR**



**CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
NEW DELHI-110067  
INDIA  
2003**



जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
Centre for the Study of Regional Development  
School of Social Sciences  
New Delhi-110067

CERTIFICATE

I, Brijit Suchita Kujur, certify that the dissertation entitled "NEGOTIATING GENDER AND SPACE: FEMALE WORKERS IN TEA GARDENS IN NORTH BENGAL" for the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY is my bonafide work and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

BRIJIT SUCHITA KUJUR

Forwarded by

(PROF. SARASWATI RAJU)  
SUPERVISOR

(PROF. ASLAM MAHMOOD)  
CHAIRPERSON

~~Chairperson~~  
Centre for the Study of Reg. Dev.  
School of Social Sciences,  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi-110 057

*Dedicated To*

*“My Family Members In The Tea Garden”*

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## **Chapter 1**

# **Introduction**

## **Introduction**

'Work' is one of the most contested concepts in terms of its definition. What constitutes work and what does not becomes particularly complex when work transcends the domestic space and public domain. Much of the problem in defining work is related to how role models are defined for males and females, for example, traditionally, males are seen as bread earners as compared to females whose primary responsibility is thought of as reproduction (Shandong Women's Federation 1986; McDowell and Pringle 1994; Parpart Connelly and Barriteau 2000; Raju 2001). Such construction of roles that is based on gender makes females workers invisible in the economic field (Foord and Gregson 1986). In official statistics such as Census, participation in any economically gainful activity is defined as work. Such participation may be physical or mental in nature. This does not only involve actual work but also effective supervision and direction of work. It also includes unpaid work on farm or in family enterprise.

Work status of females gets affected by the nature of work that may be carried out at home even as an extension of work in the public spheres. Agriculture is a case in point, where considerable amount of work related to fields is carried out at home (Chandna 1967; Mitra 1978; Bardhan 1979; Hiraway and Roy 1999). Also female negotiate work place responsibilities and household chores, in situations where role models within the household do not re-define themselves. That is to say, household chores are not shared by other family members including males. Overall strict patriarchal chords that may sometime get diluted, albeit in changed form completely absent, because of certain specific characteristics of population that is in tribal context, continue to remain at the background influencing female's work (Rao and Rana 1997; Verma 1997; Mitra 2000). Plantations offer slightly unique case as they are the sites of work, and males and female are at the plantation site, essentially as workers (Sarkar and Bhowmik 1998). Societal constraints, which may be clearly visible in other situations in terms of approval of female's work in public space, are subtle at such sites (Jain 1998). Also, certain other variables such as ethnic and religious locations of female may intervene to produce complex pattern defying hypothesized relationship between female and their work status (Foord and Gregson 1986). Attempts have been made in the following paragraphs to trace

the complexities that enters female's world of work. Against which subsequent analysis can be placed.

### **Gendered Location of Females and its Implications for Their Work Status**

The society from the very beginning teaches the difference between, the males and the females. Thus, Gender is a social construct of the sexes, inherent part of the manner in which all societies are organised and is also a crucial part of the different ways in which kinship has been constructed and defined (McDowell and Pringle 1994). Thus emerges these differences over a whole range of variables be it cultural, economical or domestic. These differences are conceived, constructed and acted upon by people in society and far removed from what natural difference alone would warrant (Krishnaraj 1996). Suzanne Mackenzie (1980) points out that society requires two kinds of work; the work of producing the means of subsistence...and the work of reproducing the labour force... females are central to the reproduction work (Foord and Gregson 1986).

The biological differences that enable them to do certain works, becomes the basis for further discrimination (Tiger and Fox undated). Males are meant to be more aggressive and dominant, thus they are to do difficult task and face the hardship of earning a livelihood. On the other hand, females are soft natured and are biologically meant to reproduce and care for children, and rear them up. They are thought to be born housewives, capable of trivial housework only. Thus the society decides that female should remain inside the house confined within and taking care of the family, meanwhile males would venture out to support family by earning a livelihood needs (World Bank Country Study 1991; McDowell and Pringle 1994).

Thus, the roles got socially prescribed according to the activity and behaviour norms accorded to males and females. Individuals adopt these roles either due to their own desire to conform to it or unquestioningly accept the given roles (Foord and Gregson 1986). The primary role of females is thus, to be a housewife and a mother. They are assumed to have dexterity, capable of doing routine work, flexible with low skill and having the capacity to care. As such, females are concentrated in specific sectors and occupations, except the technical and some professional areas, but only if they are allowed to transcend their domestic and private sphere.

This dichotomy between 'public' and 'private' is central to the development of feminist theory. Earlier it was argued that each domain is a separate sphere, appropriate for different sexes (Massey and Fruzzeti 1985; Foord and Gregson 1986; Correa and Petchesky 1994; McDowell and Pringle 1994; Peet 1998). Kate Millett (1969) provided one of the earliest discussions on this aspect. She calls the private world as an ideological prison. She quotes the lecture given by John Rusking (1864) where he explained, "home was where females should stay, for only male can, could be the doer, the creator, the discoverer. Wherever female was, became a home...a heaven of tranquility and love though she was to be ruled by her lord." Home was described as private domestic and feminine space quite separate from the male sphere of waged work and politics (Rose 1993). Roger (1985) called it "domestication of women" who occupy themselves exclusively with the domestic task. Michelle Rosaldo, was one of the earliest exponents within feminist anthropology with the argued that public/private division is universal. She defines private or domestic activities as those institution and activities, organized around mother and child group, whereas, public activities are based on the hierarchical structure that constructs females and children as inferior.

Feminists have criticized this presumed public/private division. Rosalind Petchesky (1994) has pointed out that production and reproduction far from being separate territories, like the moon and the sun or the kitchen and the shop, are really intimately relayed modes that reverberate upon one another and frequently occur in the same social, physical and even psychic spaces. Socialist feminist explained women's inequality in terms of the social and spatial separation of the production and reproduction, home and work, domestic and waged labour, and men's and women's lives, under Capitalism (Foord and Gregson 1986).

The Marxist and the Liberal point of views universalize the separation between family (private) and economy (public) and between 'family and the state' respectively (Correa and Petchesky 1994; McDowell and Pringle 1994) and they also assert that the changes in the family can be understood as effects of changes in the economy. Further family alone is not sufficient to regulate social life adequately. Many feminist have pointed out that even while many females had left their houses for wage earning activities in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the social relation of their paid jobs often replicated the social relation

of the homes they have left. Both the domains tend to be dominated by males, and the male dominance in one sphere reinforces it in the other. Transfer of gender roles from home to the work world has been described by some feminist as the rise of the 'public patriarchy' (McDowell and Pringle 1994)

The present workforce is experiencing a rapid rise in the females's employment. Studies have shown that more and more females, specially married females, are venturing out into the public world (Becker 1981; Espenshade 1985; Goldscheider and Waite 1986; Farley 1988; World Bank Country Study 1991; Bergatta and Bergatta 1992; Lott 1994; Agarwal 1998). A female with family has more reasons to work, to help set up a new household or to earn an extra earning for childcare, their education etc. Greater labour force participation of females enhances the welfare of household too (King and Evenson 1983; Krishnaraj 1988). In addition, this translates into a greater personal and economic independence from males (Becker 1981; Espenshade 1985; Goldscheider and Waite 1986; Farley 1988). Thus, the pure division between private and public spaces given by earlier scholars does not hold true. The rising number of female workers does not support the idea of the two spaces being insulated and detached. The two spaces are rather connected and combined. A female's condition and position in the private world has its influence on the public world, thus making a system within the house and the place of work.

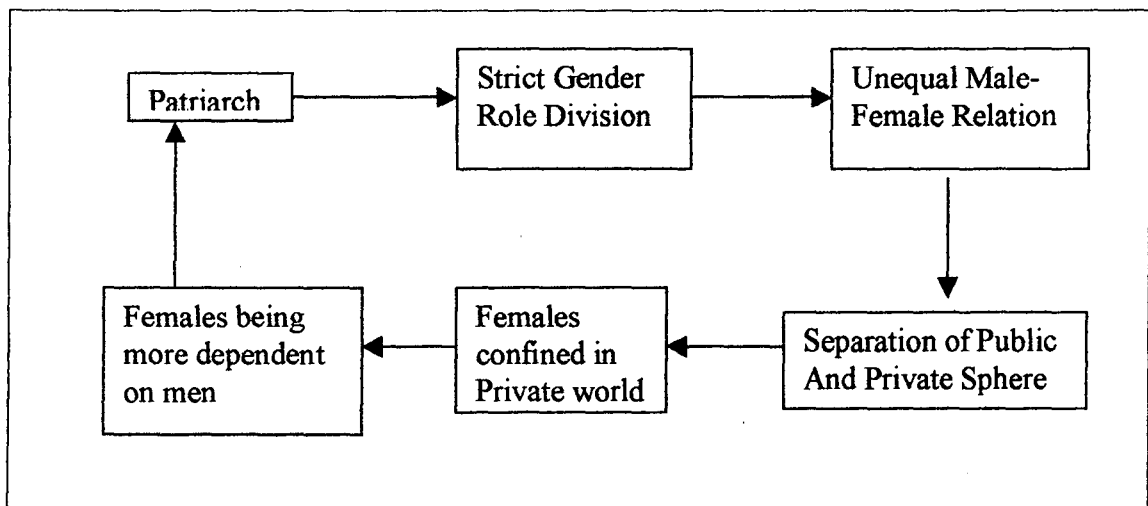
### **Patriarchy and Female's Work**

#### **a) *The triple burden and patriarchy***

Patriarchy is not just a matter of differential distribution of power; it is built into the very mechanism of production. Males control female's labour both within the household and outside. In what Sylvia Walby calls the 'Patriarchal mode of Production', their husbands and others who live there expropriate female's labours (Walby 1994). Either they force them to sell their labour at low rate or prevent them from doing so. They also appropriate what females earn. This control over and exploitation of females 's labour means that males benefit materially from patriarchy; they derive concrete economic gains from the subordination of females (Bhasin 1993).

Thus, the moment the domestic space is traversed for working space, patriarchy gets interrupted. In a patriarchal setup a female is either a man's wife or his unmarried sister or his mother (Fruzzeti 1985). Her male relatives mediate her links with the outside world (World Bank Country Study 1991). The etymological meaning of Patriarchy means the rule by the Father. But in the family setup, all males of the household tend to rule over the females. But patriarchy is most frequently associated with the material and ideological control of female's sexuality and labour both at home and at work (Mitchell 1975). As Hartman (1976) clearly defines it to be a set of hierarchical relations that has a material base in which there is hierarchical relation between males and solidarity among them, which enables them to control females. Thus patriarchy as a system, enables males to control female's productive and reproductive labour both (Hartman, 1981; Mohamed and Ng 1998).

**Fig. 1.1 Gender Relation in a Patriarchal set up**



Source: Based on literature reviewed.

Female who work outside the house tend to work inside too, almost as much in terms of chores done, as female who are full time housewives. An employed female who is a wife and also mother remains primarily responsible for the good health, comfort, cleanliness and happiness of her husband and children. Patriarchal ideologies restrict females's access to productive work outside the home, but economic hardship often necessitates this. She gets involved in the laborious household work and reproduction together with her involvement in production, which means the survival of the household.

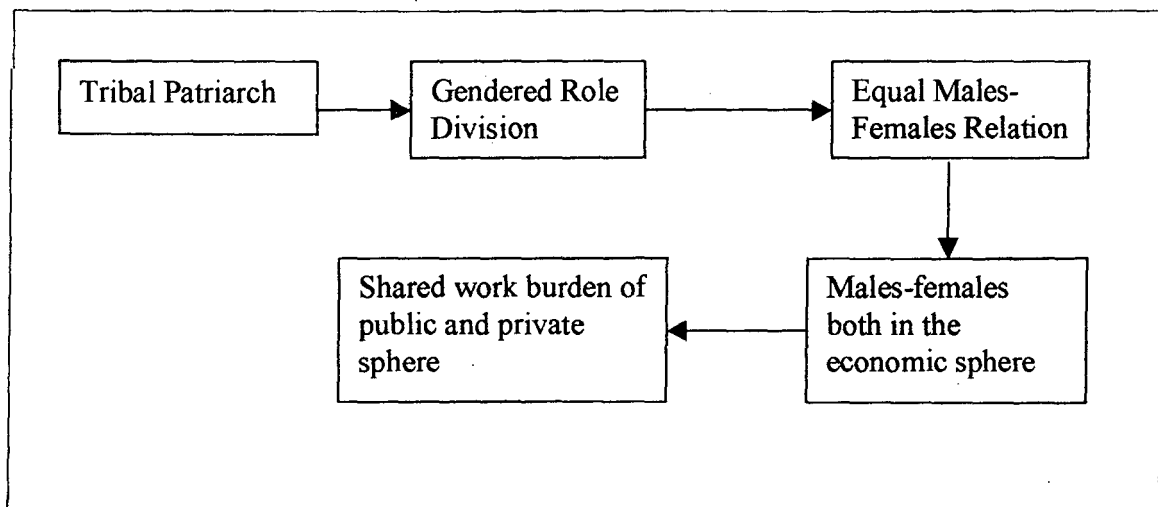
Females are thus overburdened with the triple burden of household work, outside work and the reproductive burden (Kaistha and Raha undated). Thus they suffer from health disorder and mental illness too. This results in low productivity, thus giving a viable excuse for the management to give them low wages. Thus their work is devalued. Given this hierarchical and patriarchal nature of the society, females are still behind males and their status is still abysmally low.

Patriarchy can be punctured in several contexts, although it is never absent even in gender egalitarian societies such as tribal. The form of patriarchy may be expressed differently and the interventions to deal with it may differ (Raju 2002).

#### b) *Tribal Set up*

For example, in a tribal egalitarian society, which is essentially different from the social structure of the caste-based Hindu society. The tribal males and females share equal rights.

**Fig. 1.2 Gender Relation in Tribal World**



Source: Based on literature reviewed.

Though the family lineage runs through the male head of the household, the society does not have an aura of domination. The equal division of labour shows males and females putting equal effort to toil the land. Instead of gender based division of labour tribal group functions on their natural instinct (Risley 1981; Jain 1998; Ahmad 1999). Thus, these gender relations can have a different system in such society. The tribal identity

interrogates the gendered identity and the related ideas of patriarchy and domination and submission.

### **Females in Labour Market**

Economic history of females in India shows that females were intimately involved in diverse, and over a large range of occupation (Krishnaraj 1988). But now it is more out of necessity that females are seen in low paid jobs. It is observed that poorer the family, greater is its dependence on female's economic productivity (Chandna 1961; World Bank Study 1991). Thus, the females are allowed to work in the public sphere by their male patriarchs, but with certain restrictions (Chandna 1961; Raju 1982; Rose 1993). Thus they are excluded from the better-paid jobs and have to confine themselves in the lower paid and less appreciated jobs (Raju 1982; Krishnaraj 1988; Irene 1989; Bhasin 1993).

#### *a) Lower paid, less appreciated and lowest esteemed jobs for females*

Sex and Age is the most important basis for division of labour but not great enough to built adequate ground for allocating specific kind of work to males and females. Thus the more number of females in the lower paid, less appreciated and lowest esteemed jobs are a point worth concern. This calls for special attention where advanced technology is used. Technological changes tend to have a differential impact on poor female's lives and may appear as another constraint on economic options and opportunities open to them. Whether it is a female labour force in India (World Bank Study 1991), Iran (Afshar 1985), Brazil (Humphry 1985), Bangladesh (Roushan Jahan 1998) or Sri Lanka (Samarasinghe 1993) the gender discrimination and the control over their productive capacity is almost the same. The exploitation may change the form for females according to different economic and social status, caste and community etc (Chandna 1961; Raju 1982). The choices given to them are not equal.

There are various constraints put on their decision-making or their mobility that they sometimes themselves settle for lower paid jobs. At times submission and silence may be a conscious strategy (Rose 1993; Raheja and Gold 1996). Her occupation tends to be those, which are closer to home. A female herself may consciously remain in such work, which in a way eases her triple burden a bit. The structure of female employment



tends to locate them in sectors where rewards are least, burdens are greater and opportunities for vertical mobility least or non-existent.

Under such conditions females remain at the receiving end and are bogged down by triple burden of oppression. But these concepts, as discussed literally, may vary over space, location and the nature of individual society. The Gender constructs are not universal. In a wider socio-economic situation, these gender constructs may remain contextually embedded, but in a smaller society these may not remain as strong. The gender-relations can have totally different equations. In Indian society, patriarchy and hierarchical relation plays an important role in deciding the gender roles. Females are conditioned to 'behave' in a particular way, which the parents either consciously or unconsciously express while rearing children, both male and female (Silterly and Duke 1988; Raheja and Gold 1996). But more than the conditioned way it is the life's hardship that dictates her domain, whether public or private.

Female's seclusion within the house may be a status symbol for a higher caste family, but for females from poor family of lower caste or oppressed communities the situation may reverse. Higher caste family females are wealthy on account of higher concentration of land thus; they can withdraw from economic sphere and willingly get confined to domestic sphere. For such females, it will not be spelt as domination but they themselves make such conscious decision to remain confined. Whereas on account of illiteracy or low educational attainment a lower caste family female may not complain about being concentrated in the lower paid jobs (Chandna 1961; Raju 1982; Kaistha and Raha undated)

### **Females In Tea Plantation Industry**

Tea Plantations is one such industry, where a large number of females have found employment to sustain their families. It is one of the oldest industry in India, which got the impetus to develop during the British period. Since the commercial cultivation of tea started in Northeast India around 1835, this industry has come a long way and has developed into a full-fledged industry giving employment to lakhs of people (Sarkar and Bhowmik 1998; Sarma et al 1999; Bhowmik 2001; Malley 2001). Tea Plantation industry falls in the 3<sup>rd</sup> group in the nine-fold industrial classification.

These plantation enclaves are the houses to many migrated tribals. These tribals and lower caste tea plantation workers are the backbone of the tea industry in eastern India. They are fourth generation descendants of indentured immigrants brought by the colonial planters 150 years ago from the tribal tracts of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh (Badgaiyan 1986; Choudhury and Bhowmik 1986). The workers were living in inhumane conditions during the colonial period. Living and working in isolated plantation enclaves they were as good as bonded labourers. In 1946 the independent Indian Government took note of the plight of these workers and the Rege Committee after touring the plantations of eastern India, recommended a comprehensive labour code for the plantation workers. Accordingly, the Indian Parliament passed the Plantation Labour Act in 1951 followed by the State Plantation Rules (Sarma et al 1999; Bhowmik 2001).

Today, more than fifty years later, the tea workers are much more organized. There is no doubt that their living and working conditions have improved. However, the wages that the tea workers in Bengal and Assam are paid today are still lower than the minimum wages in the organized sector. Real wages during the last fifty years have remained stagnant. Social indicators of the tea workers and their families indicate, that the literacy rate is very low. Diseases like malaria, tuberculosis, anemia and dysentery are common among them. The trade unions and social organizations, active among the tea workers, are grappling with this scenario everyday (Sarma et al 1999).

The female workers of tea plantations in reality are the backbone of the tea industry. It is one of the industries employing a high number of female workers. The workers and especially the female workers, labour very hard on these plantations either in plucking or in the factory processing units. Plucking of leaves demands a skilled manipulation of fingers plucking exactly two leaves and a bud at a time. Females with nimble fingers are considered suitable for this job and are employed in large numbers (Verschoor 1996; Jain 1998; Sivaram 2002).

Females here too play their well-defined societal role and look after their home, children and all other male folk 'dependent' on them for their survival. Their male folks on the other hand, as usual go out to earn livelihood. The plantation gives one of the lowest wages among all the industry at Rs 48 per day (Sarkar and Bhowmik 1998; Bhowmik 2001). This low wage hardly suffices for the survival of the entire family. The

females in such situations cannot accept the role given to them unquestioningly and thus venture out in the economic field. Thus, like all other females employed in the various economic sectors, the females in the plantation too strive to meet the daily expenses of the household and try to supplement the family income. The female workers are employed exclusively as tea leave pluckers. It is the most important work in the plantation but at the same time it is the lowest paid job and the lowest of the job in the industry (Verschoor R 1996; Jain 1998).

Though tribal families populate the area, but it also houses many non-tribals who too are part of the tea garden labour force. They are either employed as labourers or as the supervisors in the sub staff category. These females whether tribal or non-tribal have to look after their house first and then set out for her day long work in the gardens. For them the day starts as early as 4 a.m. to attend to the domestic chores and the family's needs. They have to report for their work by 7:30 a.m. The day's work keeps them shuffling between the tea garden and crèche, in case of nursing mothers, or to their home for lunch. Household chores and the family occupy their evenings (Samarsinghe 1993; Jain 1998). Thus, a female worker relentlessly carries on supplementing her husband's earning and does her obvious duties towards her family.

In such a situation where the living and working atmosphere is inhumane, the plight of female workers is concerning. Be it Assam, Bengal or Southern India, females workers remain at the receiving end. The female workers are the ones who have to bear the burn of these situations.

### **Objective of the Study**

Being a work site, plantations offer a unique setup in which stereotypical constructs regarding females and their work status can be explored. Also the study area is essentially tribal who are primarily providing yet another opportunity to see how the ethnic and religious identities converge with gendered locations. Of late, feminist scholars have argued that gender studies need to bring in complexities in their analysis. This study is a modest attempt to understand the criss-crossing and overlapping of several identities and locations of females taking tea garden as a case in point.

### **Research Questions for the Study**

Thus the research questions put forward for this study are:

- What are the types of gendered division of labour in the tea plantations?
- Do female workers concentrate in any particular segment in the job hierarchy? Does this concentration reinforce the submission/domination framework?
- How space is negotiated between public and private spheres by female tea garden workers?
- What identities other than gendered location influence female's work status?

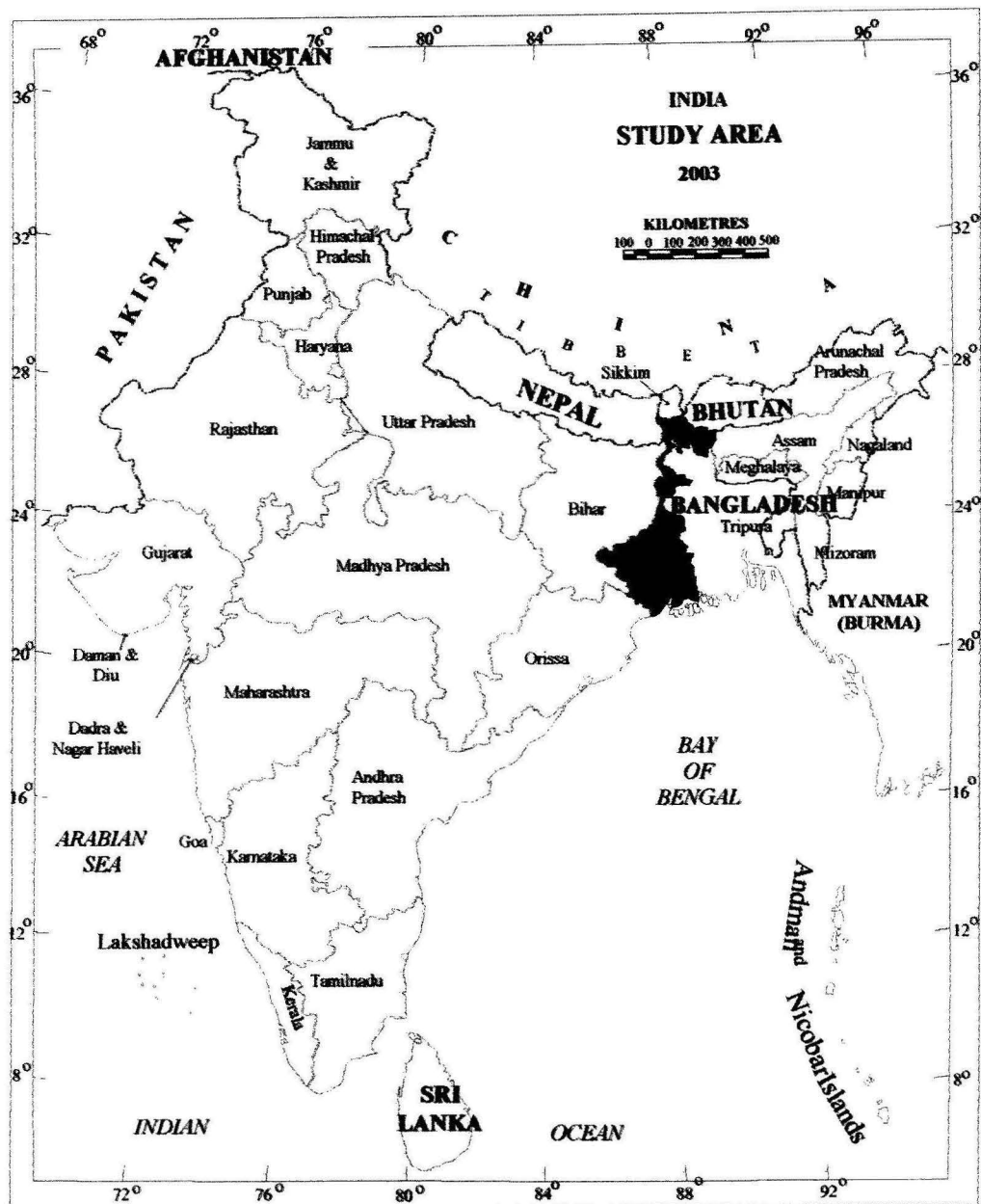
### **Introduction to the Study Area**

Two tea gardens were chosen for this research study. The Gungaram Tea Estate, owned by the Duncans- Goenka, is the largest tea estate in the District and in the Tarai region (Map 1.3 and 1.4). The Hansqua Tea Estate is comparatively a new tea estate established in 1929 and was a part of Gungaram Tea Estate until 1983 (Map 1.5). It is now owned by R.D Tea Ltd. The two Estates are in the Phansidewa Kharibari Block of the Siliguri Sub Division. The tea gardens are found along National Highway number 31 and are around 10 kms from Bagdogra and almost 18 kms from Siliguri. Both the tea gardens are semi mechanised and are heavily depended on the cheap labour.

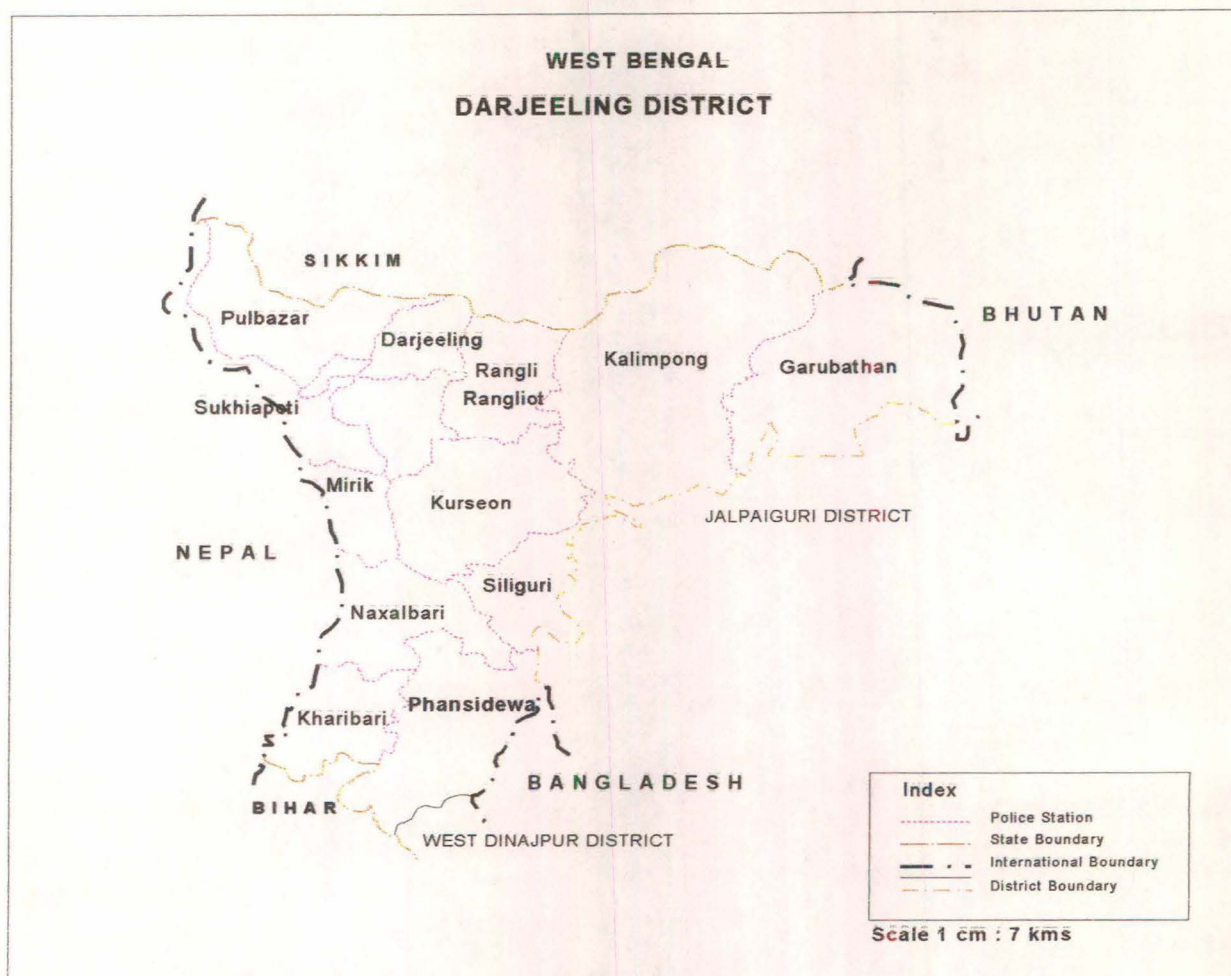
### **Data Base for the Study**

For this study both the primary and secondary level data are used. The primary data are collected from the fields - The Gungaram Tea Estate and the Hansqua Tea Estate in North Bengal. These have been collected by means of questionnaires covering the demographic and socio-economic information. Several in-depth interviews were conducted with a view to substantiate some of the observations obtained from household level data.

Secondary sources have helped tremendously in the understanding and studying of the area and the workers. The Darjeeling District Handbook 1991, West Bengal Census of India 1991, the Economic Tables and the Primary Census Abstract for the state of West Bengal and Census of India 1991 were referred. The Darjeeling District Gazetteer 2001 and the District Statistical Handbook for Darjeeling, 2001 provided useful



Map 1.1 Location Map of the Study Area : India and West Bengal

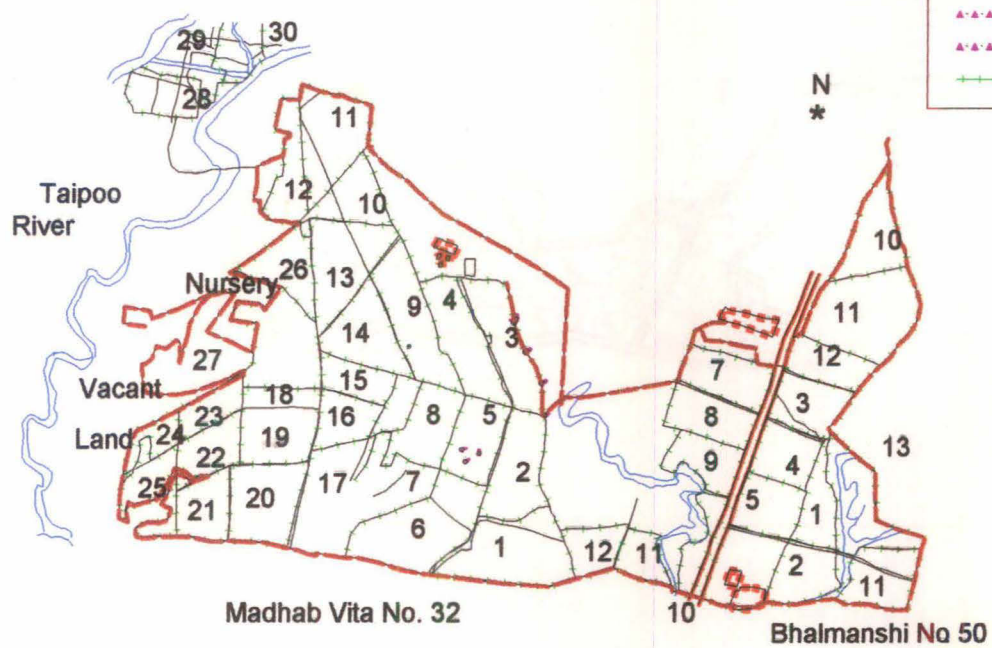


**Map 1.2 Administrative Boundaries of Darjeeling District**

## GUNGARAM AND TOONAH DIVISION

### Gungaram Tea Estate

CD Block Kharibari Phansidewa

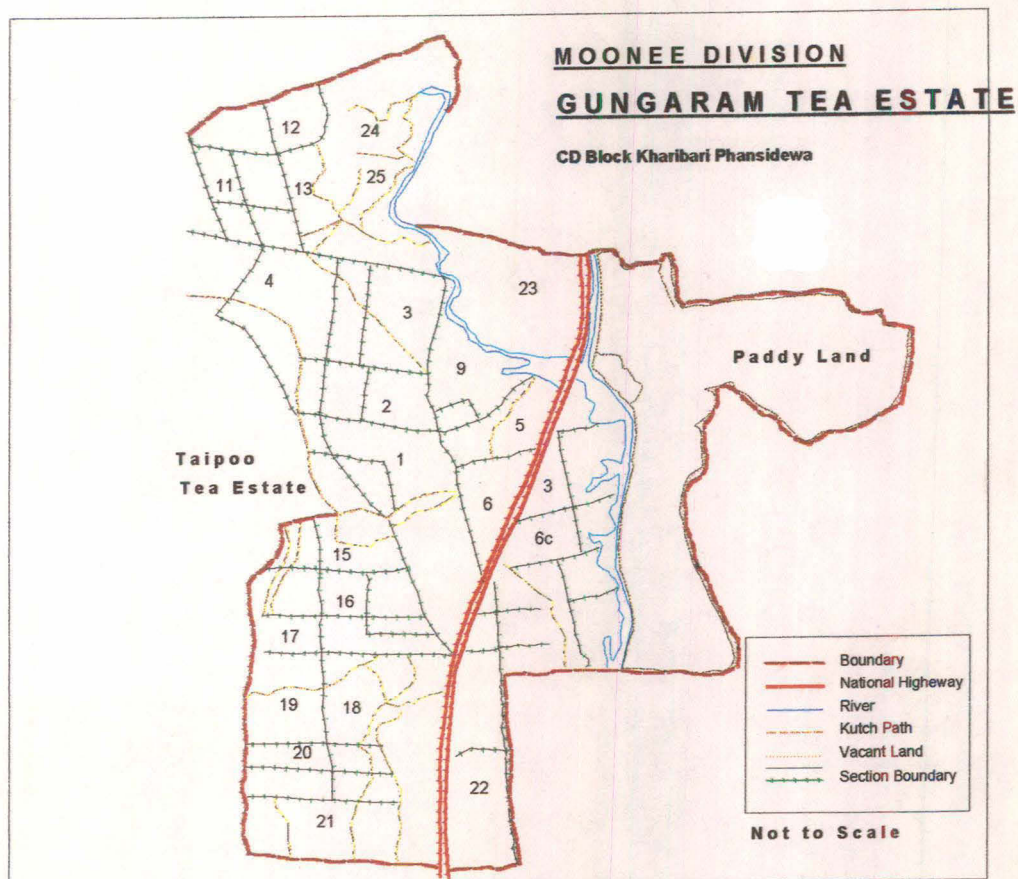


#### Index

- Boundary
- River
- National Highway
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- Bungalow
- Line
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- Garden Sections

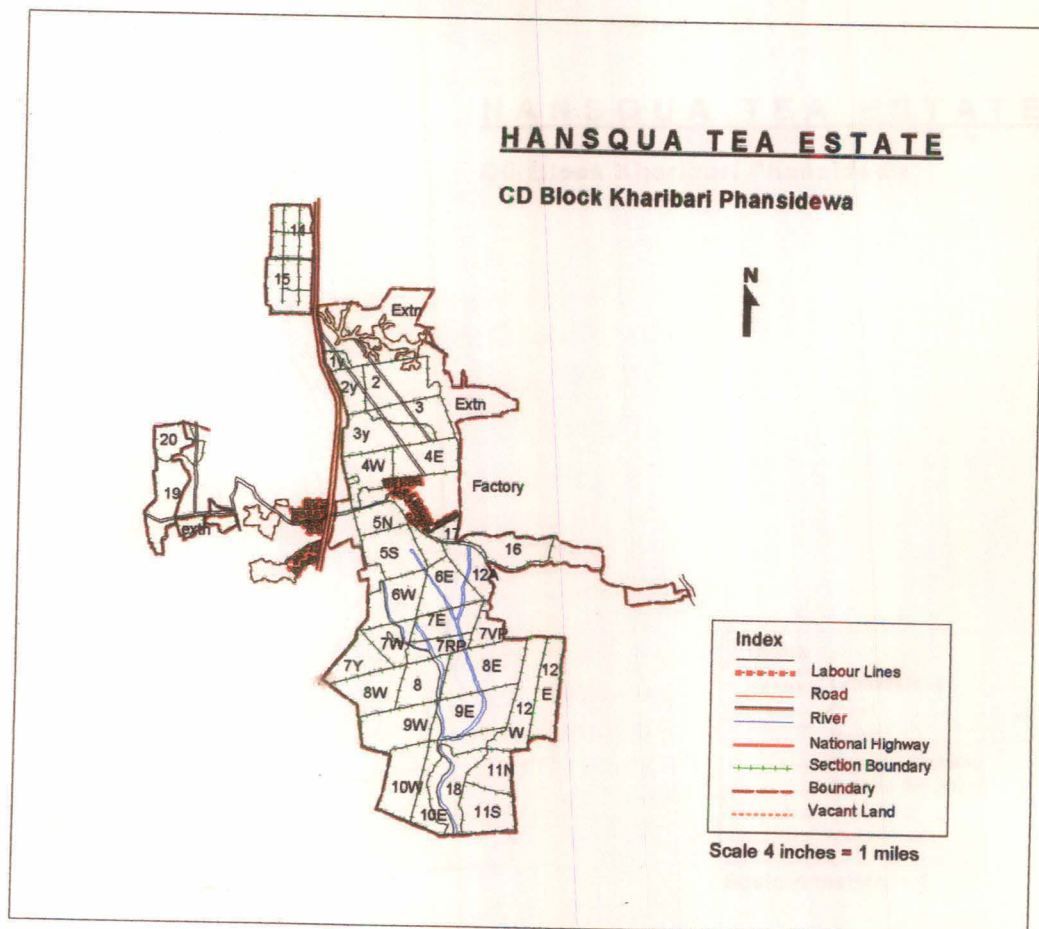
Map 1.3 Gungaram And Toonah Division of TG 1





Map 1.4 Moonee Division of TG 1





**Map 1.5 Hansqua Tea Estate**

information for the study, including the Indian Labour Year Book 2000 and 2001 and National Family Health Surveys 1998 –99.

### **Methodology**

The primary level data were collected through questionnaire-based survey. The households are spread in the labour colonies situated within the ea gardens. Of the total number of households five percent of the households were taken as sample household. Selecting every fifth household one member from the each household was interviewed. A total of 91 males and 62 female workers were picked up in proportion to the overall male female composition of the workforce (1609 males and 1259 females). At times, the designated households could not be included in the sample because many families showed reluctance to entertain question in the evening, after a hard day's work, their only possible rest time. The females of the house were busy with the household chores, the young boys and girls spent their daily leisure time with their friends and watching TV and most of the males would be in no state to answer questions due to alcohol consumption.

In such cases, neighbouring household was covered. The questionnaire covered questions on various aspects such as, household background, migratory year and region, their education, the job and responsibility and an account of the household members. Further, a group of females were taken as case studies and detailed information was taken from them about their daily life.

These informations were coded and processed to generate so that it could be used for the analysis. Various maps have been prepared for a better understanding and presentation of the study. The maps have been made using AutoCad Map 2000 and Map Info.

### **Data limitation**

The data for the study suffers since the sample size is small and information is essentially basic in nature. Despite, being aware, several issues could not be covered adequately because of time constraint.

## **Chapter 2**

### **An Introduction to the Study Area: Socio - Demographic Profile**

## **Introduction**

Tea plantations are sites of work. Historically, tea gardens were developed in the vast stretch of land, which was cleared and tea bushes were planted. These areas were isolated patch of land, which were far away from the population. The local people did not want to work in these plantations. It has been seen that the earlier plantations, such as in countries like America and the Carribean, were dependent on slave labour. After the slave labour was banned, indenture became the most common mode of recruitment.

In case of Indian plantations, induced labour was adopted to recruit labourers. The planters, therefore, had to bring people from other areas and induce them to work in the plantations. In order to keep them tied to the area, the planter provided them with labour quarters in the labour 'lines'. Over a period of time the plantations develop a distinct form of work organisation giving rise to certain special socio-demographic features (Choudhury and Bhowmik 1986; Sarkar and Bhowmik 1998).

The following section thus, is an overview of these specific characteristics that are an integral part of the tea plantations. Prior to the detailed study of the tea gardens, a brief account of the district and the two tea gardens is given. The present study covers two of such tea gardens located in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal (Map 1.1). Darjeeling is a small district located in the north of the state of West Bengal. The district lies between  $26^{\circ} 31'$  and  $27^{\circ} 13'$  north latitude and between  $87^{\circ} 59'$  and  $88^{\circ} 53'$  east longitude. It is bounded in the north by Sikkim, in the south by Bangladesh and West Dinajpur, in the west by Nepal and Bihar and in the east by Bhutan and Jalpaiguri district (Map1.2). It covers an area of 1164 square miles and is basically a hilly terrain. Physiographically, the district can be divided into two distinct tracts: the Hills and immediately beneath the hills are the *Tarai* in the southern part. The suitable natural and physical conditions led to the development of tea plantation in the district, which is the most important industry in the district. The plantations, which began on experimental basis, began to be developed as a full-fledged industry from 1856 onwards. Now the district has more than 200 gardens, both in the Hills and in the *Tarai* region, owned by various companies producing world-class tea both for the domestic and international market (Malley 2001).

The entire study area of tea garden is divided into Divisions and these divisions are divided into sections, which grows tea bushes. Gungaram Tea Estate has 4 main divisions with several sections of tea plantations. The Gungaram Division is the largest with 30 sections, followed by Moonee Division with 25 sections, Toonah Division with 17 sections and the Tarabari Division with 16 sections covering a total area of 655.32 hectare under tea (Map 1.3 and 1.4). The Hansqua Tea Estate has 20 sections covering an area of 360.48 hectare under tea (Map 1.5). The other smaller divisions of the Hansqua Tea Estate are Balason, Sonapur and Bidhannagar. Both the tea gardens employ more than 1000 labourers to work in tea gardens and in factory sites in various operations related to tea processing.

The chapter is divided into two sections outlining the socio-demographic profile of the tea gardens. Section A would deal with demographic and social features, while Section B will focus on the economic profile. Henceforth, Gungaram Tea Estate will be referred to as TG 1 and Hansqua Tea Estate as TG 2.

## **Section A**

### **Basic Characteristics of the Surveyed Population**

The tea gardens have pockets of residential areas within the plantation site, housing the workers and their families. The workers live with their families in the labour quarters provided by the tea garden management.

The key informants for this study were largely the part of such labour quarters, although in TG 2 a few key informants were from adjoining labour *bastis*. The information, both at individual and household level, was collected from 153 workers. Since, the background characteristics of each member of the household would have been same thus, individual persons were not taken as informants. These 153 workers include 91 male and 62 female workers. Further out of these 153 workers, 92 workers belong to TG 1 and 61 of them to TG 2 (Table 2.1).

The two tea gardens have specific characteristic features emerging on account of their inception reflective in various socio –demographic aspect. The following section attempts a comparative study of the two tea gardens.

**Table 2.1 Basic Information about the Surveyed Population**

Population	Total			TG 1			TG 2		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total Population	794	395	399	485	219	266	309	176	133
Sex Ratio	1010	-	-	1215	-	-	756	-	-
<b>Age Structure</b>									
a) 0 – 14	33.0	32.4	33.6	32.8	29.7	35.3	33.3	35.8	30.1
b) 14 – 59	61.2	61.3	61.2	60.4	63.0	58.3	62.5	59.1	67.0
c) 60 and above	04.0	04.3	03.8	04.7	05.0	04.5	02.9	03.4	02.3
Age not stated	01.8	02.0	01.5	02.1	02.3	01.9	01.3	01.7	00.8
<b>Ethnic Composition</b>									
a) Tribal	82.4	81.0	83.7	88.2	87.2	89.1	73.1	73.3	72.9
b) Non-Tribal	17.6	19.0	16.3	11.8	12.8	10.9	26.9	26.7	27.1
<b>Religious Composition</b>									
a) Christian	47.2	47.6	46.9	59.0	60.3	57.9	28.8	31.8	24.8
b) Hindu	50.5	49.6	51.4	41.0	39.7	42.1	65.4	61.9	69.9
c) Muslims	02.3	02.8	01.7	-	-	-	05.8	06.3	05.6
<b>Marital Status</b>									
a) Married	40.4	40.8	40.1	39.4	43.8	35.7	42.1	36.9	48.9
b) Unmarried	54.0	56.9	50.1	54.8	55.7	54.1	46.6	58.5	45.1
c) Others	05.5	02.3	09.8	05.8	00.5	10.2	05.2	04.5	06.0
<b>Education</b>									
a) Illiterate	32.6	25.6	39.6	34.2	28.8	38.7	30.1	21.6	41.3
b) School Education	54.3	61.0	47.6	53.2	59.8	47.7	55.9	62.5	47.4
c) Higher Education	04.2	04.6	03.8	2.74	04.6	04.9	03.2	04.6	01.5
d) Not Yet Started	01.6	02.0	01.3	07.4	06.4	08.3	07.1	07.4	06.8
e) Do not Know	07.3	06.8	07.8	00.4	00.5	00.4	03.6	03.9	03.0
Literacy Rate	59.0	67.1	50.8	58.5	65.2	52.8	59.7	69.4	45.8
<b>Non-Workers</b>	<b>50.6</b>	<b>54.7</b>	<b>46.6</b>	<b>52.1</b>	<b>55.1</b>	<b>48.1</b>	<b>50.3</b>	<b>45.7</b>	<b>54.1</b>
a) Student	57.4	63.7	52.1	58.6	64.0	54.9	55.4	63.3	46.4
b) Children	18.1	14.5	18.8	16.4	13.0	18.7	20.9	22.8	18.8
c) Adults	14.0	08.9	18.3	13.9	10.0	16.7	14.2	07.6	21.7
d) Old Dependent	10.5	10.0	10.8	11.1	13.0	09.7	09.5	06.3	13.0
<b>Workers</b>	<b>50.6</b>	<b>54.7</b>	<b>46.6</b>	<b>49.7</b>	<b>54.3</b>	<b>45.9</b>	<b>52.1</b>	<b>55.1</b>	<b>48.1</b>
a) In Tea Gardens	94.8	90.7	99.5	96.6	91.7	100.0	93.2	89.7	98.4
b) Others	05.2	09.3	00.5	04.2	08.3	-	06.8	10.3	01.6

Source: Based on field data, survey conducted in June 2002.

### **The Demographic and Social Profile of the Population in the Tea Gardens**

The demographic and social profile gives a clear understanding of the population dynamics of a place, and helps in situating the whole context of study. In this sense both

the state of West Bengal and Darjeeling district have a dynamic population experiencing changes in various demographic as well as in the social aspect. The tea garden, being a part of it, needs to be studied in the similar context.

*a) Age sex distribution of the population in the tea gardens.*

Since the tea gardens are locations of work, the age structure is expected to be more work friendly, i.e., a larger section of population in the working age. At the same time, the context in which the tea gardens are located would have the bearing upon the age composition in the tea gardens. Accordingly the age structure in West Bengal, Darjeeling district and the tea garden can be compared. It can be seen from the table 2.2 that the tea gardens as a whole indeed have a higher proportion of population in the working age group.

Between the two tea gardens, TG 2 has a slightly higher population in the working age group. Also in keeping with this, the population in 60 years and above age group is relatively less than in TG 1.

**Table 2.2 Age-wise Distributions of the Total Population.**

Age Group	West Bengal*		Darjeeling*		TG		TG 1		TG 2	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-14	35.8	37.5	34.6	36.3	32.4	33.6	29.6	35.3	35.8	30.1
15-59	57.7	55.8	59.2	58.4	61.2	61.0	63.0	58.2	59.1	66.8
60 >	05.9	06.2	05.9	04.8	04.4	03.9	05.1	04.6	03.4	02.3
Do not know	00.6	00.5	00.4	00.4	02.02	01.5	02.3	01.9	01.7	00.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

N= 794, Male = 395, Female = 399, TG1: Male = 219, Female = 266, TG 2: Male = 176, Female = 133.

Source: Based on field data, survey conducted in June 2002.

\*Census of India 1991, West Bengal, General Population Table.

It is also important to note that TG 2 has relatively much higher percentage of females in the age group 15 – 59 (66.8 percent) and an overall much lower percentage of population in the age group 0 – 14 i.e., around 33 percent. It may be because, as pointed out earlier, the TG 2 has come up at a later stage than TG 1 and consists of larger proportion of younger cohort in the population and has fewer children born to them. The younger nature of the population composition in TG 2 is brought out in details in a later table.

*b) Sex ratio in the tea gardens*

It is a known fact that in India the female population is less in number as compared to the male population (Chandna 1996). The sex ratio of the state and the district of the study area too follow this general trend (Table 2.3). The overall sex ratio for the state and district is even lower than the country average of 929 (Census of India 1991). The part of adverse sex ratio has been explained in terms of male-selective migration. However as can be seen, the tea gardens are different.

**Table 2.3 Sex Ratio of the Total Population in The Study Area**

Area	Total	Rural
West Bengal	917	940
West Bengal	950**	963**
Darjeeling	914	934
CD block Phansidewa	912	912
TG1*	1215	1215
TG 2*	756	756

Source: Census of India 1991, West Bengal, General Population Table.

\*Based on field survey data, conducted in June 2002.

\*\* Based on NFHS – 2 1998-1999, West Bengal.

Thus, the sample population shows that overall tea gardens have a relatively better sex ratio of 1010 females per 1000 males. This sex ratio is much higher than at the block, district and at the state level. In general, the family migration rather than male selective migration can be put as the contributing factor for the better representation of females in the study area. However, the two tea gardens show a contrasting image. In comparison to TG 2, which has a sex ratio of 756, TG 1 has higher sex ratio of 1215, which is much above the block and the state level data. This can be explained in terms of the ethnic construct of these tea gardens.

The tribal groups are known to have a better sex ratio than the non-tribals, essentially because of relatively less restrictive and discriminatory gender ideology. The tea gardens cannot be any different from such ethos (Jain 1998). As can be seen later, TG 1 has more of tribal population, and thus has a better sex ratio than TG 2. Though TG 2 also has tribal population, its effects are off set by the considerable presence of non-tribal population (27 percent as compared to 18 percent in TG 1). A detailed account of the ethnic composition is given in the later part of this chapter.



c) *Marital status of the tea garden population*

According to the Census data for West Bengal, of the total population around 41.3 percent of males and 44.8 percent of females are married. The district also conforms to the state level data. In keeping with the general trend the tea gardens also have the similar pattern and have around 41 percent married males and 40 percent married females (Table 2.4).

**Table 2.4 Age-wise Marital Status in the Tea Gardens**

Age Group	West Bengal*		Darjeeling*		Total		TG 1		TG 2	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
15-19	00.8	06.8	00.9	05.2	00.6	03.1	-	03.2	01.5	03.1
20-24	05.9	16.7	06.6	15.3	05.6	16.9	05.2	14.7	06.2	20.0
25-29	13.2	19.0	13.7	19.7	18.0	22.5	19.8	21.1	15.4	24.6
<b>15 -29</b>	<b>19.9</b>	<b>42.5</b>	<b>21.2</b>	<b>40.2</b>	<b>24.2</b>	<b>45.5</b>	<b>25.0</b>	<b>39.0</b>	<b>23.1</b>	<b>47.7</b>
30-34	15.5	14.8	16.7	15.8	17.4	16.9	15.6	18.9	20.0	13.8
35-39	15.7	12.5	15.4	13.0	13.7	11.9	14.6	12.6	12.3	10.8
40 and >	48.6	29.6	47.5	30.8	44.72	28.75	44.79	29.47	44.62	27.69
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

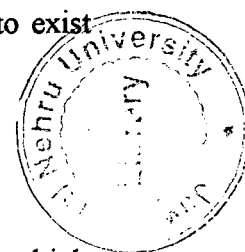
Source: Based on Field survey data conducted in June 2002.

\*Census of India 1991, West Bengal, Socio Economic Tables.

Age-wise it is observed that at the state and the district level in the age group of 15 – 19, a relatively higher percentage of female get married as compared to males. Towards the higher age group of 30 – 34, more males are married. It is mainly because of the fact that males take up the responsibility of earning and thus usually start their family late. Further it is also observed that the males prefer to get married to females of younger age (Tiwari and Sinha 1997; Bhattacharya and Bhattacharya 1999;). In keeping with this general trend again, the tea gardens too have around 45.5 percent of females married by the age of 30, after which their percentage starts falling mainly because by that age most of them would be married. The males on the other hand, constitute only 24.2 percent in the same age group, after that though the percentage is less; more males get married than the females. The two tea gardens too conform to this trend of females getting married by the age of 30.

Generally, it is seen that if a female joins the workforce, the age of marriage for her gets delayed (Chandna 1961). Since the tea gardens are the work sites where both males and females are employed, it can affect the age of marriage. In case of the two tea

gardens it is observed that more females in TG 2 are married by the age of 30 than in TG 1. In TG 1 they constitute only 39 percent, whereas in TG 2 they are 47.7 percent. However, in the next age groups more females in TG 1 are married. It seems that females in the working age group in TG 1 do marry late, where as the females of TG 2 get married at a relatively younger age. Also, it can be recalled from table 2.1 that more females are in the working age group. In the later chapter, it is also seen that in the corresponding age group too more female of TG 1 are in the workforce than that of TG 2. Part of this variation can be once again attributed predominantly to tribal presence in TG 1 as compared to TG 2. This association implies that working status of females may not invariably lead to delays in their marriages. In such a situation, other social variables may intervene to reinforce the hypothesized relationship between work and marriage. Alternatively, as is the case with TG 2, the non-tribal practices may continue to exist despite female's participation in economic activities.



### **Social Characteristics of the Tea Gardens**

#### **a) Ethnic composition in the tea gardens**

The account given by various ethnographers and research scholars, point out the high migration by the tribals to the tea plantation sites. Out of these tribes the Oraons are the main tribes to migrate into the plantation enclaves (Risley 1981; Choudhury and Bhowmik 1986; Jain 1998; Bhattacharya and Bhattacharya 1999; Kar 2001). This study also reveals similar pattern where tribal population accounts for around 82 percent with 56.2 percent from the Oraon tribe (Table 2.5 and 2.6). Rest 13 percent in the tea gardens are non-tribals, most of them being Nepalese and Bengali.

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**Table 2.5 Household Distributions in the Study Area.**

Households	Darjeeling *	Phansidewa-Kharibari CD Block*	TG	TG 1	TG 2
Tribal	13.78	31.21	82.4	88.2	73.1
Non Tribal	86.22	68.79	17.6	11.8	26.9

Source: Based on field survey data conducted in June 2002.

\*Census of India 1991, West Bengal, General Population Table.

Though the Darjeeling district is home to many tribes, especially the hilly tribes and the migrant tribes of Chotanagpur, they constitute only around 14 percent. At the

Block level too the tribals are just 30 percent of the total population. In contrast the tea gardens present a different picture.

Among the tribals, Oraons form the majority in both the tea gardens (Table 2.6). Other tribes such as Munda, Kharia, Gond, Malpaharia etc. are in very small proportion in the TG 1. The second largest tribal group of the Baraiks, account for only three and 13 percent in TG 1 and TG 2 respectively.

**Table 2.6 Tribe-wise Distributions of Households in the Two Tea Gardens.**

Household	Total	TG1	TG2
<b>Tribal</b>			
Oraon	56.2	58.7	52.5
Baraik	7.2	3.3	13.1
Nagesia	3.3	5.4	-
Lohar	3.3	5.4	-
Munda	2.0	3.3	-
Kharia	2.6	3.3	1.6
Gond	2.0	3.3	-
Malpahari	2.6	2.2	3.3
Others	4.7	6.3	1.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>83.6</b>	<b>91.2</b>	<b>72.1</b>
<b>Non-Tribal</b>			
Nepali	7.2	2.2	14.8
Bengali	3.9	3.3	4.9
Muslims	2.0	-	4.9
Rajbanshi	1.3	-	3.3
Others	2.0	3.3	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>16.4</b>	<b>8.8</b>	<b>27.9</b>
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Based on the field Survey data conducted in June 2002.

On account of this mixed tribal set up, the religious composition of the gardens vary, since the Oraon, Munda and Kharia are the converted Christians whereas the Baraiks, Nagesia and other tribes still practice the traditional *sarna* faith which is discussed in the following section.

Among the non-tribals the Nepalese constitute 15 percent in TG 2 as against only two percent of them in TG 1. Moreover, only a small Muslim population of around five percent is found in TG 2.

#### *b) Religious composition in the tea gardens*

At the state level, there are overwhelming majority of the Hindus, constituting more than 74 percent of the total population followed by Muslims and Christians (Table 2.7).

**Table 2.7 Religion-wise Distribution of Population in the Study Area**

Households	West Bengal*	Darjeeling *	Phansidewa-Kharibari	Total	TG1	TG2
Christian	0.56	5.05	Na	47.2	59.0	28.8
Hindu	74.7	77.9	Na	50.5	41.0	65.4
Muslim	23.6	4.5	Na	2.27	-	5.8

Source: Based on field survey data conducted in June 2002.

\*Census of India 1991, West Bengal, Census Atlas.

However in the Darjeeling district, there is a significant Christian population forming 5 percent, apart from the major Hindu population. The district was developed during the British time and it was adopted as a sanatorium. Together with many British travellers and bureaucrat visitors, foreign missionaries also came to spread Christianity among the hill tribes. Thus, the district has a significant Christian population.

The plantation area of TG 1 shows a different pattern in that the percentage of Hindus and Christians are almost similar. However, TG 2 accounts for more Hindu population, constituting 65 percent and only 29 percent Christian population. Further TG 1 has no Muslim population who are only found in TG 2.

Such differences in the religious composition of the tea gardens exists because TG 1 mainly houses Christian tribals like Oraon, Munda, Kharia etc. and TG 2 has more number of non-christian tribals like Baraik, Kharia, Malpahari etc. and also non tribals such as Nepalese, Bengalis, Rajbanshis and Muslims (Table 2.8). The fact that, the tribals were converted to Christianity under the foreign missionaries in the Chotanagpur belt seems to have an effect on this religious composition, since most of the tribal workers were already following Christianity when they came to the study area (Bara 1997; Ekka 1997). The religious composition of these enclaves has thus, followed the migratory pattern and subsequent settling of the tribe or the caste groups. It can be said that the Oraon tribes who were converted to Christianity, before they came to this area, predominantly occupied the TG 1 and thus it has more Christian population. The TG 2, on the other hand has more heterogeneous composition on account of later flow of people of various faiths who joined after the new tea garden was established.

**Table 2.8 Religion-wise Distribution Of The Households In The Tea Gardens.**

Caste/Tribe	Christian Household		Hindu Household	
	TG 1	TG 2	TG 1	TG 2
Oraon	89.8	94.1	23.3	39.0
Munda	04.1	-	02.3	-
Kharia	04.1	-	02.3	02.4
Baraik	-	-	07.0	19.5
Nagesia	-	-	11.6	-
Malpahari	-	-	04.7	04.9
Lohar	-	-	11.6	-
Gond	-	-	07.0	-
Korwa	-	-	02.3	-
Nepali	-	-	04.7	22.0
Bengali	-	-	07.0	07.3
Savar	-	-	04.7	-
Rajbanshi	-	-	-	04.9
Others	02.0	05.9	11.7	-
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Based on Field data, survey conducted in June 2000.

*c) Literacy rate among the dwellers of tea gardens*

The educational aspirations of the tea estate dwellers are met by the two Missionary schools being run in the region, by the priests and the nuns. Every house of about five members has on an average of three literate members. Almost all the households send their wards to attend these schools to complete, at least their primary education or even middle level. Very few of them go beyond the secondary level of education.

**Table 2.9 Literacy Rates of the Workers in the Study Area.**

Area (Rural)	Total	Males	Females
West Bengal*	50.5	62.1	38.1
Darjeeling*	49.2	59.9	37.5
Phansidewa Kharibari CD Block**†	28.6	38.6	17.7
TG	59.00	67.1	50.8
TG 1	58.5	65.2	52.8
TG 2	59.7	69.4	45.8

Source: Based on field data, survey conducted in June 2002.

\*Census of India 1991, West Bengal, General Population Table.

+ The block is entirely rural.

The gardens on an overall have a good literacy rate, as compared to the state, district and block level. Total literacy rate of the garden is impressive with the figure standing at 59 percent. The male- female disparity though follows the general trend of the

region where male literacy is high and female literacy lags behind. In the tea gardens, about 67 percent males are literate as against 51 percent of females. The female literacy here is still higher, than for females at the state, district and block level (Table 2.9).

Further, between the two tea gardens it is seen that though overall literacy and the males literacy in the garden is relatively better in TG 2 than in TG 1, the female literacy is markedly low in TG 2 than in TG 1. This can be again attributed to the fact that the tea gardens are predominantly tribal. The literacy of the tribals is generally better due to the egalitarian nature of the society where discrimination towards females is less as compared to the non-tribal societies (Ekka 1997).

The tribal literacy at the state, district and the block level is low and male female gap is also quite considerable (Table 2.10). However, in the tribal dominated tea gardens, the tribals have a higher literacy. Further the differences between male and female literacy does exist but they are not as high when compared to the state and the district. The tea gardens as such exhibits a better picture. As seen earlier, TG 1 with more Christian tribal population shows a better literacy rate. Also the male-female disparity is considerably less. On the other hand, TG 2 which has more of tribal non-Christian and non-tribals, has a higher male-female disparity. The Christian tribals are said to have a better literacy than the non-Christian tribals. Thus, the ethnic identity together with the religious belief sets an effect on the educational attainment of the population.

**Table 2.10 Tribal Literacy in the Study Area**

<b>Area (Rural)</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
West Bengal	26.9	39.4	14.1
Darjeeling	34.1	42.9	24.9
Phansidewa Kharibari CD Block	24.3	33.1	15.0
Tea Gardens	58.3	66.0	50.7
TG 1	54.6	65.6	54.6
TG 2	55.8	66.7	41.5

Source: Based on field data, survey conducted in June 2002.

\*Census of India 1991, West Bengal

*d) Education level amongst the tea garden dwellers*

The gap existing between male and female literacy is again seen in the levels of education of the literates too. Of the total literate population, around 60 percent males

continue studies up to secondary level, as compared to 52 percent of females. For a major proportion the limit comes right after attaining primary level of education (Table 2.11). The secondary level of studies thus, shows a limit beyond which very few people in the tea gardens go for studies.

In case of the two tea gardens a similar pattern is seen. Till the secondary level more males continue studies than females, but after the secondary level the percentage of males too decreases drastically. Between the two tea gardens, more TG 1 females leave studies after primary level of education than males, while in TG 2 this difference is not much. At the higher level of education too the females in TG 2 show much better performance than males. As stated earlier, the male-female disparity in education does exist, but this disparity is in favour of females in case of levels of education.

**Table 2.11 Levels of Education of Total Population in the Tea Gardens.**

Levels of Education	Total		TG 1		TG 2	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
a. Illiterate	32.9	49.2	34.8	47.2	30.6	53.2
b. Literate	67.1	50.8	65.2	52.8	69.4	46.8
<b>Literates</b>						
Primary	36.0	39.2	28.3	36.0	45.1	46.2
Secondary	55.9	51.8	63.3	52.6	47.1	50.0
HS & Graduation	08.1	09.0	08.3	11.4	07.8	03.8
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Based on Field Survey Data conducted in June 2002

The tea gardens do not have any education based recruitment policy as such to recruit people in the labour force. Any person who is willing to work in the gardens or in the factory, can join the labour force even if he/she is illiterate. In such a situation where there is a ready source of employment without much educational need, the differential treatment of males and females, points out to the problem which is not preferential in nature, but the sheer poverty forces people to choose, who is to continue with studies and who is not. It is rather the lurking poverty, which forces them to akin to differential treatment between and males and females. Thus, the society has taken a favourable turn for the male members leading to more males being educated than the female.

In the school-going population it is seen that many of the children attend *Balwari* or the non-formal school. The data reveals that most of the children in the school-going age do attend primary school and continue till the secondary level, but after 14 years of age the percentage of school going population decreases drastically (Table 2.12). The reasons for these dropouts and discontinuation of studies have been discussed in the next section.

It is to be noted that overall, between the two tea gardens TG 2 has more children going to school in the age group of 7 – 10 and 15 – 16 than in TG 1. Also in TG 2 there are more females going to the school, at least till the age of 10. This may occur due to the comparatively new status of the tea garden. Since the tea garden is newly established, the

**Table 2.12 Age-Wise Distribution of School Going Population in the Tea Gardens**

Age Group	Overall	TG 1			TG 2		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
0 – 6	55.2	33.6	32.8	34.2	32.9	30.0	37.5
7 – 10	88.9	23.8	23.4	24.1	26.8	26.0	28.1
11 – 14	82.5	20.3	20.3	20.3	28.0	34.0	18.8
15 – 16	47.4	8.4	15.6	15.2	07.3	06.0	15.6
17 – 19	24.5	6.9	07.8	05.1	02.5	04.0	-
20 - 24	11.0	06.8	-	01.3	02.4	02.4	-

Source: Based on field data, survey conducted in June 2002.

younger generation here has a more modern approach. Though This is not seen in the employment scenario, where the males still the males dominate the workforce.

#### e) *Discontinuation of education*

As seen in the previous discussion, most of the tea garden dwellers discontinue studies after secondary level and very few, either male or female, go beyond that. They are forced by the circumstances in their families. Various problems in the family such as death of parent/parents, responsibility as being the eldest, to look after the house and to work in *Badli* etc. work at the family level and forces them to discontinue studies. Problems relating to the financial condition of the house, no one to take responsibility of his/her education etc. are clubbed as financial problem. It is seen that family problems forces around 60 percent of males and 44 percent of females to discontinue studies (Table 2.13).



**Table 2.13 Reasons to Discontinue Education in the Tea Garden.**

Reasons	Total		TG 1		TG 2	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Family Problems	60.23	44.26	55.4	46.6	65.9	41.2
Financial problems	23.86	44.26	29.8	44.4	15.9	41.2
Not interested in Studies	12.5	9.84	8.5	4.4	15.9	17.7
Health Problem	3.41	1.64	4.3	2.2	2.3	-
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Based on the field Survey Data Conducted in June 2002.

Another interesting fact to note is that more males discontinue studies due to family problems than females. Female's education becomes the victim of financial condition of the household. Probably, this could explain 48 percent females being illiterate who just do not get the opportunity to receive education and take up the job at the garden to supplement the income of the family. By the time the family's economic condition improves the females do not show any inclination to join schools or even try to learn. Among those who do get the chance to study, only nine percent show disinterest and leave studies. The corresponding figure for males is 12 percent. It is a delight though, to see that females show lesser disinterest than males. Had they been given and better chance to take up studies the literacy situation of the gardens could improve drastically.

**Table 2.14 Reason to Discontinue Studies at Various Educational Levels in Tea Garden.**

Discontinued studies after	Male				Female			
	Family Problem	Financial Problem	Not Interested	Health Problem	Family Problem	Financial Problem	Not Interested	Health Problem
Illiterate	32.6	72.7	09.1	66.7	64.0	65.5	-	
Primary	21.2	22.7	-	33.3	12.0	10.3	33.3	
Secondary	38.5	04.5	90.1	-	20.0	20.7	66.7	100.0
HS	07.0	-	-	-	04.0	03.4		
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Based on the field Survey Data Conducted in June 2002.

Though higher numbers of male members have to discontinue studies due to family problem, around 64 percent of females do not even get a chance to study (Table 2.14). Quite a few male members about 73 percent have to forgo studies due to financial reasons and females constitute 66 percent for females. Further, most of the male members

discontinue education at the secondary level; this fall is sharper in case of the financial reason. Around 22 percent of them drop out in the primary level itself.

For females, such sharp fall of studies is seen in almost all the levels. Thus, around 12 percent of those who get the chance to study leave studies in the primary level due to family reasons and another 10 percent on account of financial reason. Almost double the females leave their studies at the secondary level due to financial reasons. Thus for female these various reasons act more strongly in discontinue and dropping out of school. Most of the males and females join the tea garden labour force right after dropping out of education system. This feature of the tea gardens will be discussed in the next chapter.

## Section B

### The Economic Profile of the Population in the Tea Gardens

Since the tea gardens are basically the work sites and there is availability of work for the population living here, the majority of the population is engaged in the various jobs associated with the tea plantation industry.

#### a) *Workforce participation in the tea gardens*

The work participation rate in the study area is as high as 50 percent, much higher than the state, district and at the block level. The workforce participation at these levels is just about 30 percent for state and around 34 percent for the district and the block level. The

**Table 2.15 Workforce Participation Rate in the Study Area.**

Area	Total	Male	Female
West Bengal	30.2	50.7	07.9
Darjeeling	33.7	46.8	19.4
Kharibari Phansidewa	34.7	NA	NA
TG *	50.6	54.7	47.1
TG 1 *	49.7	54.3	45.9
TG 2 *	52.1	55.1	48.1

Source: Economic Tables, Vol. 2, West Bengal,  
Census of India, 1991.

\*Based on field survey data, Survey conducted in June 2002.

participation by women is very less mainly at the state level, though at the district level there are more females in the working population (Table 2.15).

In contrast to these differences, the study area reveals that more people, both males and females, are actively involved in the economic activity. The participation of the tribals and non-tribals is also considerably high in the area. Around 51 percent of the tribals are into the workforce in comparison to 50 percent by the non-tribals. Further, the work participation rate of females in the tea garden is much higher than at the state and the district level. The two study gardens also show a similar pattern of work participation with significant, if not equal, participation by females and by the tribal and non-tribals. Though the female workers do not constitute more than 47 percent, they are more active than females in the state.

The high participation by females indicates that the society here is as such not averse to their being in economically gainful work. Thus they, being a part of the economy supplement the little income earned by the male members of the family. The tribal work participation is also better here on account of more liberal tribal society. The tribal females work together side-by-side with the tribal males and constitute around 81 percent in TG 1 and 55 percent in TG 2 (Table 2.16).

**Table 2.16 Tribal/Non-Tribal Workforce Participation Rate in the Area.**

Area	Tribal			Non-Tribal		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	50.8	54.1	47.6	50.0	57.3	41.5
TG 1	48.4	52.9	80.9	59.6	64.3	55.2
TG 2	55.3	55.8	54.6	43.4	53.2	30.6

Source: Based on field survey data, Survey conducted in June 2002

The non-tribals females, on the other hand, are not as free as their tribal counterparts and only account for around 41 percent of females in the workforce of the area. Further, it is seen that in TG 1 55 percent of the non-tribal females participate in the workforce as against 31 percent of the same in TG 2. This can again be attributed to the fact that the TG 1 predominantly is the area of the tribal Christians whereas TG 2 has more of tribal Hindus and the non-tribals. Thus, in case of workforce participation the

gender ideology gets intersected by the religious and the ethnic identity of the people. Which explains that the cultural set up still has its effects on the workforce participation of the society.

*b) Workforce composition in the tea gardens*

As the study area exhibits a high percentage of work participation by both males and females the real scenario becomes clear while looking at the workforce composition. The state and the district level data overall shows a very small participation in the plantation as the industry is concentrated in the two districts of the northern part of the state. In comparison to the state level data, the district exhibits 28.12 percent of population involved in the tea gardens (Table 2.17). In the plantation industry, generally the females have a higher participation than the male workers (Verschoor 1996; Jain 1998; Sakrak and Bhowmik 1998).

**Table 2.17 Workforce Composition in the Plantation in the Study Area**

Area	Total	Male	Female
West Bengal	02.69	01.63	10.3
Darjeeling	28.12	18.1	56.8
Kharibari/Phansidewa	NA	NA	NA
TG	46.7	49.6	46.4
TG 1	47.6	49.5	46.0
TG 2	48.5	49.4	47.4
Tribals	48.9	50.5	47.5
Non-Tribals	50.0	46.7	40.0

Source: Based on field survey data, Survey conducted in June 2002.

It can be said that on account of being an important centre for this industry the district clearly presents the higher concentration of females in the workforce. At the district level females constitute around 57 percent in contrast to only 18 percent of the male workers. This is because, the females are preferred for the most important but lowest paid job in this industry.

In contrast to this overall figure, the gardens show more equal participation from male and females. TG 1 has only 46 percent female workers whereas males form around 54 percent (Table 2.18). Further TG 2 also shows slightly higher figure percentage of male and female workers in the area. As seen in the later chapter that majority of these females are involved specifically in the tea plucking job

**Table 2.18 Workforce Composition in the Tea Gardens**

Workers / Non-Workers	TG		TG 1		TG 2	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Workers	54.7	46.6	54.3	45.9	55.1	48.1
Non-workers	45.3	53.4	45.7	54.1	44.9	51.9
Workers						
Tea Garden	90.7	99.5	91.6	100	89.7	98.4
Other	09.3	00.5	08.4	-	10.3	01.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Based on field survey data, Survey conducted in June 2002.

There are very few workers in the tea who are involved in the other areas of work. They only account for nine percent for males and very negligible proportion of females. Most of these males work either in their own farm or in shops in the nearby urban centre. This further proves, the tea gardens to be a work site with availability of job for people living in the area. Thus, the tea gardens support the life of people living here, by giving them job and the people sustain the industry with constant supply of labourers. Thus the next chapter will focus on the workers in the tea gardens and their work profile, and also analyse their interface with various socio-demographic characteristics explained in this chapter.

### **In Sum**

The tea gardens are one of the important sectors giving employment to scores of people involved in the various labour intensive works. These work sites gives the people a means to livelihood and in turn gets a ready pool of labourer from within the plantation enclave.

The two study tea gardens depict this feature of the plantation economy. The difference in the socio-demographic set up brings about the differences in them. The TG 1, the bigger and the older tea garden has a more traditional set up whereas TG 2 has a more modern outlook. The societal set up of TG 1 is quite homogenous in relation to caste/tribe composition and religious affiliations. The TG 2, on the other hand, has a more heterogeneous composition. Thus, the social and demographic pattern of the garden shows much difference from the first tea garden. The tribal identity and the religious affiliation of the people brings about the differences in the societal set up. Thus where the

Christian tribals perform better, in terms of education and workforce participation, the non-Christian tribals somewhat behave in the similar fashion as of the non-tribals.

The combination of ethnic and religious identity brings about these changes. The Christian tribal population in TG 1 leads to a more balanced gendered dimension prevailing. TG 2 with tribal Hindus and non-tribal population displays altered picture. The tribal and the Hindu composition creates its own nuanced pattern in the sense that in TG 2 the tribals also seem to follow the characteristic feature of work, literacy etc. of non-tribals.

The multiple identities of the workers and the context in which the workers are situated has an affect on the population characteristics. The females are differentiated on many accounts be it education, working status or getting married. The tribal identity, which helps in neutralising the gender dimension in TG 1, is at a loss here in the TG 2. This tribal identity interrogating the gender equity brings about changes in the social and demographic set up of the tea gardens. Undoubtedly, this will have significant affect on the economic, viz work, status of the people in the study area. One may argue that gendered analysis needs to be more complex and nuanced so as to incorporate other social and ethnic components. Thus the next chapter would focus on these working scenarios and bring about an analytical description.

### **Chapter 3**

## **Workers in the Tea Gardens: A Life in ‘*Bagaan*’ and ‘*Godam*’**

## **Introduction**

The plantation system is a product of colonialism and was established in North-East India around 1835, when commercial cultivation of the tea began. The first tea garden was established in 1872 in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal. At present there are more than 200 tea gardens in the district. The various processes involved in tea leaves plucking and the subsequent manufacturing of tea requires large number of workers.

The recent works describe tea plantation as “total institution” operating under specific condition, which give rise to specific socio-demographic characteristics and the division of labour (Boserup 1970; Jain 1998). These specificity of the tea gardens emerges on account of the migrant population, who are the main work force of the area.

For the work force of the garden the management has provided labour quarters, which are called labour ‘line’. All the households in these labour lines are part of the tea garden workforce. The average size of each household is five. In each house, on an average two members are engaged in the tea industry. Few of the labourers also come from the adjoining ‘*basti*’ area to work in the garden. Having discussed the socio-demographic characteristics of the tea gardens in the previous chapter, the present chapter throws light on the working conditions prevailing in the tea industry.

This chapter is divided into 3 sections. The first section provides the general overview of the various processes involved in tea manufacturing. The second section provides the labour hierarchy followed in the industry, while the third section presents the specific situation prevailing in the study area.

## **Section A**

Tea is the one of the most important industry in the study area. Although the processes are semi-mechanised, they need constant supervision by the humans. Thus, the industry is labour intensive. Prior to describing the labour absorption in various processes, an insight into various stages involved in the manufacturing of tea and the labour hierarchy therein is attempted in following paragraph. The tea gardens are called ‘*bagan*’ and the factory sites are referred as ‘*godam*’ local language.



## **Tea Cultivation and Processing**

### **a) *The suitable condition and preparation of land***

The Loamy soil of the district, well supplied with nitrogen, phosphoric acid and potash is suitable for the growth of the tea bushes. Together with this, the sloppy land that does not allow water logging at the root, temperature about 27°C, abundant rainfall of 200 cms per year and much amount of moisture in the air is viable for the tea cultivation (Guha and Chatteraj 1985). A piece of land with slope elevation is cleared. The land is pulverized thoroughly and all roots taken out. The land thus prepared, is planted with Malagota plant to replenish the soil nutrients and the land is manured for a year (Appendix I, Plate 1 and 2). Till the time the land is being prepared, the tea plants are grown in the nursery for 3 years. Once they have taken root, the plants are uprooted and planted in the prepared land in a proper sequence and, lined up and down the hill slope. To avoid crowding of tea bushes that are in their full bloom, the plants are planted at proper distances of either 4X4 feet or 5X5 feet. The bushes, once planted, yield tea leaves for 40 – 50 years. After a year of planting of the tea bushes, the plant is pruned on regular basis so as to keep it in the form of a low bush, usually not higher than 3 feet and to have good spread of plucking surface. The tea gardens in the study area were pruned on a 7-day round to maintain the quality of the tea leaves.

### **b) *Plucking at the gardens***

July to October is the peak season for the tea leaves to be in full bloom when the new leaves come up. With the forefinger and thumb the delicate bud and two young leaves are plucked from the top of the shoot (Appendix I, Plate 3). Normally, daily task of a plucker involves plucking 22 kgs of leaves. In the pruned section this task may increase to 24 kgs if the section has good amount of leaves. While the workers pluck the leaves, it is taken to the factory for further processing at regular intervals. The plucked leaves are weighed 3 times at 9:00 am, 11:30 am and the last one at 3:30 pm (Appendix I, Plate 10). On an average around 2000 kgs of leaves are plucked per day. During peak season this can rise to 8 – 9000 kgs per day.

### c) *Factory processing*

The processing of the tea leaves goes on for the whole day. During peak season the factory runs in full strength and the labourers are employed for 3 shifts of 8 hours each. In the off peak season, the shifts may reduce to one or two. The leaves weighed at interval, in the gardens are immediately brought to the factory site and put in the withering trough for a minimum of 16 hours. It helps in removing the moisture of the leaves to about 70 percent. At the end of which, it becomes soft. These leaves transported by monorail are brought into the rolling room for cutting and crushing. The leaves are cut, rolled and crushed by various machines in 4 stages and turned into paste form. The tea leaves sap in the paste form starts fermenting in contact with the air. The leave paste are spread in the monorail trays and put in the clean and airy fermentation room. The monorail trays move at a regulated speed, for exactly 50 minutes, inside the fermentation room. By the end of this time the colour of the leaves turn coppery. As soon as it comes out of the fermentation room it is taken to the dryer room to make them completely moisture free. The tea grains are then sieved and graded into 8 primary grades, according to the grain size (Table 3.1). The secondary tea grains are reprocessed again

**Table 3.1 The Tea Grades /Quality in the Tea Industry**

Primary Tea	Characteristics	Secondary Tea	Characteristics
BOPL /BOPS	Biggest grain size		Gives more strong liquor
BOP		SBOP	
BOPsm	3 <sup>rd</sup> best quality	SBOPsm	
BP	Best quality with good liquor, flavour and taste	SBP	
OF	2 <sup>nd</sup> best quality	SOF	
PD	The dust Grade with very strong liquor.		
Dust			
CD			

Source: Based on the Field Survey conducted in June 2002 from the Tea Factory.

and graded into secondary grades of the tea. The graded tea is then sent into the Packaging Department to be packed and sent for auction to the retailers and distributors. They in turn blend 2 – 3 varieties and sell it under various brand names like Double Diamond, Shakti etc.

### **Division of Labour in the Tea Plantation**

A proper division of labour is carried out to complete various processes involved in the tea manufacturing. For each and every step involved requires careful handling by humans even if it is done through machines especially in the processing factories. Right from plucking, which is the most labour intensive work with major concentration of female workers, till the packaging of the tea chest is dependent on labour force employed by the tea garden management.

#### **a) *Labour hierarchy***

A rigid labour hierarchy characterizes the tea plantations. Generally speaking, the organizational structure is divided into five strata: the owner, management, staff, sub-staff and labourers. The management consists of one manager each for the plantation and the factory plus an assistant manager. Clerical and white-collar workers are regarded as staff, while lower-level supervisors, gang leaders (Sardars) and watchmen constitute sub-staff (Verschoor 1996). The managerial staff supervises the work at each and every stage. The assistant manager, assigned for each division, works closely with the various office clerks and interacts with the labourers to get more work out of them. Similarly, the factory site is also managed by a competent manager to sort out the day to day functioning in the factory (Table 3.2).

At the lowest level, are the labourers who actually perform all the manual labour work. They are the unskilled labourers who get on-the-job training and thus acquiring skill in few days. The industry employs a large number of female workers, who are concentrated in the plucking of the tea leaves. No females are allowed to work in the factory site. Some times in the peak season females workers do get employed in the factory, but only in the sorting department. Apart from the garden site all other area of work are specifically male dominated.

As per the Factories Act, 1948, no children below 14 years of age are to be allowed in any manufacturing work, but some tea gardens especially the Gungaram Tea Garden does employ them. According to the Senior Manager the children are engaged in the harmless job such as weeding, plucking grass, clearing land etc., only if they do not go to school and sit idle at home, so that they too can contribute to the family income.

Further, to carry on work during peak season, mainly casual temporary labourers are employed called “*Bahar Basti*” or “*Out Basti*”. Such labourers may not be from the labour colonies of the garden and they only get daily wages for the period that they are

**Table 3.2 The Division of Labour at the Tea Gardens.**

Labour involved in	Task	Wages per day	Benefits
<b>At gardens:</b> Pluckers	Plucking tea leaves	Rs 45.90 + Provident Fund + Gratuity, Bonus and pension.	Living quarter, Electricity, Ration at subsidized rates, Fuel wood, dust grade tea once in 3 months, Medical assistance, Slippers, Tarpaulin, umbrella
Sardar	Supervises the plucking & other activity done in the garden.	Senior level Rs.80. Middle level Rs. 70 Lower level Rs. 65	- Do-
Chaprasi	Announces the plan & programme for the next day to be done	- Do-	- Do – Including cycle allowances
Bahidar (office Staff)	Keeps the records of the garden attendance	Monthly salaried staff	- Do -
Special Rated Staff Pani / Chai wala	To prepare tea for the labourers and provide them tea and water.	Rs. 47.90	- Do –
Dawai wala	To spray chemical in the garden	Rs. 47.90	- Do – get protective dress and medicine from hazardous chemicals
<b>At factory:</b> Labour involved in Withering, CTC / Rolling Room, Fermentation, Drier Room, Sorting Room, Packaging Dept.	All the work is done in a mechanized way as explained in the previous section.	Rs 48.40 per day + Provident Fund + Gratuity, Bonus,	Living quarter, Electricity, Ration at subsidized rates, Fuel wood, dust grade tea once in 3 months, Tarpaulin, Slippers umbrella, Medical assistance,
Sardar	Supervises the work at the factory site	Monthly salaried staff	- Do –
Babu (Office Staff)	Keeps record of the daily attendance of the labourers	Monthly salaried staff	- Do -

Source: Based on the field survey conducted in June 2002.

employed. The other temporary labourers are called “*Line Basti*” who are basically from the labour lines or colonies. Such workers get wages and ration at subsidized rates.

b) *Wages and benefits for the labourers*

The plucking activity, though the most important activity in the tea industry, pays the least wages. In this context, it is worth mentioning that till the Equal Remuneration Act was passed in 1975, female workers were paid lower wages than males. They were treated as daily rated workers and were never promoted to the supervisory category (Sarkar and Bhowmik 1998). Though now, as such the differences in the wages for males and females do not exist, but the wages are undoubtedly the lowest for this industry (Indian Labour Year Book 2000 and 2001).

For plucking the leaves according to the set task for the day, they are paid Rs. 45.90 per day. Any extra leave that they pluck above the set task brings them a ‘*doubli*’ at the rate of Rs.0.50 per kg, which they get at the end of the week. Out of these pluckers, some of them are taken out for special work, such as for chemical spraying (known as *Dawaiwala*) and making tea (*Chaiwala*) etc. These special rated staffs earn slightly higher than the pluckers at the rate of Rs 47.90 per day. The factory workers are paid at a daily wage is Rs 48.40. Also for them, the over time rate is Rs.11.07 per hour which makes a lot of differences between the weekly earnings of the garden and the factory workers. Out of their total weekly earning, some amount is deducted for various social security schemes (see Table 3.2). Though the factory work gives them a slightly higher wage than the garden, many workers, especially females do not want to opt for factory work. This point is dealt in detail in the next chapter.

The permanent labourers of the tea garden also receive certain allowances and benefits to carry out their work. First of all, the management provides their residence closer to their work site. The permanent labourer gets a pucca two-room house with enough of space to make kitchen garden (Appendix I, Plate 5). The management provides with satisfactory facilities and conducive environment. This includes proper drainage, sewage system, safe drinking water and properly lit pathways (Kurinji et. al. 2000). According to the Annual Return filled by Gungaram Tea Estate to the Labour Commissioner for 2001, it has 101 water points, which includes taps, hand pumps and

ring wells. Further electricity is also provided to all the houses but the workers informed that the electricity charges are very high. The Senior Labour Welfare Officer of the garden informs, that there is widespread illegal hooking by the workers and thus the high charges. In spite of various problems, such as its future maintenance the tea garden management has tried to provide all these facilities.

Further, the management provides ration at the subsidized rates, according to the number of days worked in a week. The ration includes 1 kg of rice and 2.26 kgs of flour for an adult worker, and 0.5 kgs of rice and 0.72 kgs of flour for a dependent, only till 18 years of age. Most of the time the workers complain of inferior quality of ration being provided.

As the day of absences from work increases, the amount payable to avail the ration also increases. A worker, who has worked for all 6 days, gets the weekly ration for Rs 1.80 (Table 3.3). For one day of absence, they get the ration at the rate of Rs 7.72 and so on. This would mean that the amount paid for the ration increases, as the days not worked increases. Thus, it acts like an important incentive for the labourer to work. It was observed that this incentive works more strongly in case of female workers than for male workers. The implication of the subsidized rationing is given in greater detail in the next chapter.

**Table 3.3 Amount Payable for the Subsidized Ration in the Tea Gardens.**

No. of days worked	Adult (in Rs)	Dependent (in Rs)
6 days	1.31	0.49
5 days	5.56	2.16
4 days	10.00	3.84
3 days	14.35	5.51
2 days	18.70	7.19
1 day	23.05	8.86
0 days	27.60	10.54

Source: Based on field survey, conducted in June 2002.

Apart from the above benefits given to all workers, labourers at certain job gets additional allowances. The *Chaprasi* gets the cycle allowances, as he has to announce the plans for the next day in all the sections where plucking is going on. Further, the labourers entrusted with chemical spraying get protective tarpaulin covering and preventive injections before spraying chemicals once in a month.

The workers save on traveling time, as management provides them with labour quarters closer to the work sites. The labour quarters are arranged along *kutchra* pathway on both sides. These labour quarters are thus called labour lines (Appendix I, Plate 6). The number of houses in these labour colonies ranges between 150 houses in Gangaram, to 50 houses in Tarabari, belonging to permanent members. Most of the families follow joint family system, though the nuclear families are on a rise. The average size of the household is five with each house on an average having two permanent workers as part of the production process in the tea industry. This rise in small family norm is creating a pressure on the land to build more labour quarters.

The TG1, being larger, has more labour lines than TG 2 (Table 3.4). Most of the workers of these tea gardens are a part of the labour colonies constructed by the management. The labour colonies are well scattered around the tea garden helping the labourers to attend their work.

**Table 3.4 Major Labour Colonies in the Two Tea gardens.**

TG1	TG2
Gangaram	Hansqua <i>Godam</i> line
Toonah 7	Hansqua
Toonah 6	Danagaaj*
Moonee	Dangi <i>Basti</i> *
Kestopur*	Saal Dangi*
Chapukheria*	Dulu Chat*

Source: Based on Field Survey, conducted in June 2002.

\*The *bastis* adjoining the labour lines

It is to be noted that in TG 2 more labourers from the *basti*, adjoining the labour lines, come to be the part of the work force. Most of these labourers have made their own *kutchra* or semi pucca houses in these *bastis*. Majority of these labourers from the *bastis* are either temporary out *basti* or *line basti* workers. This feature of the workers is discussed in great detail in the following section.

## Section B

### **Migration and its Implications for the Tea Gardens.**

The majority of tribals, who have made Northeastern plantation enclaves their home, owe their origin in Chotanagpur belt comprising of Jharkhand, Orissa and Chattisgarh. Many of them migrated into the area years ago. The major flow of migration was in early 19<sup>th</sup> century when the British planters were developing this economy in the Hilly tracts of northern West Bengal and Assam (Jain 1998; Bhattacharya 1999; Dasgupta 2001; Kar 2001; Malley 2001).

The 19<sup>th</sup> century Bihar (erstwhile home of many Chotanagpur Tribes) had seen many revolts and was in a state of turmoil. There was also widespread infiltration by the non-tribals in the area, who were encouraged to settle down in the tribal areas. These people known as *Dikus*, were given administrative posts and power. The ruling class gave them (*dikus*) the tribal cultivable land as jagir and alienated tribals from their own land. With the introduction of British Rule in 1765 and subsequent change of masters more traders and money lenders poured into the area. They captured the plain cultivated lands of tribals by various means. The unwritten traditional rights of tribals on the land were not accepted as their proof of ownership. Further the innocent tribals failed to understand the complicated documents relating to their ownership. And thus they lost the right to cultivate on their own piece of land. From being the owners the tribals now became tenants in their own land. On one hand their land was being usurped by the jagirdars and zamindars on the other the Britishers were burdening them with various taxes. Unable to bear these tyrannies the tribals revolted quite often. All cultivating tribes – Oraon, Munda, Kharia, Ho etc – joined hands to fight. As a result of these frequent rebellions the economic life of the tribal people suffered heavily and the hardship of life and poverty forced them to migrate to different areas in search of work and land (Badgaiyan 1986; Choudhury and Bhowmik 1986).

At the same time the plantation industry was facing acute labour shortage. It was answered by the induced migration of labourers from these troubled areas of Chotanagpur. In the initial years the migration of indentured labour was preferred. This was to check the increase in the labour wages. The employment of the indentured



labour assured the management of work at wages decided by them. Thus the labour force in these tea plantations consists of immigrant and of their descendents who now consider themselves to be the born resident of the plantations. It is to be noted that the migration in these areas is family based. The workers were encouraged to migrate with their family. This meant that the entire family could be engaged in the labour force and would settle permanently in the plantations. Also this meant that the problem of future labour gets solved for the management (Badgaiyan 1986; Bhowmik 1992; Bhowmik and Sarkar 1998).

The tea gardens continue to remain major source for employment. Table 3.5 shows that the younger generation of these migrant labourers gets repeated and replicated in the tea gardens. For, about 60 percent of second-generation male workers and 72 percent of female workers, tea gardens are the work places. Around 10 percent of third generation workers continue to work in them. On segregating the data for TG 1 and TG 2, it was seen that most

of the third generation workers belonged to TG 1, as one would expect given the longer existence of TG 1 as compared to TG 2. It also implies that the predominantly tribal workers in TG 1 have relatively lower level of lateral mobility in terms of moving out of the tea

**Table 3.5 The Generation Wise Occupation of People in the Tea Gardens**

Work in	Total No (N)		First Gen		Second Gen		Third Gen		Fourth Gen		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Tea garden	321	151	29.9	20.5	59.7	71.5	9.9	7.9	0.4	-	100	100
Other field	19	1	50.0	-	47.4	-	26.3	100	-	-	100	100
School going	143	82	3.5	-	40.6	15.8	53.8	80.5	2.1	3.7	100	100
Stays at home	101	66	34.6	18.2	29.7	36.4	34.6	42.4	1.0	3.0	100	100

Source: Based on the field data, Survey conducted in June 2002.

gardens. Part of this also happens because the second and third generation workers do not consider themselves as migrants but as original residents of West Bengal since their forefathers had migrated long back and do not feel the need to move out. In this context it

is important to note that such workers are considerably higher in numbers in TG 1 than in comparison to TG 2 (Table 3.6).

**Table 3.6 Household Distributions According to the Native Place**

Native Place	Total	TG1	TG2
West Bengal	44.4	52.2	32.8
Jharkhand	39.2	34.8	45.9
Chattisgarh	6.5	9.8	1.6
Nepal	3.9	-	9.8
Orissa	2.0	3.3	-
Others	3.9	-	9.8
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Based on field survey data conducted in June 2002.

Overall only 35 percent of younger workers (those below 30 years of age) in TG 1 recall Jharkhand as their native place. The loss of consciousness of ethnic identity amongst the tribals may also be attributed to their being physically far from the native place. (Kar 2001). In contrast, TG 2 has Nepali workers (constituting 4 percent of the total workers as compared to none in TG 1) who identify Nepal as their home country. The closeness of the native place and widespread presence of the Nepali culture in the district both in the Hills and Tarai may be a contributing factor in making them more conscious of their ethnic identity.

The management also see to it that labourers working in these area do not leave the work and go back and offer several incentives terms of wages housing, rationing and other facilities. In recent times the large-scale migration to the area has slowed down to a large extent, and labour force gets replicated and supplied through dependent of the migrants and the younger generations.

## **Section C**

### **Workers and their Composition in the Tea Gardens**

At the risk of being repetitive it may be pointed out that the overall workforce participation in tea gardens is higher as compared to corresponding rates at the state and

district level i.e. 50.6 percent as opposed to 30.2 and 33.7 percent respectively. Another point to be noted is a general high workforce participation of the tribals in the tea gardens than by the non-tribals. However TG 2 has slightly different profile, particularly in terms of female workforce participation, which is even lower in case of the tribal females, a point taken up for detail discussion later.

a) *The work status of the labourers*

The workers in tea gardens are employed mainly as temporary labourers who later on become permanent. Though it is also to be noted that the temporary labourers may continue and retire as temporary labour (Kurinji et al 2000). Every year with increase in the work during peak period i.e. from July to October more temporary labourers are inducted to meet the demand. These temporary labourers can join the work from the neighbouring Basti and only receive wages. They work for 6 months only and are called 'Out Basti'. The other dependents of the tea workers from within the labour quarters can join as temporary labourers and are called *Line Basti*. They receive both the wages and subsidized ration. These labourers are retained to work during the off-season too and are engaged in various types of plucking, pruning and weeding etc jobs. Once in 2 – 3 years temporary labourers are inducted as permanent labourers during "*naya ginti*" depending on the number of workers retiring from service. Some of the temporary labourers get permanent status at this time.

Overall, the permanent status is higher for female workers as compared to their male counterparts. The pattern is common to both the tea gardens although the percentages for TG 2 are considerably low (Table 3.7) This may stem from the fact that TG 2 has come up much later in 1983 as compared to TG 1 which is much older i.e., established in 1872 and followed a policy of hiring labour in temporary capacity that allowed the management to offer limited benefits to workers. This is also in keeping with recent trends in the labour market, primarily working in the interests of the producers (Verschoor 1996; Raju and Baud 2002). This may stem from the fact that TG 2 has come up much later as compared to TG 1 and prefers to have more temporary labourers with restricted benefits. Thus the management has been able to maximize their gain with lesser responsibility towards the labourers.

**Table 3.7 The Labourers Status in the Tea Gardens**

Worker's Status	Total		TG 1		TG 2	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Permanent	45.1	69.4	74.5	88.9	13.6	17.6
Temporary	54.9	30.6	25.5	11.1	86.4	82.4
a. Temporary	18.7	08.1	25.5	11.1	11.4	-
b. Temporary Line Basti	15.4	03.2	-	-	31.8	11.8
c. Temporary Out Basti	20.9	19.4	-	-	43.2	70.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Based on field Survey conducted in June 2002.

The permanent versus temporary composition of workers is replicated even as workers are divided into tribal and non-tribal components (Table 3.8). Permanent

**Table 3.8 The Labourers Status in the Tea Gardens**

Status	TG 1				TG 2			
	Tribal		Non-tribal		Tribal		Non-tribal	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Permanent	63.3	69.2	64.7	68.7	46.5	50.9	28.6	45.5
Temporary	36.7	30.8	35.3	31.3	53.5	49.1	71.4	54.5
a. Temporary	8.2	7.7	11.8	06.3	02.8	03.8	23.6	18.2
b. Line basti	24.5	22.1	23.5	18.8	38.0	35.8	19.0	27.3
c. Out basti	4.1	01.0	-	06.3	12.7	09.4	28.6	09.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Based on field Survey conducted in June 2002.

workers are regular and work in the tea gardens the year around. In peak seasons because of increased workload, extra workforce can be deployed known as seasonal workers.

**Table 3.9 The Work Status of the Workers in the Two Tea Garden**

Work Status	Total		TG 1		TG 2	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Regular	67.8	67.2	70.8	71.2	63.9	59.7
Seasonal	32.2	32.8	29.2	28.8	36.1	40.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Based on field Survey conducted in June 2002.

This is a general pattern. However, as indicated earlier TG 2, employs a much higher percentage of both male and female workers as seasonal workers even in months when tea production is at its peak level. That is to say TG 2 has relatively higher

proportion of workers in temporary and seasonal category (Table 3.9). Incidentally, these temporary and seasonal workers do not get all benefits that permanent workers enjoy. By adopting this strategy, management cuts costs of labour welfare (Kurinji et al 2000).

**b) Occupation structure and distribution**

The tea garden shows a very skewed distribution of the workers engaged in various jobs in the tea production. Women labourers are mainly concentrated in the plucking job, which is at lowest rung of job hierarchy. Overall, almost 91 percent of the total women workers employed are plucker and around 5 percent in the crèche to look after young children of nursing mothers (Table 3.10)

**Table 3.10 Persons employed in Various Occupation in the Tea Plantation**

Occupation	Total		TG 1		TG 2	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Plucker	47.3	91.5	55.3	91.1	38.6	94.1
Factory labour	27.5	-	12.8	-	43.2	-
Sardar	9.9	1.6	8.5	-	11.4	5.9
Dawaiwala	3.3	-	6.4	-	-	-
Pani/Chaiwala	6.6	-	8.5	-	4.5	-
Ayah	-	4.8	-	6.7	-	-
Office Clerk	2.2	1.6	2.1	2.2	2.3	-
Others	3.3	-	6.3	-	-	-
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Based on field survey data, survey conducted in June 2002.

In contrast to this, male workers are absorbed in all sorts of jobs involved in tea production except in the crèche. Although plucking remains the major avenue for them as well. Apart from pluckers the next category for male workers is factory work. Around 10 percent of the workers are special category workers, as *Dawaiwala*, *chaiwala*, and *paniwala*. Very few of them venture out to do other jobs as Night Guards or as Khalasi in the transport department. For various reasons the females do not like the job in the factory and thus they try to concentrate in the garden site.

**c) Employment and education interface**

It may be recalled from the earlier discussion in chapter two, that the overall literacy for both male and female in the tea garden is quite high. The missionary presence among and

Christianity among tribals may account for this rather unusual feature. The workers literacy also is high for males. However the female workers literacy is still a point worth concern (Table 3.10). Between the two tea gardens the similar trend is seen, but TG 1 shows a slightly better literacy for females. In case of males TG 2 has a relatively better literacy. This difference again can be attributed to the tribal presences in the area and the majority christian population among the tribals who are known to have better literacy.

**Table 3.11 Literacy and Level of Education Among the Tea Garden Workers**

	Total		TG 1		TG 2	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Illiterate	39.2	63.5	44.7	62.8	33.7	63.9
Literate	60.8	36.5	55.3	37.2	66.3	36.1
<b>Literacy level</b>						
Primary	24.4	33.3	14.3	28.9	36.1	40.9
Secondary	66.9	62.1	81.0	64.4	55.7	54.5
HS and Graduation	08.7	04.5	04.8	06.7	08.2	04.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Based on the field survey data, survey conducted in June 2002.

As far as worker's education level are concerned it is seen that even amongst workers percentage of those who are literate are high and follow the overall trend and attain education at least till the secondary level. Although the male-female literacy shows much disparity between the two sexes. However levels of education is quite satisfactory with majority of the workers studying up to secondary level, whether male or female. The disparity between the sexes also remains as more males are seen to study up to secondary level than females. Majority of the female workers, on the other hand, get the chance to study till the primary level. Most of them are illiterate who are concentrated in the plucking activity.

The distribution of workers in different job categories is mediated through educational level. Out of all illiterate male workers about 67 percent males are in plucking. The corresponding figure for females are as high as 97 percent (Table 3.12). This unusually higher concentration of illiterate workers in plucking is not surprising because, plucking is a job, which does not require any educational skill and to this extent, illiterate male and female workers do not differ from each other. However among the

literate male and female workers as high as 85 percent of literate female workers are pluckers compared to only 35 percent males counterpart.

**Table 3.12 Occupation and Literacy level interface for the workers in the Tea Gardens**

Occupation	Illiterate		Literate	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Plucker	67.6	97.1	35.1	85.2
Factory labour	8.8	-	38.6	-
Sardar	2.9	-	14.0	3.7
Dawaiwala	8.8	-	-	-
Pani/Chaiwala	11.8	-	3.5	-
Ayah	-	2.9	-	7.4
Office Clerk	-	-	3.5	3.7
Others	-	-	5.4	-
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Based on the field survey data, survey conducted in June 2002.

It may be argued that all the lower percentage of male literate workers in plucking is due to male workers educated beyond primary level and therefore qualifying for other jobs and that the disparity observed is not essentially discriminatory in nature. This proposition does not hold to statistical scrutiny of data. It is seen that even within comparable levels of educational attainment, females tend to concentrate in plucking (table 3.16).

**Table 3.18 Occupation and the Education Level for the workers in the Tea Gardens.**

Occupation	Illiterate		Primary		Secondary		HS	Graduation		Don't know
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	M	F	F
Plucker	67.7	97.1	52.6	75.0	28.6	88.2	-	-	100	100
Factory labour	8.8	-	31.6	-	42.9	-	-	50.0	-	-
Sardar	2.9	-	15.8	-	11.4	5.9	-	50.0	-	-
Dawai	8.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pani/Ch	11.8	-	-	-	5.7	-	-	-	-	-
Ayah	-	2.9	-	12.5	-	5.9	-	-	-	-
Clerk	-	-	-	12.5	5.7	-	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-	5.8	-	100	-	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	-	-	-

Source: Based on field survey conducted in June 2002.

Such an occupation structure is indicative of discriminatory practices that female face in the world of work, a point that has been discussed ad infinitum in literature. This is a complex issue and is taken up for more nuanced analysis in chapter 4.

### **In Sum**

The labour intensive work of the tea gardens employs many people but the employment scenario far from getting influenced by the more regular factors like education etc gets influenced by the more social and the ethnic situation prevailing here. In this work site again the ethnic identity brings about the changes with considerable affect from the religious and the gender identity. Thus the work profile of the area has a combined result of these socio-cultural factors more than economic and any other factors.

The two tea gardens mainly differ on account of the tribal and non-tribal composition of the population. The tribal majority in TG 1 makes the society more egalitarian in nature and it is seen that the non-tribals too conform to this liberal set-up of the dominant group. TG 2 on account of more non-tribal and tribal Hindus affects the tribal population. These religious and ethnic identities bring the changes in the workforce participation. Tribal females are more visible in the work sphere than their non-tribal counterparts in TG 2.

Further, TG 1 and TG 2 have differences in the worker's status i.e., TG 2 prefers to have more temporary workers and tends to follow the market to have more casual labourers and in the process giving them limited benefits.

The worker's absorption in the various processes show a higher concentration of female workers in plucking, which is the lowest job in the job hierarchy. For them it is a question of survival and they are much contented with the fact that they have a job, which sees them weeks after week and for years. For generations this has been the trend and their parents and grandparents did survive. Now the same legacy of survival is being carried on in the similar fashion.

The male workers are employed in to the second wage category of factory labourers where females are not allowed. The workers do not get promotions and seen in the labourers status only. There are very few who have been promoted to work as *Sardar*.



The literacy of the workers does not affect their job nature, as it is seen that even with a higher qualification they still work as labourers. Both illiterate and literate workers can be seen in the similar job. Thus, educational qualification of the workers does not hold much importance in their work status.

The majority of the workers still does not have the courage to leave the place and carve out a new niche for themselves in another place and job. To an extent, the plantation system has made them laid back and relaxed where they just do not want to open up and make themselves more upwardly mobile. In such routine life cycle there is no way for the women folk to break from the tradition. They still are trapped in the tailor made role of housewives and have adjusted themselves to the workers status. The older generation females have blamed all to their destiny but the new lot still has the spark to change the situation and is ready to tread along on to the earlier unknown territory. The next chapter in line thus, gives an insight into the life of female workers.

## **Chapter 4**

# **A Female's World: Negotiating Home and Work in Tea Gardens**

## **Introduction**

The way the present study has evolved so far raises some very crucial issues that have to be located in theoretical framework of feminist scholars, who have argued for a much nuanced and complex explanatory framework when it comes to studying females. Therefore, deviating from usual format of continuing with the earlier empirical analysis with a special focus on female workers, this chapter revisits a few conceptual issues first followed by empirical analysis so as to situate it against them. This chapter is divided into two sections: female workers at the plantation sites and their location within the family.

According to the United Nation's study on Equality (1985), females do two-third of the world's work; receive one-tenth of the income and own only one-hundredth of its property. This poses a question whether the women inherit certain qualities that make them inferior from birth or whether they come with equal capabilities, but environmental factors causes them to develop different abilities resulting in their disparate status. However, existing literature points out that these differences, more than being inbuilt, are a result of the social construct whereby the roles are differently defined for males and females as also discussed in the introductory chapter. This leads to a difference in the work scenario for both males and females (Silterly and Duke 1988; Friedmann 1990).

## **Section A**

### **Locating Gender and Work in Explanatory Framework**

In recent times there has been an increase in the female workforce participation. More female workers are seen in the workforces, who are contributing to the household income. Once in the labour market, this discrimination becomes more vividly visible. Gender itself becomes a category and male and female workers are discriminated according to their being in the particular category. This discrimination gets strengthened because females are strongly associated with their primary role of homemaker too. Also, this oppression occurs at plurality of sites i.e., the home, workplace, in matters related to education and health. Therefore the gender-based roles are important at the societal level

Their work participation and concentration in particular sectors and job type will not show much change until and unless wider structural changes are also brought about. For them to be economically visible, the code of conduct at the household level has to be changed. This requires male members to cross over the traditional roles in order to change the existing gender relationship (Raju 2001).

### **The Layered Nature of Gender Discrimination in the Tea Gardens**

The tea gardens as such are worksites where both males and females are into the workforce. Whether females working or not, get intervened by their membership in their multiple locations identities especially religion and ethnic. This point emerges vividly in the study with limited database.

**Table 4.1 Female Workers in the Study Area**

<b>Women</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>TG 1</b>	<b>TG 2</b>	<b>Tribal</b>	<b>Non-Tribal</b>
Population	40.5	48.9	27.9	42.2	32.0
<b>Workforce Status</b>					
Total Workforce	46.3	55.8	54.6	47.6	41.5
a. Permanent	69.4	88.9	17.6	75.9	25.0
b. Temporary	8.1	11.1	-	5.6	25.0
c. Line Basti	3.2	-	11.8	1.9	12.5
d. Out Basti	19.4	-	70.6	16.7	37.5
<b>Workforce Composition</b>					
a. Pluckers	91.9	91.1	94.1	92.6	87.5
b. Sardar	1.6	-	5.9	1.9	-
c. Ayah	4.8	6.7	-	3.7	12.5
d. Office Clerk	1.6	2.2	-	1.9	-
<b>Educational Level</b>					
a. Illiterate	56.5	57.8	52.9	57.4	50.0
b. Primary	12.9	15.6	5.9	13.0	12.5
c. Secondary	27.4	24.4	35.3	25.9	37.5
d. Graduation	1.6	-	5.9	1.9	-
<b>Religion</b>					
Christian	47.3	54.9	32.8	55.3	-
Hindu	52.7	45.1	67.2	47.7	100

Source: Based on the Field Survey Data, Survey conducted in June 2002.

It is a well-known argument that tribal females are much less constrained in terms of participation in public domain while the non-tribal females remain in a much more conservative set up exerting its influence on females' participation in work (Chandna 1961; Raju 1982; Rose 1993; Azad 1996; Verma 1997; Rajuladevi 2000; Kaistha and

Raha undated). Given this social reality, it can be argued that in tea plantations the tribal females would fare better than non-tribals in terms of the extent to which they participate as workers. This indeed is true, as out of the total tribal workers, females constitute 48 percent where as in case of the non-tribal workers the females are about only 42 percent. This may also because the tribal identity gives females relatively more liberal environment and freedom in their society.

However, over and above the tribal identity, the context in which these female workers operate does influence their work status. That is to say, who forms the referential domain to which other conform remains crucial, e.g. in TG 1 where Christian tribals are in the majority in population (66.8 percent), the non-tribal Hindus (11.8 percent) seem to follow the pattern set by the Christians in that the workers' percentage amongst the two subsets: tribal and non-tribal of population is not very different from each other leading to a proposition that the constraints that Hindu females may have otherwise encountered in terms of work in public sphere in other situations is reduced as a response to the tribal influence by way of what can be termed as a 'demonstration effect' (Table 4.2).

**Table 4.2 Religion Wise Female Workers in the Study Area**

<b>Female Workers</b>	<b>TG 1</b>	<b>TG 2</b>
Tribals (Christian)	54.9	32.8
Tribals (Hindu)	32.0	50.0
Non-tribal (Hindu)	13.1	17.2
Total	100	100

Source: Based on the Field Survey Data, Survey conducted in June 2002.

What is observed in TG 2 also lends some support to this preposition whereby the overwhelming presence of non-tribals seems to have influenced the tribals who also happen to be Hindus. That is, even amongst tribal females, the workforce participation rates are lower in keeping with the overall lower workforce participation of females in TG 2 as compared to TG 1. These observations acquire some weight given the essentially work-centric nature of plantation sites in which availability of work should have had an equalizing effect on both tribal and non-tribal females. Admittedly, these issues require much detailed interrogation before any final conclusions can be made.

Having understood the ethnic and religious identity and its effect on the workforce participation, it may be assumed that similar ideologies exert influence on the marital status and thus the participation by married female workers in the workforce. Thus TG 2 with predominantly non-tribal and Hindu tribal population has more females who were married early in age. In contrast to this, TG 1 with major Christian tribal population has fewer early marriages for female workers (Table 4.3).

**Table 4.3 Age and the Marital Status of the Workers in the Tea Garden.**

Age Group	Total		TG 1		TG 2	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
15 – 19	00.7	02.6	-	02.5	01.6	02.0
20 – 24	06.3	21.2	06.2	16.3	06.3	22.0
25 – 29	18.8	24.8	21.0	21.3	15.9	22.0
<b>15 - 29</b>	<b>25.8</b>	<b>48.6</b>	<b>27.2</b>	<b>40.1</b>	<b>23.8</b>	<b>46.0</b>
30 – 34	19.4	15.9	18.5	22.5	20.6	18.0
35 – 39	14.6	10.6	17.3	15.0	11.1	12.0
40 and >	40.3	24.8	36.9	22.6	44.4	24.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Based on field Survey conducted in June 2002

### **The Garden versus Factory: Deprivation or Rationalization?**

Conventionally, when it comes to female workers, wage differentials have often been taken as a proxy variable to denote deprivation. In the present study females are primarily pluckers, a category in which wages are the lowest. It has also been seen that even with comparable educational level with male workers, this pattern does not change (see Chapter 3).

The next wage category is factory work. However, the wage differential between the factory and the garden is almost Rs 3 per day. The overall wage and disbursement structure is such that a female worker, on an average, would lose about Rs 120 per month if she were to work as plucker instead of factory worker. The major financial gain occurs when it comes to working overtime. A factory worker can earn overtime at the rate of Rs 11.07 per hour, increasing his wages by a substantial amount. On the other hand, a garden worker can earn a 'doubli' of Rs 0.50 per kg for the extra leaves plucked and cannot match the earnings of a factory worker.

At the outset, the setting is right to argue that there are discriminatory practices affecting female workers although for the tea garden management, this is a matter of 'nimble fingers' of the females that are considered apt to pluck 'one bud and two tea leaves', an explanation that has been critiqued by scholars. This is because 'nimble finger' is a fine way of excuse to put the female workers in the job, which is monotonous, tiresome and at the lowest rung of job hierarchy with the lower wages accruing to the workers (Boserup 1975; Mies 1977). This is more appropriate as an excuse than the 'recruitment policy'. The scholars also argue that by concentrating women in the lowest hierarchy of job, which does not pay the best of the wages is a very subtle kind of discrimination.

Based on an in-depth study and interview with select group of workers, this study argues that discrimination is not such a simple matter. Of late, many feminist scholars have questioned such purely economic measure of discrimination arguing that the so-called vulnerability of female workers may in fact be interpreted as women making the best possible use of available opportunities (Raheja and Gold 1996; Raju 2001). They further argue that most of the time women are considered 'repressed' and 'submissive', which can be far from truth, as the females themselves may not consider them as such. At times the submission and silence may be their own strategy to put them in certain specific context. The females therefore apply their own conscious choice to remain in the specific situation whether in the labour market or in other avenues.

Such arguments may be contentious issue depending upon the ideological sides one takes. However, the female workers see working in the tea garden as a much better option- irrespective of their tribal and non-tribal status because it suits them negotiate with other household responsibilities that have not diminished even as they work full-time in plantation (also the Box in the following page).

There are other reasons for opting to work in plantation sites. From the studies it becomes clear that female workers are not in a position to avail of extra benefit on account of overtime in the factory. Also, factory work means definite work hours and night shifts. In contrast, plucking leaves is a daylight and flexible job in nature. The work does not entail any strict code of conduct or rules to be followed, except for the time to be maintained for attendance, weighment and the final call before the end of the day's work.

Jambib Lakra, a 32-year-old married Oraon lady residing in Toonah 6 under TG 1 has completed TTC training but still she is working as a plucker. Her argument is that she did try to get a job in the nearby schools. But she got job offers in schools far away from the gardens. Now she earns Rs.198/week to cater to her family's needs also the labour quarter, which she gets to retain. Had she taken up a teacher's job elsewhere she would have earned more but the closeness with the family members and the community would have meant various other problems for her which she does not want to forsake.

If the leaves are not much then the workers can easily go about completing their set task for the day. Most of the time they can complete their job with less hassles. The work can go on while they talk, sing and generally share their problems with their friends in the gardens and the known people with whom they have been working. Thus, together with work they go on to build their social capital to fall back on, in times of necessities (Jain 1998). The female workers themselves decide to work in the area of their own choice, based on their own reasons, which may not be purely beneficial in economic sense. Thus, the female workers decide to be in the garden than to be in the factory. For them, the social capital building as explained earlier has more importance than the pure economic gains.

Prisca kujur (40) is a married lady also working as a plucker in TG 1. She completed her education till Class VII and had to discontinue in 1978 when her mother retired as a plucker and it was difficult for the family to pay her school fees. She entered TG 2 as temporary line basti plucker. After marriage in 1983 when she came to TG 1 for 3 years she worked as out basti worker and then as line basti. She worked in the sorting department of the factory for few days. She did not like the work environment at the factory, which was very dusty. Also the factory site is a little far from the labour quarters and it becomes a problem for them to go for night shift. She preferred the garden work than at the factory. Now she works as a permanent labourer in lieu of her mother-in-law who retired.

Further, the female workers themselves do not prefer the factory job since the labour lines are far from the factory site and it would pose a great problem for them to attend work at various shifts, especially night shifts. Moreover, it may be recalled that the amount payable for subsidised ration increases with an increase in the number of days absent from the work. Owing to the strict shift based work in the factory, a slight delay in



the attendance would mark her absentee. As a consequence, she would have to shell out extra money to get the weekly ration. Though the problem of absenteeism is more among the male workers, the issue of ration does not affect them as it is considered to be part of the female purview.

The male workers are promoted to the level of supervisory position of *Sardar* either in the tea garden or in the factory but there are no females in such supervisory position. In the overall tea garden there is only one female till date who has been given the rank of a *Sardar*. The in depth information taken from the female workers revealed that they do not prefer the job of a *Sardar*. This is mainly because they see it as very demanding job where they will have to be under Garden Manager, to be answerable to him for any conduct of the workers under her supervision and in turn get rebuked.

There are still few younger female workers who would like to take up the job of *Sardar*. They think it is easier and relaxing job, as they are not required to constantly move and keep plucking tea leaves. They will only have to make sure that they reach on time before the workers start coming to the garden for attendance. Moreover, the job will give them more salary and the fuel wood. Thus, this group of workers weigh the economies of being *Sardar* than just being a plucker throughout their life.

In general, most of the females themselves do not want to move out of this plantation and seem to be content with their work in the gardens and with their earning, which supports their life week after week. Moreover, the industry provides them with all the basic necessities nearby viz. the hospital, school, market places etc among their own people and community men. Thus not even females, but males too prefer to stay in the tea garden.

By no mean, the above discussion is meant to suggest that the status quo is to be maintained. The male female disparity and discrimination in wages in the labour market and predominant clustering of female workers in low-hierarchy are issues for concern. Female workers opting to remain where they are is also because they do not see supportive structures at domestic fronts with very few exception and in order to carry on 'double burden', they seek/rationalize whatever is available readily to them (Nagar and Raju 2003).

Much of this discrimination crops up due to the social factors and the changes need to emerge from the society itself. The changes have to come at the home front first, where the support has to come from the male counterparts and they have to frequently cross over the strict gender based role. Only then the females will be able to juggle between home and work in a better and efficient way. In the following paragraph, a typical day in the life of female worker in the tea garden is given as a case in point.

## **Section B**

### **A Day in Female Worker's Life**

#### **a) *The working day of female workers in the tea gardens***

For all tribal and non-tribal females in these two tea gardens, the daily schedule speaks of equal amount of work catering to the household chores. Here most of the female start their day very early, even before the sun rises. Female workers devote their work time to a combination of economic work, generating income and home maintenance, food preparation and child- care. Thus, the total work hours of females exceed those of males (Sen 1988; Silterly and Duke 1988). Their household work gets defined according to the season also. After harvest season, most of these females boil the mature paddy and make it consumable early in the morning. During winters, they also indulge in collecting pruned section of the tea bushes, which is used as fuel wood, from the tea gardens after coming back from the gardens.

All females have their household chores to complete before going out in to the gardens. Some have little work while some have to complete a whole lot of work before venturing out although once in the garden their schedule is the same (Table 4.4). A set of work in the household occupies their time in the morning with a similar set of work keeping them busy in the evening. These works can vary according to individual houses. In a family with more females, the work pressure may be lower for the female workers since all the females can help each other and complete the household work. As in the morning, in the evenings too, the women do all the work whereas the men folk prefer to spend their time relaxing. Many older females get more time to indulge in other works in the evening as their grown up daughters take up the kitchen job. But for younger ladies

there is no time to take up other work. Most of the females are so tired at the end of the day that they like to sleep early so that they have energy to work on the next day.

**Table 4.4 The Working Schedule in the Tea Gardens**

Time	Job
4:30 – 5:00 a.m.	Wakes up for the day
5:00 – 6:45 a.m.	Tries to complete as much household work
6:45 – 7:15 a.m.	Takes Breakfast and prepares to leave for the garden
<b>In the tea garden</b>	
7:30 – 8:30 a.m.	Attendance at the designated division
8:30 – 9:00 a.m.	Tea leaves plucking
9:30 – 9:30 a.m.	1 <sup>st</sup> weighment of the plucked tea leaves
9:30 – 11:30 a.m.	Tea leaves plucking
11:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.	2 <sup>nd</sup> weighment and lunch break
12:30 – 3:30 p.m.	Tea leaves plucking
3:30 – 4:00 p.m.	3 <sup>rd</sup> weighment of the plucked leaves
<b>Goes back home</b>	
4:00 – 4:30 p.m.	Takes rest and spends time with children
4:30 – 6:30 p.m.	Completes the household work
6:30 – 8:00 p.m.	Cooks dinner for the whole family
8:00 – 8:30 p.m.	Serves dinner to the family members
9:00 – 9:30 p.m.	Sleeps

Source: Based on field Survey conducted in June 2002.

On the other hand, the much younger girls complete their work fast, which they restrict only to washing dishes, bringing water and cooking, and prefer to spend the evening with their friends in the labour lines or watch television.

Thus, the work in the gardens brings them on equal footing where they all have the similar work and task to complete before they can call it a day and go home. This remains the typical daily schedule of a working female in the tea garden shuffling and juggling between the garden and the home.

#### **b) Family support**

In the tea garden, the tribal males do cross over the traditionally defined roles and help in expressing the gender relationship better. The tribal females thus get support from both the male and female members of the household who help her to complete her household work and to join the workforce. The support from husband to his wife in the completion of work breaks the strict roles and has a favourable effect on the females work participation.

Mary Lalita Tigga (44) is a permanent tea plucker in TG 1. She was born and brought up in the tea gardens. She left studies in 1978 and joined the garden work. She got married in 1985 and stayed back in her father's house since she did not want to leave her permanent job and the labour quarters in TG 1. All her elder brothers are settled in their jobs and did not want to retain the house by taking up job in the garden. Her husband a fellow worker helps her to complete her morning chores if he does not have to go to the field to plough the land. He looks after her kitchen garden and grows all the seasonal vegetables in it. He also takes the cattle out in to the grazing land. He also helps in cutting vegetables to cook so that his daughter do not get late for school.

In most of the cases, though, the support comes from the daughters of such female workers. The grown up daughters of the older working females reduce at least a part of the household burden, either by doing all kitchen work or other household works. Thus, the female workers get some time to indulge in other activities, related to paying social visits or other works of their interest. In most of the cases the sons of the family also help them to complete their task (Klein 1965; Sen 1988; Jain; 1998;).

Tarsiscia Kujur (54) is a plucker working in TG 1 for the past 25 years. For Tarsiscia the helps comes from her 2 grown up daughter who handle the kitchen work very efficiently, before they too leave for school and college. Her son brings water for the household use and helps their sisters and mother and thus making time management easy for Mrs Kujur.

Further, it is also seen that young unmarried females prefer to complete their household chores fast and like to have some time for relaxing and leisure in the evening. The television in the recent times is a major leisure activity for these female workers of tea gardens.

In case of the non-tribal females, the crossing over of boundaries generally does not happen since the society adheres to a very strict code of conduct (Dinakaran 1996). Thus the female workers have to manage both the house and the work by themselves with least support from the male members of the family. Here too, the support from the female members of the household continues.

Geeta Lama (26) is a Hindu married lady of Nepali origin and works as a tea plucker in the TG 2 residing in the Hansqua labour lines. She got married at the age of 20 and after coming to this tea garden joined the workforce, recently in 1998. She works as temporary line basti plucker. She stays with her husband, 2 young children and her mother-in-law. Her day starts at 4:30 in the morning. She cleans the house and courtyard in the morning and simultaneously cooks food in the kitchen for her mother-in-law and the young son who stay at home. In the evening too she completes all work of cleaning, fetching water, washing dishes and then preparing dinner for the family. Her mother-in-law helps her in whatever work she can.

### **Contribution in the Family Income**

Due to socio-economic pressure females, take on the role outside the home. The female workers thus join the labour force mainly to substantiate the family income. Their contribution in terms of time, effort and income is no less than males. The income earned is usually spent on food, children's education and other necessities of the household (Quibria 1995; Patel 1998; Hiraway and Roy 1999). Further, it is also seen that female workers tend to increase their saving through co-operative efforts (Azad 1996). The TG accounts show that majority members of the LIC Saving Scheme are the female workers.

The hard earned weekly wages, both by males and females, are used for weekly consumption purposes. The weekly *haat* of Saturday and Sunday is the most common place for the workers to spend their earning on the weekly supply for the entire household. The older female workers, to an extent get hold over their own hard earned money and so they can decide the way money is to be spent. It was observed that most of the older females would go to the market after receiving their wages and buy the weekly supply for the household. In other matters also, the older male seems to be less interfering than the males.

In case of the comparatively younger female workers, most of the time, both husband and wife decide together on the financial matters. The unmarried younger females still do not have much say in the household and financial matters, but they are free to use their earned money. Most of the time the family does not ask them for it, but the females gives it to the head of the household to be used for various purposes.

Monika Ore is 23- year old Munda girl residing in Toonah 7 and working in TG 1. She is employed as line basti tea plucker. She studied up to class IV and discontinued in 1990. Since she failed the exam, she left school and joined the workforce in 1992. She stays in a big family together with her brother's family, her mother, brother and younger sisters. Her brother is the head of the household since her mother is old. She does not have much decision making to do. She gives all her wage it to her brother. She does not have any bank account in her name but in her mother's name. Whenever she needs it, she takes it from him.

The non-tribal females do not enjoy such economic and financial independence. In non-tribal families the husbands decide on the way the money is to be spent. They take all the important decisions. The male members give money to female member of the house and then leave the small matters like getting the weekly supply on them. The non-tribals females therefore, may join the workforce to substantiate her family's income but they still remain under the male supremacy in the house as in the outside work. The wages earned goes to the male head and most of the time they do not even have a bank account to manage savings. There are still some tribal families too where the financial controls are exercised by the male members.

All the financial matters of the household of Mrs Katrina Ekka (52) is decided by her husband who keeps all the account of the expenditure. She uses her earning to get the weekly marketing done from the weekly haat in the area.

### **In Sum**

Female workers in the tea gardens venture out in the economic field to supplement the male member's income and to contribute significantly to the household income. Whether tribal or non-tribal, the cause behind this workforce participation is the same. They work rigorously in the garden and once back to their homes cater to the household chores. At times the household members help them and sometime they do not. It becomes increasing clear that females have multiple identities and locations: as females; as members of ethnic and religious groups intertwining to produce complex work patterns supporting

feminist arguments that issues pertaining to females have necessarily to be complex and nuanced.

Issues of deprivation or discriminations are once again problematic and have to be located in traditional role constructs in which females are embedded. What may seem as deprivation in the conventional framework may be outcome of females making best possible use of available opportunities that may defy economic rationalization- issues that need further probing.

Although in general, the difference that exists between the tribal and non-tribal females is the fact that tribal females get more support from within the household, and have more say in the financial matters and other important decisions taken at the household level, the overall context becomes important in that in predominantly tribal set-up, the non-tribal seems to follow a much more gender-egalitarian pattern of work and vice versa. .

## **Chapter 5**

# **Summary And Conclusion**



## **Introduction**

'Work' is one of the most contested concepts in terms of its definition. What constitutes work and what does not becomes particularly complex when work transcends the domestic space and public domain. Agriculture is a case in point in which considerable amount of work related to fields is carried out at home (Chandna 1967; Mitra 1978; Bardhan 1979; Hiraway and Roy 1999). Much of the problem in defining work is related to how role models are defined for men and women, for example, traditionally, men are seen as bread earners as compared to women whose primary responsibility is thought of as reproduction (Shandong Women's Federation 1986; McDowell and Pringle 1994; Parpart Connelly and Barriteau 2000; Raju 2001). Such construction of roles that is based on gender makes women workers invisible in the economic field (Foord and Gregson 1986). In official statistics such as census participation in any economically gainful activity is defined as work. Such participation may be physical or mental in nature. This does not only involve actual work but also effective supervision and direction of work. It also includes unpaid work on farm or in family enterprise.

Women negotiate work place responsibilities and household chores, in situations where role models within the household do not re-refine themselves. That is to say, other family members including men do not share household chores. Overall strict patriarchal chords that may sometime get diluted, albeit in changed form completely absent, because of certain specific characteristics of population that is in tribal context, continue to remain at the background influencing women's work (Rao and Rana 1997; Verma 1997; Mitra 2000). Plantations offer slightly unique case as they are the sites of work, and men and women are at the plantation site, essentially as workers (Sarkar and Bhowmik 1998). Like all other females employed in the various economic sector the female worker in the tea plantation too strive to meet the daily expenses of the household and try to supplement the family income. The female workers are employed exclusively as tea leave pluckers. It is though the most important of the work in the plantation but at the same time it's the lowest paid and in the lowest rungs of the job hierarchy (Jain 1998; Verschoor R 1996).

### **Research Question**

Thus the present study seeks to understand this context with following research questions.

- What are the types of gendered division of labour in the tea plantations?
- Do female workers concentrate in any particular segment in the job hierarchy? Does this concentration reinforce the submission/domination framework?
- How space is negotiated between public and private sphere by female tea garden workers?
- What identities other than gendered location influence female worker's work status?

### **Database**

The database for this study was generated through questionnaire based survey conducted among the tea garden workers. The questionnaires covered various demographic and socio-economic aspects of tea garden workers. Several in-depth interviews were also conducted with a view to substantiate some of the observations obtained from household level data. Apart from this, secondary data from the various Government publications were also used. The Darjeeling District Handbook 1991, West Bengal Census of India 1991, the Economic Tables and the Primary Census Abstract for the state of West Bengal, Census of India 1991 the Darjeeling District Gazetteer 2001, the District Statistical Handbook for Darjeeling 2001, the Indian Labour Year Book 2000 and 2001 and National Family Health Surveys 1998 –99 provided useful information for the study

### **Study Area**

The Two tea gardens chosen for this research study were the Gungaram Tea Estate (referred as TG 1), owned by the Duncans- Goenka, is the largest tea estate in the District and in the Tarai region. The Hansqua Tea Estate (TG 2) is comparatively a new tea garden, established in 1929 and was a part of Gungaram Tea Estate until 1983. It is now owned by R.D Tea Ltd. The two gardens are in the Phansidewa Kharibari Block of the Siliguri Sub Division and falls under Phansidewa police station. The tea gardens are found all along National Highway 31 and are around 10 kms from Bagdogra and almost

18 kms from Siliguri. Both the tea gardens are semi mechanised and are heavily depended on the cheap labour.

### **Findings**

This study was able to see the differences in the workforce participation and composition in the two tea gardens on account of various socio-economic attributes. The differences also emerge due to the difference in the evolution of the two. The TG 1 being more than 100 years old has a more traditional set up whereas, TG 2 is comparatively new and has been seen to responding to modern market forces. Further being older, the TG 1 has more homogenous population with majority of tribal Christians. On the other hand, TG 2 has more heterogeneous composition.

One of the important differences emerging in between these two tea gardens is that TG 1 has more number of permanent workers with all the benefits and allowances given to them. In contrast TG 2 employs more number of temporary workers who do not get benefits other than wages. TG 2 thus, responds to the recent market scenario where casualisation of workers is increasing and the labour welfare concerns are losing importance.

The population in the tea garden is composed of induced migrant labourers who have come from their native places in Chotanagpur, Chattisgarh Nepal etc. This has resulted in tribal population in the labour lines together with considerable number of non-tribals some of them have migrated while some are local. Also these tribals are Christian who had already converted to Christianity prior to migrating to the area. Therefore there is a majority presence of tribal Christians especially in TG 1. On the other hand TG 2 has more mixed population with tribal Christians as well as Hindus and non-tribals.

The ethnic and religious identities of the overall population together with the gender identity bring about considerable difference in the household and working scenario in the two tea gardens. These also bring about a pronounced socio-demographic

profile and the gender based discrimination in matters relating to education, marital status and work status, which exhibit differently in both the tea gardens.

The literacy of the area is also better in comparison to the state and district level. It is also attributed to the high presence of the tribal population in the area who are known to have a better literacy than the non-tribals. The families do send their children to receive education. The workers of the tea gardens also have education to at least secondary level, but most of them did not continue beyond secondary level and discontinued it due to various family and financial reasons. Work-wise the education does not have much affect on their participation since the tea gardens do not follow any recruitment policy on the basis of educational qualification. Any able-bodied person who wishes to join the labour force can join the work. Thus there are illiterate as well as literate workers in the similar type of job.

Tea gardens are work site and thus people are basically workers. The workforce participation in the tea garden are higher than at the state and district level for males and females both. Tea gardens are termed as work sites. The people mainly come to work and earn a livelihood for them and the families. It is an industry, which requires many workers to carry on with its labour intensive works. Plucking is the most primary and lowest of the job with no scope of mechanization. Once the tea leaves are plucked from the tea gardens it is taken into the factory for further processing which requires manpower. These two are the main category of workers to be absorbed in. It is seen that majority of females are employed in the plucking activity while none of them are in the factory work which, the females also decide, not to take part in.

Overall the tribals in the two gardens show a better picture of workforce participation rate than the non-tribals. This stems from the fact that the tribal society that are also known to be egalitarian does not make differences on the gender lines and the females of the tribal society have freedom to join the workforce as and when they want. In comparison to this, the conservative non-tribal society prefers male members to be in the public domain; as a result they have less workforce participation further differentiating TG 1 from TG 2.

Females workers, whether working or not, get intervened by their membership in multiple location and identities, for example, tribal, non-tribal, religious and the context where they are situated. In case of the two tea gardens, these ethnic and religious identities bring considerable differences. The tribal Christian female workers in TG 1 are more visible in the work arena. The non-tribals too show the similar pattern. In contrast to this, the non-tribal female workers in TG 2 seem to influence both the tribal Christian and Hindu female workers. Together with the ethnic and the religious identity, and the situation and the context where they are situated, gives rise to another contrasting feature between TG 1 and TG 2.

Majority of females are concentrated in the plucking job. The management explains this concentration in terms of female having nimble fingers to pluck the delicate two tea leaves and a bud. However feminist scholars have argued that this 'explanation' is offered more as an excuse than the 'recruitment policy'. They also argue that by concentrating female in the lowest hierarchy of job, which does not pay the best of the wages, a very subtle kind of discrimination is carried on.

However, of late, many feminist scholars have questioned such a measure of discrimination arguing that the so-called vulnerability of female workers may in fact be interpreted as females making the best possible use of available opportunities. At times the submission and silence may be their strategy to suit certain specific context.

From the studies it becomes clear that female workers are not in a position to avail of extra benefit on account of overtime in the factory. Also, factory work means definite work hours and night shifts. In contrast, plucking leaves is a daylight and flexible job in nature. The work does not entail any strict code of conduct or rules to be followed, except for the time to be maintained for attendance, weighment and the final call before the end of the day's work.

Most of the time they can complete their job with less hassles. The work can go on while they talk, sing and generally share their problems with their friends in the

gardens and the known people with whom they have been working. Thus, together with work they go on to build their social capital to fall back on, in times of necessities (Jain 1998). The female workers themselves decide to work in the area of their own choice, based on their own reasons, which may not be purely beneficial in economic sense. Thus, the female workers decide to be in the garden than to be in the factory. For them, the social capital building as explained earlier has more importance than the pure economic gains.

Further, the female workers themselves do not prefer the factory job since the labour lines are far from the factory site and it would pose a great problem for them to attend work at various shifts, especially night shifts. Moreover, it may be recalled that the amount payable for subsidised ration increases with an increase in the number of days absent from the work. Owing to the strict shift based work in the factory, a slight delay in the attendance would mark her absentee. As a consequence, she would have to shell out extra money to get the weekly ration. Though the problem of absenteeism is more among the male workers, the issue of ration does not affect them as it is considered to be part of the female purview.

This is not to suggest that no discriminatory practices are present. Much of this discrimination crops up due to the social factors and the changes need to emerge from the society itself requiring wider structural changes. The changes have to come at the home front first, where the support has to come from the male counterparts and they have to frequently cross over the strict gender based role. Only then the females will be able to juggle between home and work in a better and efficient way.

The study has raised many interesting issues that could not be included because of the scope of the present study. One such issue is tribalisation and demonstration effects of tribals on non-tribals and vice versa, in a complex web of migration pattern and changing dynamics of labour market in an emerging liberal economy. The practise adopted by the management in the tea gardens, to regulate food supply to workers, is intricately interlinked with absenteeism. It would have been crucial to know that how this particular

strategy would have affected the gendered dimension of absenteeism. A question that has remained untouched in the present study. Finally it would have been interesting to probe how the age of female workers intersects their work roster in the physical sites, in terms of their deployment to the *bagan*.

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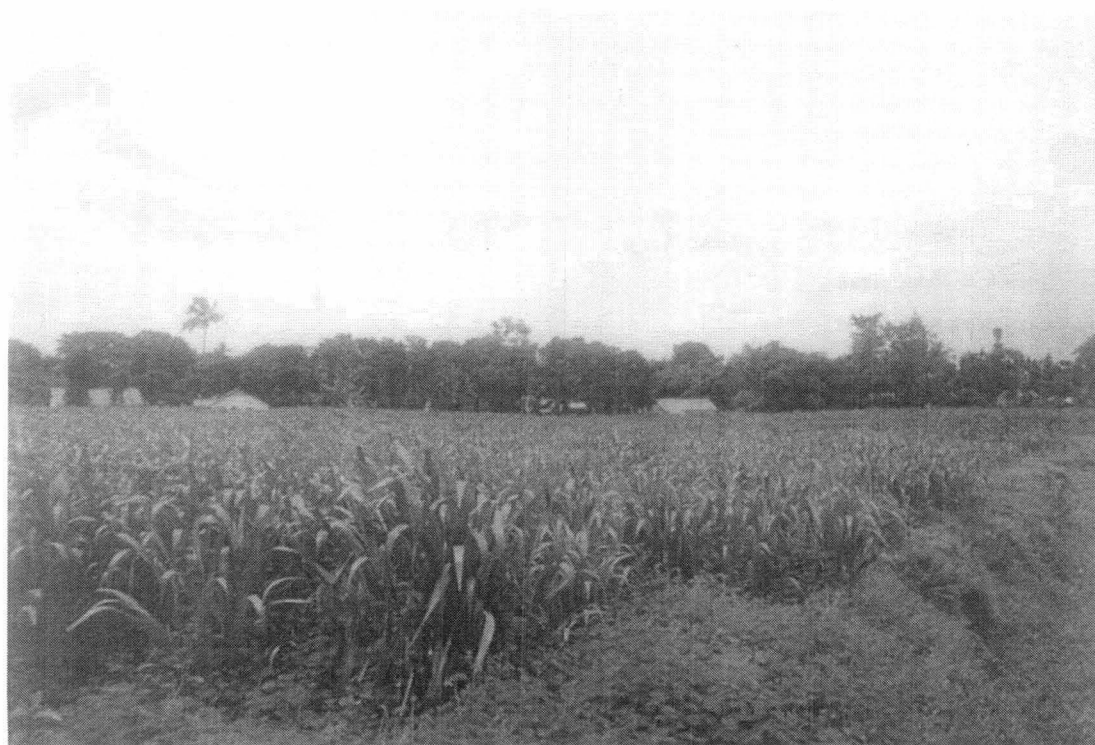
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## **APPENDIX 1**



**Plate 1 Leveling of Land for Plantation**



**Plate 2 Replenishment of Soil Nutrients by Growing Malagota Plants**



**Plate 3 Workers Engaged in Plucking of Tea Leaves**

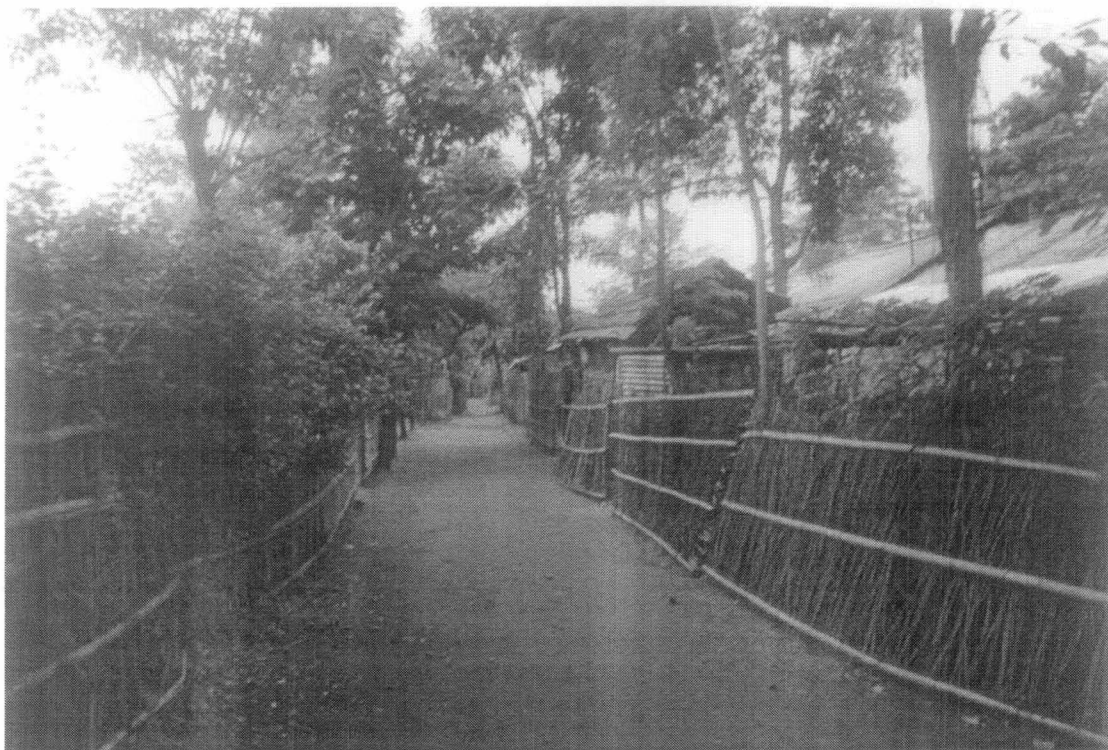


**Plate 4 Chemical Spraying in Progress**





**Plate 5 The Labour Quarter**



**Plate 6 The Labour Lines**



**Plate 7 Children of the Working Women at the Crèche**



**Plate 8 Children with the Ayah in the Crèche**



**Plate 9 A Woman Plucking Tea Leaves**



**Plate 10 Weighing of the Leaves**

SI No	Respondent	Head of the household	Dependents (Names)	Relation	Age	Gender	Residence	TE	Religion
0101 01	Sageswar Baraik	Sageswar Baraik			34	M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0101 02			Purna Baraik	Wife	28	F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0101 03			Chandni Baraik	Daughter	6	F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0101 04			Nidhi Baraik	Daughter	3	F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0102 01	Balay Tuti	Balay Tuti			54	M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0102 02			Charles Tuti	Son	24	M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0102 03			Mintu Tuti	Son	18	M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0102 04			Santosh Tuti	Son	14	M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0102 05			Minoti Tuti	Daughter	12	F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0102 06			Jacinta Tuti	Daughter	9	F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0103 01	Nirmal Minz	Niirmal Minz			45	M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0103 02			Christina	Wife	40	F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0103 03			Rakesh	Son	21	M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0103 04			Madhuri	Daughter	18	F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0103 05			Naveen	Son	14	M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0103 06			Shashi	Daughter	12	F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0104 01	Bhanu Rai	Bhanu Rai			49	M	Chapukheri	GTE	Hindu
0104 02			Phoolbala	Wife	46	F	Chapukheri	GTE	Hindu
0104 03			Sonu Rai	Son	10	M	Chapukheri	GTE	Hindu
0105 01	Robert Toppo	Patras Toppo			65	M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0105 02			Grace Toppo	Wife	60	F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0105 03			Francis Toppo	Son	45	M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0105 04			Tersila Toppo	Daughter-in-law	40	F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0105 05			Robert Toppo	Son	35	M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0105 06			Manjula Toppo	Daughter-in-law	30	F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0105 07			Grace Toppo	Grand daughter	10	F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0105 08			Gunjan Toppo	Grand daughter	8	F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0105 09			Johnson Toppo	Grand son	6	M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0106 01	Govind Das	Shankar Das			100	M	Ke16opur	GTE	Hindu
0106 02			Kalpana Das	Wife	100	F	Ke16opur	GTE	Hindu
0106 03			Govind Das	Son	17	M	Ke16opur	GTE	Hindu
0106 04			Ruma Das	Daughter	13	F	Ke16opur	GTE	Hindu
0107 01	Augustine Lakra	Augustine Lakra			41	M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0107 02			Pyari Lakra	Wife	38	F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0107 03			Brijit Lakra	Sister	19	F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0107 04			Neel Kumar Lakra	Son	18	M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0107 05			Milyanus Lakra	Son	13	M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian



0107 06			Sadhna	Daughter	10 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0107 07			Sabina	Daughter	7 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0108 01	Badru Ekka	Badru Ekka			36 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Hindu
0108 02			B. Ekka	Wife	33 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Hindu
0108 03			Sunita Ekka	Daughter	16 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Hindu
0108 04			Salma Ekka	Daughter	11 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Hindu
0108 05			Salomi Ekka	Daughter	7 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Hindu
0108 06			Dulari Ekka	Daughter	5 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Hindu
0109 01	Kalawati Sharma	Balram Sharma			47 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0109 02			Kalawati Sharma	Wife	45 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0109 03			Mohor	Son	22 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0109 04			Sohan	Son	19 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0110 01	Ajeet Lakra	Ajeet Lakra			27 M	Dhotijhula	GTE	Christian
0110 02			Juleta Lakra	Wife	25 F	Dhotijhula	GTE	Christian
0110 03			Nikita Lakra	Daughter	2 F	Dhotijhula	GTE	Christian
0111 01	Basanti Baraik	Basanti Baraik			28 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0111 02			Baso Baraik	Mother	100 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0111 03			Arjun	Son	12 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0111 04			Geeta	Daughter	8 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0111 05			Reeta	Daughter	5 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0112 01	Nirmala Minz	Philmon Tirkey			40 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0112 02			Nirmala Tirkey	Wife	35 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0112 03			Kiran Lata	Daughter	14 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0112 04			Preetam	Son	9 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0112 05			Basil	Son	6 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0113 01	Caroline Xalxo	Sylvester Xalxo			40 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0113 02			Carolina Xalxo	Wife	35 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0113 03			Reshma Xalxo	Daughter	20 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0113 04			Prashant	Son	18 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0113 05			Pramod	Son	15 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0113 06			Preeti	Daughter	10 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0114 01	Phulgencia Tirkey	Alvis Toppo			45 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0114 02			Phulgencia	Wife	31 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0114 03			Julita	Daughter	16 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0114 04			Tej Kumar	Son	12 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0114 05			Ajay	Son	7 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0115 01	Jermina Tirkey	Alexius Minj			40 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0115 02			Jermina Tirkey	Wife	35 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian

0115 03			Kanisius Minj	Son	10 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0116 01	Josephine Minj	Marianus Minj			45 M	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0116 02			Josephine Minj	Wife	40 F	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0116 03			Ajay Minj	Son	26 M	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0116 04			Bela Anjita Minj	Daughter	23 F	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0116 05			Seema Anjali Minj	Daughter	22 F	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0116 06			Biraj Justin Minj	Son	20 M	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0117 01	Christina Kujur	Albinus Panna			45 M	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0117 02			Christina Kujur	Wife	44 F	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0117 03			Poonam Kujur	Daughter	18 F	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0117 04			Agnes Kujur	Daughter	14 F	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0118 01	Jambib Lakra	Devnis Kujur			42 M	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0118 02			Mary Kujur	Wife	38 F	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0118 03			jambib Lakra	Sister	32 F	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0118 04			Pradeep Kujur	Brother	34 M	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0118 05			Rajat Kujur	Son	8 M	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0119 01	Flora Minj	Flora Minj			50 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0119 02			Sushma Minj	Daughter	25 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0119 03			Alok Minj	Son	20 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0119 04			Ashish Minj	Son	18 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0119 05			Aman Minj	Son	16 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0120 01	Arvind Kujur	Arvind Kujur			39 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0120 02			Serofina Kujur	Wife	39 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0120 03			Anju Kujur	Daughter	17 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0120 04			Varun Kujur	Son	15 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0120 05			Alka Kujur	Daughter	13 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0120 06			Kanchan Kujur	Daughter	11 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0120 07			Anjana Kujur	Daughter	9 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0121 01	Manju Nagesia	Manju Nagesia			30 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Hindu
0121 02			Vijay Nagesia	Son	12 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Hindu
0121 03			Vimal Nagesia	Son	10 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Hindu
0121 04			Kajoli Nagesia	Daughter	6 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Hindu
0122 01	Esther Thirkey	Esther Tirkey			44 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0122 02			Elomati Tirkey	Daughter	18 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0122 03			Kumila Tirkey	Daughter	14 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0122 04			Suman Tirkey	Son	12 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0122 05			Bertha Tirkey	Daughter	10 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0123 01	Tersa Lakra	Johan Lakra			60 M	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian

0123 02			Tersa Lakra	Wife	100 F	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0123 03			Sushil Lakra	Son	35 M	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0123 04			Sushila Lakra	Daughter	33 F	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0123 05			Jaya Lakra	Daughter	25 F	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0123 06			Manju Lakra	Daughter	22 F	Toonah 6	GTE	Christian
0123 07			Mariam Lakra	Daughter	40 F	Delhi	GTE	Christian
0123 08			Suchita Lkara	Daughter	27 F	Delhi	GTE	Christian
0124 01	Prakash Lakra	Mani Lakra			70 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0124 02			Virginia Lakra	Wife	68 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0124 03			Prakash Lakra	Son	35 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0124 04			Emmrencia Lakra	D-I-L	32 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0124 05			Silvina Lakra	D-I-L	25 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0124 06			Binita Lakra	Granddaughter	5 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0124 07			Ashwin Lakra	Grandson	3 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0124 08			Edline Lakra	Granddaughter	3 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0124 09			Sahil Lakra	Grandson	1 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0125 01	Martin Minz	Martin Minz			40 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0125 02			Mamta Minz	Wife	30 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0125 03			Lina Minz	Daughter	6 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0126 01	Yakub Kujur	Yakub Kujur			54 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0126 02			Balandina Kujur	Wife	54 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0126 03			Manoj Kujur	Son	35 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0126 04			Miliani Kujur	D-I-L	26 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0126 05			Renuka Kujur	Daughter	23 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0126 06			Vinita Kujur	Daughter	22 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0127 01	Paulus Indihar	Paulus Indihar			50 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0127 02			Tersa Indihar	Wife	48 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0127 03			Sabnus Indihar	Son	22 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0127 04			Jalsi Indihar	Daughter	18 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0127 05			Mathius Indihar	Son	25 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0128 01	Vipin Panna	Vipin Panna			24 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0128 02			Tersila Panna	Wife	22 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0128 03			Annie Prabha	Daughter	15 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0129 01	Rementus Tigga	Rementus Tigga			37 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0129 02			Mary Lalita Tigga	Wife	35 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0129 03			Roseline Tigga	Daughter	16 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0129 04			Roshni Tigga	Daughter	15 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0129 05			Rashmi Tigga	Daughter	13 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian

0129 06			Aloke Tigga	Son	6 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0129 07			Renold Kujur	Nephew	27 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0130 01	Pusa Nagesia	Pusa Nagesia			44 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0130 02			Malki 5	Mother	65 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0130 03			Sukhmait 5	Wife	40 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0130 04			Dhankuwar 5	Son	24 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0130 05			Preeti 5	Daughter	15 F	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0130 06			Sant Kumar	Son	11 M	Toonah 7	GTE	Christian
0131 01	Maxima Kujur	Libnus Minz			40 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0131 02			Maxima Kujur	Wife	35 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0131 03			Alex Minz	Son	11 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0131 04			Kunal Minz	Son	6 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0131 05			Jenney Minz	Daughter	1.5 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0132 01	Sushma Minz	Thomas Lakra			25 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0132 02			Sushma Minj	Wife	25 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0132 03			Jacqueline Lakra	Daughter	3 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0132 04			Preeti Lakra	Daughter	1.5 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0133 01	Mainanti Kujur	Baru Kujur			40 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0133 02			Libnus Kujur	Brother	35 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0133 03			Ramnia Kujur	Sister-in-law	30 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0133 04			Ismail Kujur	Nephew	6 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0133 05			Milya Kujur	Niece	3 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0133 06			Linus Kujur	Brother	27 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0133 07			Mainanti Kujur	Sister-in-law	23 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0133 08			Kamla Kujur	Niece	0.8 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0133 09			Livni Kujur	Sister	27 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0133 10			Amita Kujur	Mother	60 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0134 01	Birginia Kujur	Pyari Kujur			66 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0134 02			Wilfred Kujur	Son	35 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0134 03			Briginia Kujur	D-I-L	30 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0134 04			Rudolf Kujur	Son	30 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0134 05			Chandrika Kujur	D-I-L	26 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0134 06			BN. Kujur	Grandson	5.5 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0134 07			Shashikant Kujur	Grandson	3.5 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0134 08			Sulochna Kujur	Granddau	0.7 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0134 09			Kelvin Kujur	Grandson	3 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0134 10			kaushik kujur	Grandson	0.5 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0135 01	William Dhanwar	William Dhanwar			45 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian



0135 02			Mary Dhanwar	Wife	40 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0135 03			Mariam Dhanwar	Daughter	25 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0135 04			Ambrose Dhanwar	Son	20 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0135 05			Celina Dhanwar	Daughter	18 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0135 06			Angela Dhanwar	Daughter	17 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0136 01	Ganesh Lohar	Ganesh Lohar			25 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0136 02			Reena Baraik	Wife	13 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0136 03			Jatru Baraik	Brother	22 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0137 01	Ganesh Malpaharia	Ganesh Malpaharia			45 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0137 02			Sushila Malpahria	Wife	45 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0137 03			Neha Malpaharia	Daughter	15 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0137 04			Sorodi Malpaharia	Daughter	17 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0137 05			Sudhir Malpaharia	Son	25 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0137 06			Muni Malpaharia	D-I-L	21 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0138 01	Victor Toppo	Thomas Toppo			29 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0138 02			Mangla Toppo	Wife	22 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0138 03			Victor Toppo	Brother	25 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0138 04			Sunil Toppo	Brother	17 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0139 01	Kishore Xaxa	Mary Xaxa			58 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0139 02			Kishore Xaxa	Son	21 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0139 03			Philip Xaxa	Son	16 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0140 01	Mrda Minz	Mrda Minz			27 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0140 02			Manica Minz	Mother	70 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0140 03			Alister Minz	Brother	20 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0140 04			Seberia Minz	Wife	25 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0140 05			Kerobim Minz	Son	8 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0140 06			Robin Minz	Son	5 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0140 07			Swarna Minz	Daughter	2 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0141 01	Crecencia Kujur	Tarsus Kujur			32 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0141 02			Crecencia Kujur	Wife	23 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0141 03			Ranjeeta Kujur	Daughter	4 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0141 04			Sushmita Kujur	Daughter	2.5 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0142 01	Geeta Kujur	Anjulus Kujur			25 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0142 02			Geeta Kujur	Wife	25 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0142 03			Purnima Kujur	Daughter	5 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0142 04			Lucy Kujur	Daughter	3 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0142 05			Ashwin Kujue	Son	2 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0143 01	Paramsila Tigga	Chri16opher Tigga			35 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian

0143 02			Paramsila Tigga	Wife	28 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0143 03			Samuel Tigga	Father	60 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0143 04			Martha Tigga	Mother	60 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0143 05			Regina Tigga	Daughter	9 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0143 06			Madhuri Tigga	Daughter	6 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0143 07			Vikas Tigga	Son	5 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0143 08			Nirmala Tigga	Daughter	3 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0144 01	Geeta Minz	Rajkumar Chorat			25 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0144 02			Joseph Chorat	Father	62 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0144 03			Clara Chorat	Mother	60 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0144 04			Geeta Minz	Wife	23 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0144 05			Jacinta Chorat	Daughter	7 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0144 06			Lucus Chorat	Son	5 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0144 07			Kiran Chorat	Son	2 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0145 01	Krishna Gwala	Krishna Gwala			25 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0145 02			Karyob	Mother	50 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0145 03			Laxmi	Sister	26 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0145 04			Bijay	Brother	20 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0145 05			Binod	Brother	18 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0145 06			Jogni	Brother	8 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0145 07			Fulan	Wife	22 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0145 08			Anjilita	Daughter	3 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0146 01	Mahadev Tirkey	Mahadev Tirkey			29 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0146 02			Sukarmani Tirkey	Mother	90 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0146 03			Dulari Tirkey	Wife	22 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0146 04			Manita Tirkey	Daughter	7 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0146 05			Anita Tirkey	Daughter	4 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0146 06			Vivek Tirkey	Son	2.5 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0147 01	Rajesh Beck	Faguni Beck			40 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0147 02			Rajesh Beck	Son	18 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0147 03			Deepa Beck	Daughter	16 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0147 04			Kusumani Beck	Daughter	10 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0148 01	Basil Tete	Flora Tete			50 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0148 02			Basil Tete	Son	26 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0148 03			Sushma Tete	D-I-L	23 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0148 04			Anselem Tete	Grandson	5 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0149 01	Tarcus Xaxa	Tarcus Xaxa			30 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0149 02			Jayanti Xaxa	Wife	25 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0149 03			Johnson Xaxa	Son	9 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian

0149 04			Aradhana Xaxa	Daughter	6 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0149 05			Nazarius Xaxa	Son	5 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0150 01	Victor Ekka	Victor Ekka			29 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0150 02			Emanuel Ekka	Father	75 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0150 03			Christina Ekka	Mother	55 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0150 04			Rebecca Ekka	Wife	28 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0150 05			Prabhat Ekka	Son	16 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0150 06			Veena Ekka	Daughter	15 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0150 07			Vishal Ekka	Son	9 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0152 01	Mery Xess	Victor Xess			50 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0152 02			Mery Xess	Wife	50 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0152 03			Paulina Surin	Daughter	26 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0152 04			Silanand Surin	Son in law	27 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0152 05			Celina Kujur	Daughter	24 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0152 06			Melius Kujur	Son in law	26 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0152 07			Cyprian Xess	Son	21 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0152 08			Philician Xess	Son	19 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0152 09			Deepak Xess	Son	17 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0152 10			Eric Xess	Son	15 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0152 11			Ereena Xess	Daughter	15 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0152 12			Shashi Deep Xess	Son	13 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0152 13			Demtan Surin	Grandson	3 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0152 14			Priyanka Surin	Granddaughter	1.5 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0152 15			Aruna Kujur	Granddaughter	3 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0152 16			Kalyani Kujur	Granddaughter	1.5 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0153 01	Sumitra Minz	Premford Minz			31 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0153 02			Sumitra Minz	Wife	27 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0153 03			Clara Minz	Mother	55 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0153 04			Avinash Minz	Son	10 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0153 05			Aveek Minz	Son	7 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0153 06			Anuj Minz	Son	4 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0153 07			Juliana Minz	Daughter	1 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0154 01	Muni Mal	Ishak Mal			37 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0154 02			Muni Mal	Wife	35 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0154 03			Khusho Mal	Sister	16 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0154 04			Bikul Mal	Son	1.5 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0155 01	Emilia Kujur	Teresa Minz			45 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0155 02			Prakash Kujur	Son in law	25 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian

0155 03			Emilia Kujur	Daughter	27 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0155 04			Kalisia Minz	Daughter	25 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0155 05			Vipin Minz	Son	20 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0156 01	Laloo Baraik	Phagu Baraik			70 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0156 02			Phulo Devi	Wife	65 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0156 03			Laloo Baraik	Son	24 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0156 04			Usha Baraik	D-I-L	20 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0156 05			Megha Baraik	Granddaughter	3 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0157 01	Bernard Ekka	Bernard Ekka			32 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0157 02			Regina Ekka	Wife	30 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0157 03			Anjima Ekka	Daughter	10 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0157 04			Binita Ekka	Daughter	7 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0157 05			Sandeep Ekka	Son	5 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0158 01	Anil Sober	Radha Muni Sober			48 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0158 02			Anil Sober	Son	30 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0158 03			Saroj Sober	D-I-L	27 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0158 04			Rahul Sober	Son	25 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0158 05			Ruma Sober	Daughter	26 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0158 06			Aruna Sober	Daughter	24 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0158 07			Lakshami Sober	Daughter	21 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0158 08			Kiran Sober	Daughter	14 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0158 09			Ashwini Sober	Granddaughter	5 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0158 10			Shweta Sober	Granddaughter	4 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0158 11			New Born	Granddaughter	0.1 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0159 01	Suleman Kujur	Suleman kujur			30 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0159 02			Magdali Kujur	Mother	80 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0159 03			Philomina kujur	Wife	30 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0159 04			Sujata Kujur	Daughter	13 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0159 05			Rashmi kujur	Daughter	9 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0160 01	Roshan Nagesia	Budhu Nagesia			60 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0160 02			Meena Nagesia	Wife	55 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0160 03			Roshan Nagesia	Son	23 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0160 04			Rakesh Nagesia	Son	22 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0160 05			Roshni Nagesia	Daughter	17 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0160 06			Pituraj	Son	15 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0160 07			Deoraj	Son	13 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0161 01	Porus Nagesia	Meena Nagesia			35 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0161 02			Porus Nagesia	Son	22 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu

0161 03			Roshan Nagesia	Son	24 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0161 04			Roshni Nagesia	Daughter	15 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0162 01	Sanjeev Nagesia	Meghnath Nagesia			40 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0162 02			Bihami Nagesia	Mother	55 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0162 03			Phulo Nagesia	Wife	35 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0162 04			Subodh Nagesia	Brother	38 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0162 05			Nitya Nagesia	Sister	19 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0162 06			Sanjeev Nagesia	Brother	18 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0162 07			Lakshmi Nagesia	Daughter	5 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0162 08			Kanchan Nagesia	Daughter	3 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0162 09			Sanjay nagesia	Son	2 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0163 01	Beras Muni	Opil Lohar			30 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0163 02			Beras Muni	Wife	25 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0163 03			Sujit Lohar	Sori	3 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0163 04			jyoti Lohar	Daughter	0.8 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0164 01	Katrina Toppo	Pulikarp Kujur			40 M	Monee	GTE	Christian
0164 02			Katrina Toppo	Wife	30 F	Monee	GTE	Christian
0164 03			Jeuel Kujur	Son	10 M	Monee	GTE	Christian
0164 04			Kalpana Kujur	Daughter	8 F	Monee	GTE	Christian
0164 05			Kanchan Kujur	Daughter	4 F	Monee	GTE	Christian
0164 06			Sumit Kujur	Son	3 M	Monee	GTE	Christian
0165 01	Samartia Dhanwar	Samartia Dhanwar			24 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0165 02			Jiten	Husband	30 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0165 03			Raghuwant	Grandfather	60 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0165 04			Phulmait	Grandmother	55 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0165 05			Naveen	Son	7 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0165 06			Jyotish	Son	3 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0165 07			Bhim	Son	0.8 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0166 01	Ajeet kerketta	Ajeet Kerketta			36 M	Monee	GTE	Christian
0166 02			Guni Kerketta	Wife	27 F	Monee	GTE	Christian
0166 03			Ebrani Kerketta	Daughter	16 F	Monee	GTE	Christian
0166 04			Darshan Kerketta	Son	4.5 M	Monee	GTE	Christian
0166 05			Irnus Kerketta	Son	2.5 M	Monee	GTE	Christian
0167 01	Jerome Kujur	Jerome Kujur			32 M	Monee	GTE	Christian
0167 02			Celestina Kujur	Wife	30 F	Monee	GTE	Christian
0167 03			Mery 16ella Kujur	Daughter	9 F	Monee	GTE	Christian
0167 04			Martin Kujur	Son	7 M	Monee	GTE	Christian
0167 05			Ankit Kujur	Son	4 M	Monee	GTE	Christian

0168 01	Savitri Tirkey	Akash Tirkey			22 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0168 02			Savitri Tirkey	Wife	18 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0169 01	Sabitri Indwar	Kunjan Indwar			100 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0169 02			Phulmati Indwar	Wife	100 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0169 03			Ratilal Indwar	Son	25 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0169 04			Panchami Indwar	D-I-L	22 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0169 05			Sabitri Indwar	Daughter	20 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0169 06			Gayatri Indwar	Daughter	16 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0169 07			Sangeeta Indwar	Granddaughter	6 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0169 08			Sanjeev Indwar	Grandson	3 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0169 09			Sanju Indwar	Grandson	2.5 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0170 01	Rashmi Lohar	Mullo			45 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0170 02			Rashmi Lohar	Daughter-in-law	23 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0170 03			Neha	Granddaughter	5 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0170 04			Kunti	Granddaughter	3 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0171 01	Sohan Lohar	Rukhchand			44 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0171 02			Mullo	Wife	41 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0171 03			Mario	Daughter	23 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0171 04			Basanti	Daughter	24 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0171 05			Sohan	Son	21 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0171 06			Bitun	D-I-L	28 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0171 07			Philnda	Son	18 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0171 08			Akash	Grandson	6 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0172 01	Monika Kachua	Monika Kachua			47 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0172 02			Phabianus	Son	15 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0173 01	Kishore Das	Mangloo Das			50 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0173 02			Sunita Das	Wife	35 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0173 03			Kishore Das	Son	22 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0173 04			Krishna Das	Son	13 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0173 05			Mona Das	Daughter	8 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0174 01	Benjamine Toppo	Joro Toppo			36 M	Monee	GTE	Christian
0174 02			Carmella Toppo	Wife	35 F	Monee	GTE	Christian
0174 03			Benjamine Toppo	Son	18 M	Monee	GTE	Christian
0174 04			Ajay Toppo	Son	12 M	Monee	GTE	Christian
0175 01	Roopchand 8	Roopchand 8			32 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0175 02			Larangi	Mother	50 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0175 03			Anjali	Wife	25 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0175 04			Jaichand	Brother	25 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0175 05			Amrita	Daughter	10 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu

0175 06			Lilawati	Daughter	6 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0176 01	Shanti Sobar	Sunil Sobar			29 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0176 02			Shanti Sobar	Wife	28 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0176 03			Sabita Sobar	Daughter	9 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0176 04			Neeraj Sobar	Son	6 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0176 05			Chandu	Son	0.5 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0177 01	Ratni Lohar	Laloo Lohar			30 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0177 02			Ratni Lohar	Wife	30 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0177 03			Sarmi Lohar	Daughter	4 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0177 04			Sagar Lohar	Son	3 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0177 05			Samir Lohar	Son	8 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0178 01	Pulia Kujur	Tarsu Kujur			40 M	Debijhora	GTE	Hindu
0178 02			Pulia Kujur	Wife	32 F	Debijhora	GTE	Hindu
0178 03			Bimal Kujur	Son	12 M	Debijhora	GTE	Hindu
0178 04			Bimli Kujur	Daughter	9 F	Debijhora	GTE	Hindu
0179 01	Anupa Das	Niren Das			35 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0179 02			Anupa Das	Wife	32 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0179 03			Pooja Das	Daughter	8 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0179 04			Pratima Das	Daughter	6 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0179 05			Umesh Das	Son	2 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0180 01	Reji Tirkey	Susana Tirkey			50 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0180 02			Hilarius	Son	30 M	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0180 03			Reji	Daughter-in-law	28 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0180 04			Kashmira	Granddaughter	7 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0180 05			Kasmita	Granddaughter	0.4 F	Gangaram	GTE	Christian
0181 01	Birsu Minz	Birsu Minz			30 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0181 02			Dholai Minz	Wife	25 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0181 03			Neparu Minz	Brother	20 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0181 04			Sikas Minz	Son	10 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0181 05			Relita Minz	Daughter	7 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0182 01	Kartik kachua	Kartik Kachua			45 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0182 02			Benami Kachua	Wife	30 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0183 01	Rai Singh	Rai Singh			68 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0183 02			Sona Singh	Wife	35 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0183 03			Rupat Singh	Daughter	22 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0183 04			Bela Singh	Daughter	17 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0183 05			Sukhmaniya Singh	Daughter	20 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0184 01	Prabhu Majhi	Prabhu Majhi			25 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu

0184 02			Lachchu Majhi	Father	53 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0184 03			Nehani Majhi	Mother	56 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0184 04			Bimal Majhi	Brother	16 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0184 05			Victoria	Sister-in-law	12 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0185 01	Dilip Chetri	Dilip Chetri			22 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0185 02			Shanti	Wife	19 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0185 03			Deepa	Daughter	0.3 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0186 01	Rozaria Toppo	Benedict Toppo			100 M	Monee	GTE	Christian
0186 02			Rozaria Toppo	Daughter	16 F	Monee	GTE	Christian
0186 03			Lawrence Toppo	Son	16 M	Monee	GTE	Christian
0187 01	Reji Munda	Sudhir Munda			21 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0187 02			Munna Munda	Father	60 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0187 03			Meera Munda	mother	52 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0187 04			Reji Munda	Sister	18 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0187 05			Tarun Munda	Brother	13 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0188 01	Rami Tirkey	Sasur			80 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0188 02			Saas	Wife	75 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0188 03			Rajesh	Son	25 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0188 04			Rami Tirkey	D-I-L	22 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0189 01	Anita Savaria	Kesho Savar			35 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0189 02			Anita Savar	Wife	30 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0189 03			Dharmi Savar	Daughter	12 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0189 04			Tila Savar	Son	7 M	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0189 05			Nila Savar	Son	5 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0190 01		Tetangi Kishan			100 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0190 02			Sameer	Nephew	100 M	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0190 03			Reshma	Niece	15 F	Gangaram	GTE	Hindu
0191 01	Pushpa Thapa	Pushpa Thapa			33 F	Monee	GTE	Hindu
0201 01	Sane Darji	Sane Darji			30 M	Danagaaj	HnTE	Hindu
0201 02			Phulmaya Dorji	Mother	50 F	Danagaaj	HnTE	Hindu
0201 03			Sharmila Dorji	Wife	25 F	Danagaaj	HnTE	Hindu
0201 04			Ratan Dorji	Son	10 M	Danagaaj	HnTE	Hindu
0201 05			Sagar Dorji	Son	5 M	Danagaaj	HnTE	Hindu
0201 06			Roshan Dorji	Son	1.5 M	Danagaaj	HnTE	Hindu
0202 01	Ajeet Kr Tirkey	Ajeet kr tirkey			25 M	Dangi Basti	HnTE	Christian
0202 02			Margret Lakra	Wife	22 F	Dangi Basti	HnTE	Christian
0202 03			Praveen Tirkey	Son	4 M	Dangi Basti	HnTE	Christian
0202 04			Pradeep Tirkey	Son	2 M	Dangi Basti	HnTE	Christian



0203 01	Jackpati Baxla	Jackpati Baxla			40 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0203 02			Dhaniyo Baxla	Wife	38 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0203 03			Sachin Baxla	Son	20 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0203 04			Asmita Baxla	Daughter	16 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0203 05			Naveen Baxla	Son	12 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0203 06			Momit Baxla	Son	10 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0204 01	Vinod Gurung	Bhim Bahadur			50 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0204 02			Shanti	Wife	40 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0204 03			Vinod Gurung	Son	25 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0204 04			Vijay	Son	20 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0204 05			Julie	Daughter-in-law	22 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0204 06			Asha	Daughter	15 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0204 07			Seema	Daughter	18 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0205 01	Suresh Toppo	Suresh Toppo			45 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0205 02			Shanti Toppo	Wife	36 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0205 03			Somesh Toppo	Son	18 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0205 04			Lalki Toppo	Daughter	11 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0206 01	Sebastian Minz	Babula Xaxa			50 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0206 02			Sebastian Minz	Son in law	24 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0206 03			Sumita Minz	Daughter	20 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0206 04			Kalisia Xaxa	Daughter	16 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0206 05			Praneeta Minz	Granddaughter	5 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0206 06			Ishita Minz	Granddaughter	0.7 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0207 01	Gopal Thami	Gopal Thami			50 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0207 02			Sukhavani	mother	80 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0207 03			Sarita	D-I-L	30 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0207 04			Roshan Thami	Grandson	16 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0207 05			Roshni Thami	Granddaughter	14 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0207 06			Kajal Thami	Granddaughter	13 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0208 01	Muni Adhikari	Ramesh Adhikari			30 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0208 02			S. Adhikari	Mother	65 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0208 03			Muni Adhikari	Wife	25 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0208 04			Preetiraj Adhikari	Son	7 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0208 05			Chaya Adhikari	Daughter	4 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0209 01	Rajbir Minz	Rajbir Minj			31 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0209 02			Lily Minj	Elder sister	50 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0209 03			Seemanti	Daughter	8 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0210 01	Vinod Dorji	Vinod Dorji			45 M	Bhojnarayar	HnTE	Hindu

0210 02			Poorna Devi	Wife	42 F	Bhojnarayar HnTE	Hindu
0210 03			Vikas	Son	21 M	Bhojnarayar HnTE	Hindu
0210 04			Vikram	Son	20 M	Bhojnarayar HnTE	Hindu
0210 05			Narayan	Son	14 M	Bhojnarayar HnTE	Hindu
0211 01	Saila Rai	Saila Rai			62 M	Hansqua HnTE	Hindu
0211 02			Harimaya Rai	Wife	55 F	Hansqua HnTE	Hindu
0211 03			Santabir Rai	Son	30 M	Hansqua HnTE	Hindu
0211 04			Nirmala Rai	D-I-L	28 F	Hansqua HnTE	Hindu
0211 05			Sandhya Rai	Granddaughter	7 F	Hansqua HnTE	Hindu
0211 06			Suman Rai	Grandson	2.5 M	Hansqua HnTE	Hindu
0212 01	Chamru Minz	Chamru Minz			45 M	Tarbandha HnTE	Hindu
0212 02			Meena Minz	Wife	42 F	Tarbandha HnTE	Hindu
0212 03			Kishore Minz	Son	12 M	Tarbandha HnTE	Hindu
0212 04			Anil Minz	Son	10 M	Tarbandha HnTE	Hindu
0212 05			Roshan Minz	Son	5 M	Tarbandha HnTE	Hindu
0213 01	Seema Baraik	Dasrath Baraik			100 M	Hansqua HnTE	Hindu
0213 02			Sumitra 4	Wife	100 F	Hansqua HnTE	Hindu
0213 03			Anjan 4	Son	20 M	Hansqua HnTE	Hindu
0213 04			Seema 4	Daughter	18 F	Hansqua HnTE	Hindu
0213 05			Reema 4	Daughter	16 F	Hansqua HnTE	Hindu
0214 01	Balasu Kujur	Titu Kujur			40 M	Hansqua HnTE	Christian
0214 02			Bhalsi	116 Wife	35 F	Hansqua HnTE	Christian
0214 03			Chotanki	2nd Wife	32 F	Hansqua HnTE	Christian
0214 04			Balasu	Brother	20 M	Hansqua HnTE	Christian
0214 05			Jaimanti	Sister-in-law	18 F	Hansqua HnTE	Christian
0214 06			Mahima	Daughter	4 F	Hansqua HnTE	Christian
0214 07			Kripa	Daughter	1.5 F	Hansqua HnTE	Christian
0215 01	Ranjeet Minz	Ranjeet Minz			25 M	Hansqua HnTE	Christian
0215 02			Matni Minz	Wife	22 F	Hansqua HnTE	Christian
0215 03			Rajat Minz	Son	5 M	Hansqua HnTE	Christian
0215 04			Anup Minz	Son	4 M	Hansqua HnTE	Christian
0216 01	Karan Baraik	Ramdhani Baraik			46 M	Hansqua HnTE	Christian
0216 02			Mayawati 4	Wife	40 F	Hansqua HnTE	Christian
0216 03			Karan 4	Son	20 M	Hansqua HnTE	Christian
0216 04			Ashok 4	Son	16 M	Hansqua HnTE	Christian
0216 05			Narayan 4	Son	12 M	Hansqua HnTE	Christian
0217 01	Insin Kujur	Insin Kujur			35 M	Hansqua HnTE	Christian
0217 02			Sushma Kujur	Wife	33 F	Hansqua HnTE	Christian

0217 03			Neelam Kujur	Daughter	14 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0217 04			Amit Kujur	Son	10 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0217 05			Sumit Kujur	Son	6 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0218 01	Bandhu Tirkey	Bandhu Tirkey			25 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0218 02			Anima Tirkey	Wife	23 F	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0218 03			Aarti Tirkey	Daughter	8 F	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0218 04			Maloti Tirkey	Daughter	6 F	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0218 05			Himal Tirkey	Son	3 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0219 01	Rangeela Tirkey	Govind Tirkey			45 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0219 02			Mary	Wife	42 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0219 03			Rangeela	Son	18 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0219 04			Ranjana	Daughter	8 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0219 05			Anand	Son	4 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0220 01	Abu Mohammad	Abu Mohammad			55 M	Balason	HnTE	Muslim
0220 02			Jeraneesan	2nd Wife	35 M	Balason	HnTE	Muslim
0220 03			Afajuddin	Son	22 M	Balason	HnTE	Muslim
0220 04			Saheela Khatun	Daughter	20 F	Balason	HnTE	Muslim
0220 05			Sahera	Granddaughter	8 F	Balason	HnTE	Muslim
0220 06			Arjuna Khatun	Granddaughter	5 F	Balason	HnTE	Muslim
0220 07			Akram	Grandson	4 M	Balason	HnTE	Muslim
0220 08			Isaful	Grandson	2 M	Balason	HnTE	Muslim
0220 09			Lokhiya	Granddaughter	3 F		HnTE	Muslim
0221 01	Rajesh Singh	Sukhchain Singh			50 M	Danagaa	HnTE	Hindu
0221 02			Mobin Singh	Son	30 M	Danagaa	HnTE	Hindu
0221 03			Rajesh Singh	Son	22 M	Danagaa	HnTE	Hindu
0221 04			Prabhat Singh	Son	15 M	Danagaa	HnTE	Hindu
0222 01	Phulchand Toppo	Mattu Toppo			56 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0222 02			Sadani Toppo	Wife	53 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0222 03			Phulchand Toppo	Son	25 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0222 04			Mila Toppo	D-I-L	22 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0222 05			Prema Kusum	Granddaughter	3 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0223 01	Petrus Toppo	Bigni Toppo			50 F	Saaldangi B	HnTE	Christian
0223 02			Petrus Toppo	Son	35 M	Saaldangi B	HnTE	Christian
0223 03			Phulo Toppo	D-I-L	20 F	Saaldangi B	HnTE	Christian
0223 04			Robe Toppo	Son	18 M	Saaldangi B	HnTE	Christian
0223 05			Belasu Toppo	Son	18 M	Saaldangi B	HnTE	Christian
0224 01	Peter Kispotta	Peter Kispotta			34 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0224 02			Lerenga	Father	100 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0224 03			Tersila Kujur	Wife	28 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian

0224 04			Mathius	Son	11 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0224 05			Upasana	Daughter	9 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0224 06			Vipin	Son	6 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0225 01	Somari Aind	Lodha Aind			100 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0225 02			Somari Aind	Sister	35 F	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0225 03			Julie Aind	Daughter	20 F	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0225 04			Runita Aind	Duahgter	18 F	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0225 05			Ajan Aind	Son	12 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0225 06			Sushmita	Daughter	6 F	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0226 01	Dorothia Kujur	Nicholas tirkey			30 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Christian
0226 02			Dorothia Kujur	Wife	28 F	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0226 03			Emmrencia	S-I-L	40 F	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0226 04			Manoj Kumar	Nephew	25 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0226 05			Kerobim Tirkey	Son	6 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0227 01	Mh Sahidul	Mh Sahidul			30 M	Belenjhor	HnTE	Muslim
0227 02			Rehmesia Khatun	Wife	25 F	Belenjhor	HnTE	Muslim
0227 03			Mh Hussain Ali	Son	8 M	Belenjhor	HnTE	Muslim
0227 04			Ershad Ali	Son	4 M	Belenjhor	HnTE	Muslim
0227 05			Rupali Begum	Daughter	3 F	Belenjhor	HnTE	Muslim
0228 01	Sylvester Beck	Roshan Beck			25 M	Rajijote	HnTE	Christian
0228 02			Mrs Beck	Mother	45 F	Rajijote	HnTE	Christian
0228 03			Anima Beck	Wife	22 F	Rajijote	HnTE	Christian
0228 04			Sylve16er Beck	Brother	22 M	Rajijote	HnTE	Christian
0228 05			Reshma Beck	Sister	20 F	Rajijote	HnTE	Christian
0229 01	Musa Mh	Mussa Mh			45 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Muslim
0229 02			Salila Khatun	2nd Wife	25 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Muslim
0229 03			Sai hul Mh	Son	20 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Muslim
0229 04			Jahir Hussain	son	15 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Muslim
0230 01	Ram Munda	Ram Munda			35 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0230 02			S. Munda	Wife	28 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0230 03			Rajeev Munda	Son	15 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0230 04			P. Munda	Daughter	12 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0230 05			Pandri Munda	Daughter	9 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0230 06			Lipi Munda	Daughter	6 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0230 07			Arjun Munda	Son	3 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0231 01	Rajeev Hasda	Rajev Hasda			45 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0231 02			Meri Hasda	Wife	40 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0231 03			Simone Hasda	Son	10 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian

0232 01	Balbahadur Biswarkama	Balbahadur Biswakarma			38 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0232 02			Timreli Maya	Wife	35 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0232 03			Anand	Son	14 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0232 04			Albina	Daughter	12 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0232 05			Anjana	Daughter	7 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0232 06			Anjali	Daughter	3 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0233 01	Alexender Kujur	Alexender Kujur			58 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0233 02			Kalisia Kujur	Wife	45 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0233 03			Arun	Son	19 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0233 04			Balram	Son	16 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0233 05			Rajeev	Son	13 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0234 01	Saraswati Tigga	Mangal Tigga			75 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0234 02			Birbal Tigga	Son	40 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0234 03			Biren Tigga	Son	38 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0234 04			Naveen Tigga	Son	23 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0234 05			Anima Tigga	D-I-L	22 F	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0234 06			Sumanti Tigga	D-I-L	22 F	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0234 07			Saraswati Tigga	Daughter	20 F	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0234 08			Sita Tigga	Granddaughter	4 F	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0234 09			Ruchita Tigga	Granddaughter	0.08 F	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0235 01	Dukhni Minz	Silas Minz			33 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0235 02			Ratia Minz	Father	60 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0235 03			Dukhni Minz	Wife	30 F	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0235 04			Suraj Minz	Son	10 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0235 05			Biraj Minz	Son	8 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0235 06			Bindisha Minz	Daughter	5 F	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0236 01	Ramia Toppo	Mahinder Toppo			35 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0236 02			Ramia Toppo	Wife	28 F	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0236 03			Jai Deep Toppo	Son	14 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0236 04			Anudeep Toppo	Son	12 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0236 05			Biswadeep Toppo	Son	6 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Hindu
0237 01	Bhanu Baraik	Shankar Baraik			70 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0237 02			Jatri Baraik	Wife	65 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0237 03			Bildun Baraik	D-I-L	40 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0237 04			Surlal Baraik	D-I-L	33 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0237 05			Anil Baraik	Son	33 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0237 06			Bhanu Baraik	Son	18 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0238 01	Ajeet Minz	Cyprian Minz			45 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Christian

0238 02			Anima Minz	Sister	21 F	Bandijot	HnTE	Christian
0238 03			Sanjib Minz	Brother	20 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Christian
0238 04			Ajit Minz	Brother	19 M	Bandijot	HnTE	Christian
0239 01	Fulmani Baxla	Binod Barwa			24 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0239 02			Mr. Barwa	Father	59 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0239 03			Bandhni	Mother	55 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0239 04			Fulmani	Wife	22 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0239 05			Antius	son	3 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0240 01	Rijin Xalxo	Sunil Xalxo			27 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0240 02			Sinarti Xalxo	Mother	45 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0240 03			kamroo Xalxo	Brother	17 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0240 04			Rijin Xalxo	Brother	20 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0240 05			Dirjun Xalxo	Brother	14 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0240 06			Dipak Xalxo	Brother	12 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0241 01	Ramprasad Kujur	Ramprasad Kujur			45 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0241 02			Cecilia Kujur	Wife	43 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0241 03			Kuldeep Kujur	Son	21 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0241 04			Rita Kujur	Daughter	17 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0241 05			Radha Kujur	Daughter	15 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0241 06			Akash Kujur	Son	10 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0241 07			Sajina Kujur	Daughter	8 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0241 08			Ajay Kujur	Son	5 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0242 01	Meena Rai	Meena Rai			42 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0242 02			Jai Bahadur	Father	87 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0243 01	Theodore kujur	Theodore Kujur			34 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0243 02			Bandhain Kujur	Wife	30 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0243 03			Bilash Kujur	Son	8 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0243 04			Binit Kujur	Son	6 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0243 05			Mamta Kujur	Daughter	3 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0244 01	Sushil Sharma	Sushil Sharma			45 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0244 02			Samoti	Wife	40 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0244 03			Bablu	Son	17 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0244 04			Eknath	Son	11 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0244 05			Ajeet	Son	9 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0245 01	Leela Tirkey	Ram Tirkey			40 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0245 02			Manju Tirkey	Wife	37 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0245 03			Manoj Tirkey	Son	21 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0245 04			Leela Tirkey	Daughter	18 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu

0246 01	Dulal Rai	Dulal Rai			30 M	Danagaaj	HnTE	Hindu
0246 02			Anjali Rai	Wife	28 F	Danagaaj	HnTE	Hindu
0246 03			Tapan Rai	Son	2.5 M	Danagaaj	HnTE	Hindu
0246 04			Seema Rai	Daughter	6 F	Danagaaj	HnTE	Hindu
0247 01	Parmeshwar Ram	Panchu ram			45 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0247 02			Sita Ram	Wife	38 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0247 03			Bablu Ram	Son	6 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0247 04			Parmeshwar Ram	Nephew	28 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0247 05			Prabha Ram	Nephew's wife	25 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0247 06			Adarsh Ram	Nephew's son	3 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0247 07			Anisha Ram	Nephew's Daughter	0.3 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0248 01	Ajay Rai	Ajay Rai			22 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0248 02			Phulmaya	Mother	40 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0248 03			Amit Rai	Brother	10 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0248 04			Suman Rai	Brother	8 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0249 01	Arun Kujur	Alexender Kujur			45 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0249 02			Hemanti	Wife	40 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0249 03			Arun	Son	19 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0249 04			Vikram	Son	14 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0250 01	Santo Baraik	Santo Baraik			35 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0250 02			Sushila Baraik	Wife	30 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0250 03			Brijit Baraik	Daughter	7 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0250 04			Una Baraik	Son	4 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0251 01	Geeta Lama	Bisan Lama			27 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0251 02			Mrs Lama	Mother	45 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0251 03			Geeta Lama	Wife	26 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0251 04			Chanda Lama	Daughter	5 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0251 05			Rakesh Lama	Son	4 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0252 01	Suraj Baraik	Dhananjay Baraik			45 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0252 02			Reeta Baraik	Wife	40 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0252 03			Suraj Baraik	Son	25 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0252 04			Tejan Baraik	Son	18 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0252 05			Prafulla Baraik	D-I-L	17 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0252 06			Montu Baraik	Son	17 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0253 01	Ranjeet Baraik	Ranjeet Baraik			30 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0253 02			Sita Baraik	Wife	25 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0253 03			Binod Baraik	Son	6 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0253 04			Bimal Baraik	Son	1.5 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu

0254 01	Suman Tigga	HiraLal Tigga			55 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0254 02			Phulrani	Wife	50 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0254 03			Parmanand	Son	27 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0254 04			Phulo	Daughter-in-law	25 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0254 05			Ashok	Son	25 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0254 06			Sanam	Daughter-in-law	21 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0254 07			Suman	Son	21 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0255 01	Rebete Baraik	Lakshman Baraik			40 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0255 02			Lakhwati Baraik	Wife	36 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0255 03			Rebete	Son	18 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0255 04			Ravi	Son	13 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0255 05			Radhika	Daughter	10 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0256 01	Dorothy Beck	Dorothy Beck			35 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0256 02			Sebata	S-I-L	33 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0256 03			O. Beck	Nephew	15 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0256 04			Avinash	Nephew	14 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0256 05			R Beck	Nephew	9 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0256 06			Santosh Beck	Nephew	7 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0257 01	Mahavir Minz	Mahavir Minz			40 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0257 02			Budhram Minz	Father	75 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0257 03			Sumitra	Wife	35 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0257 04			Prafula	Daughter	16 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0257 05			Biswashi	Daughter	7 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0257 06			B. Minz	Son	5 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0258 01	Celina Lakra	Lakshman Lakra			30 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0258 02			Celina Lakra	Wife	26 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0258 03			Romita Lakra	Daughter	6 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0258 04			Asmita Lakra	Daughter	2 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Hindu
0259 01	Hilari Ekka	Noel Ekka			30 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0259 02			Hilari	Wife	28 F	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0259 03			Johnson	Son	9 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian
0259 04			Wilson	Son	7 M	Hansqua	HnTE	Christian



# CODES FOR THE FIELD SURVEY DATA (WORKERS DATA)

<b>GENDER</b>		<b>TEA ESTATE</b>	
Male	1	GTE	1
Female	2	HnTE	2
<b>RESIDENCE</b>		<b>MARRIED &amp; WHETHER 1ST JOB</b>	
Toonah 6	1	Yes	1
Toonah 7	2	No	2
Gangaram	3	<b>LEVEL OF ENTRY</b>	
Monee	4	Tea Plucker	1
Kestopur	5	Factory Labour	2
Chapukher	6	Chokra	3
Dhotijhula	7	Khalasi	4
Hansqua	8	Ayah	5
Danagaaj	9	Sardar	6
Bandijot	10	Dawaiwala	7
<b>CASTE/TRIBE</b>		Others	8
Oraon	1	<b>WORK STATUS</b>	
Munda	2	Permanent	1
Kharia	3	Temporary OB	2
Baraik	4	Temporary LB	3
Nagesia	5	Temporary	4
Malpahari	6	<b>STATUS</b>	
Lohar	7	Regular	1
Gond	8	Seasonal	2
Korwa	9	<b>LABOUR CATEGORIES</b>	
Nepali	10	Plucker	1
Bengali	11	Factory Labour	2
Savar	12	Sardar	3
Rajbanshi	13	Dawaiwala	4
Santhal	14	Pani/Chaiwala	5
SC	15	Ayah	6
<b>RELIGION</b>		Office Clerk	7
Christian	1	Night Guard	8
Hindu	2	Khalasi	9
Muslim	3	Chokra	10

**FIRST JOB IN THE AREA**

Garden	1
Factory	2
Officers' Bungalow	3
Farming	4
Tailoring	5
Night Guard	6

**NATIVE PLACE**

Jharkhand	1
Chhattisgarh	2
West Bengal	3
Nepal	4
Orissa	5
Others (Bihar, Sikkim,	6

**AGE GROUP**

0-6	1
5 to 14	2
15-29	3
30-49	4
50-64	5
65 & >	6
Do not know	7

**REASON FOR DISCONTINUING STUDIES**

Family Problem	1
Financial Problem	2
Not interested in studies	3
Failed in Exam	4
Health Problem	5
Parent's death	6
Eldest in the family	7
To work in Badli	8
No one to take respon	9
Others	10
Do not want to tell	11



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WORKERS IN TEA GARDENS IN  
NORTH BENGAL**

**ABSTRACT**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfilment of  
the requirement for the award of the degree of*

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## **ABSTRACT OF THE STUDY**

### **Introduction**

'Work' is one of the most contested concepts in terms of its definition. What constitutes work and what does not becomes particularly complex when work transcends the domestic space and public domain. Agriculture is a case in point in which considerable amount of work related to fields is carried out at home (Chandna 1967; Mitra 1978; Bardhan 1979; Hiraway and Roy 1999). Much of the problem in defining work is related to how role models are defined for men and women, for example, traditionally, men are seen as bread earners as compared to women whose primary responsibility is thought of as reproduction (Shandong Women's Federation 1986; McDowell and Pringle 1994; Parpart Connelly and Barriteau 2000; Raju 2001). Such construction of roles that is based on gender makes women workers invisible in the economic field (Foord and Gregson 1986). In official statistics such as census participation in any economically gainful activity is defined as work by Census. Such participation may be physical or mental in nature. This does not only involve actual work but also effective supervision and direction of work. It also includes unpaid work on farm or in family enterprise.

Women negotiate work place responsibilities and household chores, in situations where role models within the household do not re-refine themselves. That is to say, other family members including men do not share household chores. Overall strict patriarchal chords that may sometime get diluted, albeit in changed form completely absent, because of certain specific characteristics of population that is in tribal context, continue to remain at the background influencing women's work (Rao and Rana 1997; Verma 1997; Mitra 2000). Plantations offer slightly unique case as they are the sites of work, and men and women are at the plantation site, essentially as workers (Sarkar and Bhowmik 1998). Like all other females employed in the various economic sector the female worker in the tea plantation too strive to meet the daily expenses of the household and try to supplement the family income. The female workers are employed exclusively as tea leave pluckers. It is though the most important of the work in the plantation but at the same time it's the lowest paid and in the lowest rungs of the job hierarchy (Jain 1998; Verschoor R 1996).

**Research Question**

Thus the present study seeks to understand this context with following research questions.

- What are the types of gendered division of labour in the tea plantations?
- Do female workers concentrate in any particular segment in the job hierarchy? Does this concentration reinforce the submission/domination framework?
- How space is negotiated between public and private sphere by female tea garden workers?
- What identities other than gendered location influence female worker's work status?

**Database**

The database for this study was generated through questionnaire based survey conducted among the tea garden workers. The questionnaires covered various demographic and socio-economic aspects of tea garden workers. Several in-depth interviews were also conducted with a view to substantiate some of the observations obtained from household level data. Apart from this, secondary data from the various Government publications were also used. The Darjeeling District Handbook 1991, West Bengal Census of India 1991, the Economic Tables and the Primary Census Abstract for the state of West Bengal, Census of India 1991 the Darjeeling District Gazetteer 2001, the District Statistical Handbook for Darjeeling 2001, the Indian Labour Year Book 2000 and 2001 and National Family Health Surveys 1998 –99 provided useful information for the study

**Study Area**

The Two tea gardens chosen for this research study were the Gungaram Tea Estate (referred as TG 1), owned by the Duncans- Goenka, is the largest tea estate in the District and in the Tarai region. The Hansqua Tea Estate (TG 2) is comparatively a new tea garden, established in 1929 and was a part of Gungaram Tea Estate until 1983. It is now owned by R.D Tea Ltd. The two gardens are in the Phansidewa Kharibari Block of the Siliguri Sub Division and falls under Phansidewa police station. The tea gardens are found all along National Highway 31 and are around 10 kms from Bagdogra and almost

18 kms from Siliguri. Both the tea gardens are semi mechanised and are heavily depended on the cheap labour.

## **Findings**

This study was able to see the differences in the workforce participation and composition in the two tea gardens on account of various socio-economic attributes. The differences also emerge due to the difference in the evolution of the two. The TG 1 being more than 100 years old has a more traditional set up whereas; TG 2 is comparatively new and has been seen to responding to modern market forces. Further being older, the TG 1 has more homogenous population with majority of tribal Christians. On the other hand, TG 2 has more heterogeneous composition.

One of the important differences emerging in between these two tea gardens is that TG 1 has more number of permanent workers with all the benefits and allowances given to them. In contrast TG 2 employs more number of temporary workers who do not get benefits other than wages. TG 2 thus, responds to the recent market scenario where casualisation of workers is increasing and the labour welfare concerns are losing importance.

The population in the tea garden is composed of induced migrant labourers who have come from their native places in Chotanagpur, Chattisgarh Nepal etc. This has resulted in tribal population in the labour lines together with considerable number of non-tribals some of them have migrated while some are local. Also these tribals are Christian who had already converted to Christianity prior to migrating to the area. Therefore there is a majority presence of tribal Christians especially in TG 1. On the other hand TG 2 has more mixed population with tribal Christians as well as Hindus and non-tribals.

The ethnic and religious identities of the overall population together with the gender identity bring about considerable difference in the household and working scenario in the two tea gardens. These also bring about a pronounced socio-demographic

profile and the gender based discrimination in matters relating to education, marital status and work status, which exhibit differently in both the tea gardens.

The literacy of the area is also better in comparison to the state and district level. It is also attributed to the high presence of the tribal population in the area who are known to have a better literacy than the non-tribals. The families do send their children to receive education. The workers of the tea gardens also have education to at least secondary level, but most of them did not continue beyond secondary level and discontinued it due to various family and financial reasons. Work-wise the education does not have much affect on their participation since the tea gardens do not follow any recruitment policy on the basis of educational qualification. Any able-bodied person who wishes to join the labour force can join the work. Thus there are illiterate as well as literate workers in the similar type of job.

Tea gardens are work site and thus people are basically workers. The workforce participation in the tea garden are higher than at the state and district level for males and females both. Tea gardens are termed as work sites. The people mainly come to work and earn a livelihood for them and the families. It is an industry, which requires many workers to carry on with its labour intensive works. Plucking is the most primary and lowest of the job with no scope of mechanization. Once the tea leaves are plucked from the tea gardens it is taken into the factory for further processing which requires manpower. These two are the main category of workers to be absorbed in. It is seen that majority of females are employed in the plucking activity while none of them are in the factory work which, the females also decide, not to take part in.

Overall the tribals in the two gardens show a better picture of workforce participation rate than the non-tribals. This stems from the fact that the tribal society that are also known to be egalitarian does not make differences on the gender lines and the females of the tribal society have freedom to join the workforce as and when they want. In comparison to this, the conservative non-tribal society prefers male members to be in the public domain; as a result they have less workforce participation further differentiating TG 1 from TG 2.



Females workers, whether working or not, get intervened by their membership in multiple location and identities, for example, tribal, non-tribal, religious and the context where they are situated. In case of the two tea gardens, these ethnic and religious identities bring considerable differences. The tribal Christian female workers in TG 1 are more visible in the work arena. The non-tribals too show the similar pattern. In contrast to this, the non-tribal female workers in TG 2 seem to influence both the tribal Christian and Hindu female workers. Together with the ethnic and the religious identity, and the situation and the context where they are situated, gives rise to another contrasting feature between TG 1 and TG 2.

Majority of females are concentrated in the plucking job. The management explains this concentration in terms of female having nimble fingers to pluck the delicate two tea leaves and a bud. However feminist scholars have argued that this 'explanation' is offered more as an excuse than the 'recruitment policy'. They also argue that by concentrating female in the lowest hierarchy of job, which does not pay the best of the wages, a very subtle kind of discrimination is carried on.

However, of late, many feminist scholars have questioned such a measure of discrimination arguing that the so-called vulnerability of female workers may in fact be interpreted as females making the best possible use of available opportunities. At times the submission and silence may be their strategy to suit certain specific context.

From the studies it becomes clear that female workers are not in a position to avail of extra benefit on account of overtime in the factory. Also, factory work means definite work hours and night shifts. In contrast, plucking leaves is a daylight and flexible job in nature. The work does not entail any strict code of conduct or rules to be followed, except for the time to be maintained for attendance, weighment and the final call before the end of the day's work.

Most of the time they can complete their job with less hassles. The work can go on while they talk, sing and generally share their problems with their friends in the

gardens and the known people with whom they have been working. Thus, together with work they go on to build their social capital to fall back on, in times of necessities (Jain 1998). The female workers themselves decide to work in the area of their own choice, based on their own reasons, which may not be purely beneficial in economic sense. Thus, the female workers decide to be in the garden than to be in the factory. For them, the social capital building as explained earlier has more importance than the pure economic gains.

Further, the female workers themselves do not prefer the factory job since the labour lines are far from the factory site and it would pose a great problem for them to attend work at various shifts, especially night shifts. Moreover, it may be recalled that the amount payable for subsidised ration increases with an increase in the number of days absent from the work. Owing to the strict shift based work in the factory, a slight delay in the attendance would mark her absentee. As a consequence, she would have to shell out extra money to get the weekly ration. Though the problem of absenteeism is more among the male workers, the issue of ration does not affect them as it is considered to be part of the female purview.

This is not to suggest that no discriminatory practices are present. Much of this discrimination crops up due to the social factors and the changes need to emerge from the society itself requiring wider structural changes. The changes have to come at the home front first, where the support has to come from the male counterparts and they have to frequently cross over the strict gender based role. Only then the females will be able to juggle between home and work in a better and efficient way.

The study has raised many interesting issues that could not be included because of the scope of the present study. One such issue is tribalisation and demonstration effects of tribals on non-tribals and vice versa, in a complex web of migration pattern and changing dynamics of labour market in an emerging liberal economy. The practise adopted by the management in the tea gardens, to regulate food supply to workers, is intricately interlinked with absenteeism. It would have been crucial to know that how this particular

strategy would have affected the gendered dimension of absenteeism. A question that has remained untouched in the present study. Finally it would have been interesting to probe how the age of female workers intersects their work roster in the physical sites, in terms of their deployment to the *bagan*.