CHAPTER 3

CULTURAL PATTERN AND THE STRUCTURE OF FEMALE ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION

3.1 Introduction

Most going discussion dealing with the development of Less Developed Countries (LDCs) at least refer to the need of making women "equal partners" with men in society in general and in development processes in particular. Such references implicitly infer a concern not only with the lower status that has been ascribed to women by virtue of their sex, but also with measures that may help to substitute an "achieved" for the present "ascribed" system which allocates status to men and women. There is thus an attempt to establish "equality" between the sexes. However, "equality, it is obvious upon slight reflection, has at least two meanings, both in popular as well as in technical usage. According to one view, people are said to be equal if, but only if, they are similar, if not identical, with respect to one or more critical attributes" (Spiro, 1979:7). According to another view, people are said to be equal so long as their differences are held to be of equivalent value. This view which might be identified the
"equal status" meaning of equality, is passed on a pluralistic system of values, in which the different forms assumed by the criterial attributes are viewed as having (more or less) the same worth.

Some of the earlier western feminist experts advocated equality for women by assuming "sameness" meaning. Since it was soon realised that biological differences and their cultural super-structures prevent women from ever becoming the "same" as men, this approach gave way to the more realistic one of identifying the objective of equality with "equal" status. However, the plurality of values that this definition of the equality involves has opened the floodgates to a great variety of different, and often contradictory, theories.

Many experts have become disciples of Boserup (1970) who in her epoch-making study argues that women's economic dependence inevitably implies inferior status. The kind of economic determinism assumes a uni-variable status structure with economic relationship being the determining factor. Undoubtedly, access to, and even more important, control of resources is one of the major variables affecting prestige ranking. However, to consider it as the only factor determining the social status of women
is a gross over-simplification of what is one of the most complex aspects of social relationships. It does not hold good for men anymore than it does for women. For instance, Brahmin priests in India, who hardly have any assets and depend for their livelihood mainly on the charity from other and lower castes, occupy the top most rank in the status hierarchy of castes (Srinivas, 1956). Likewise many women, particularly older ones, are often treated with respect although they may in fact be economic liabilities. The high social status is accorded to older women in Indian societies.

Status in general, and not just of women, is accepted to connote evaluation. Hence, honour, esteem, respect and prestige are its synonyms (Zelditch, Jr. 1968). It must, therefore, be viewed in its relative context. There exists not only a status distinction between men and women but also a status hierarchy among women themselves.

3.2 Cultural Traditions

Women get married at an early age. The context in which the patriarchal structure most oftenly operate at an ideological level is in relation to
women's access to school education. Difference in expectations of boys and girls with regard to schooling make girls start dropping out of school around the age of 12-13 years. Since the girls are expected to stay at home and look after house and later on children, education for them is considered to be a waste. In addition, girls are expected to do housework from an early stage, and indeed do so, while boys do not. Their motivation to stay at school, therefore, greatly reduces.

Due to illiteracy they are not even consulted to select their marriage partner. Even after marriage they are dominated by their husbands. So we can say that a married woman's world is her home and she is primarily required to look after the welfare of her husband, her pregnancy and other members of the family, if any, and that of husband's task is to assume full responsibility of making adequate arrangements for the provision and protection of the family. While the sphere of wife has been strictly limited and confined to home under the protection of man, husband's field of activity is largely considered the home.

While women's work in the home—food preparation, cleaning, child rearing etc.—may be universal in each
society, it is shaped by cultural traditions. Now let us examine how Indian culture has influenced women's role in the home and how these roles vary across class, caste, religion, and region. Indian culture has often been described as having a hierarchical world view.¹ This hierarchical world view is grounded in the caste system of Hinduism. The caste system is composed of a number of social segments, Jatis (Castes), these are of unequal ritual status; Jati is endogamous, and Jati members must follow norms to preserve their ritual status. Hierarchy also characterizes the norms for relations between the sexes: men are superior and women inferior.

Pativratas, or total devotion to the husband, was set out by Hindu scriptures as the wifely ideal.² This was a wife whose only concern was to perform properly all the services demanded by her husband, whose sole joy in life was the satisfaction of her husband. Such a woman was attached to her husband even after he died, for she could never think of taking a second husband. Under Hindu customary law, marriage was a sacrament with stricter obligations for

¹ Dumont (1970)
women than for men. Neither divorce nor widow remarriage was allowed, but widowers could remarry. A widow was considered ritually polluting and was supposed to shave her head, wear rags, work more and eat less than others in the household. Among certain castes a widow might become a sati, burning herself to death on her husband's funeral pyre. Sati was never a common practice but its alternative, enforced widowhood, and a profound effect on the lives of Indian women while the prescriptions of Hindu law applied only to high caste Hindus, they were important cultural norms and were followed by upwardly mobile castes, trying to justify higher ritual status for themselves.

Indian cultural traditions prescribed rigid sex segregations and a greater restriction on the mobility of women than of men. Women's living quarters were physically segregated from men's and women covered their heads and bodies in front of men. Their contracts with men were limited only to immediate kins.

Obedience to and dependence upon men characterizes women's traditional roles in the family. At birth, a daughter is less welcome than a son, for she is considered less auspicious. For Hindu, male heir
is considered necessary to ensure the rebirth of deceased ancestors, as only they could perform the funeral rites. A daughter would leave her family soon and require a dowry. Her mother needs to train her well, for her demeanour and performance of household tasks after marriage reflected on her family of birth. Her marriage is arranged with a boy from the same caste whose family is considered to be of equal or higher status to hers. The giving of dowry symbolizes the status inequality and the economic dependence of women. At the same time it also represents an opportunity for the bride's family to increase their status in the community. Nevertheless, it could also be a great financial burden for her family.

Hindu texts explicitly prescribe male domination and female subordination in that women should be controlled by men throughout her life. In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead, to her sons; a woman must never be independent. 3

The structure of the family did confer authority on certain female roles that served to enforce the

cultural norms. A girl began married life with little status or power in her new household. She gradually gained influence as she became a mother, especially of sons. As a mother-in-law she dominates the younger women in the household and becomes in charge of domestic ritual purity. However, if she happens to be barren, she is likely to be cast out by her husband's family, and if she is widow, she had to live chastely and renounce the pleasure of life.

Demographic structure, like the family structure, constitutes one variable which intervenes between the wider economic setting and intra-familial arrangements. If culture is viewed as an "inventory of solutions to the problems of the natural habitat" (Inenmyoga, 1977:46), then the traditional emphasis on high fertility becomes understandable. The lower the level of control a social group can exert over its socio-physical environment the more essential become their effective adaptation methods. When many children die or the overall expectation of life is low society depends on its women to produce many children. Under such conditions it is not surprising that a woman gains prestige by bearing many off-springs. A socio-economic setting which forces people to operate in an "accommodating framework" (Epstein, 1977: 273) leads
to a continuing high birth rate even when mortality has been declining. For many societies surplus people are a novel phenomenon and, therefore, their traditional culture inventory offers no solutions for it. The continuing high birth rate is thus a legacy from an era when it was an essential precondition to the perpetuation of society.

Cultural traditions shaping women's role varied across class, caste, region and religion. The most restrictive traditions applied to high caste Hindu women, and they were most likely to live in joint families, a model of family organization for only a small percentage of Indians women from lower castes and classes played more essential economic roles than high caste women. In consequence they enjoyed more independence but often face a daily struggle for existence along with their male counterparts. Customs of the lower castes included divorce and widow remarriage. In some castes the custom of bride price paid by the groom's family can also be observed.

Ideology and religion usually reinforce each other and together make up one social field that is both most intransitive to change as well as constituting potential change agents. Gender ideology almost focuses
on women's reproductive roles to the exclusion of their other social functions. The perpetuation of social units depends on reproduction. This childbearing is one of the basic social values. Since reproduction is the major venue for recruitment to individual families and kin groups, blood relationship has come to play an important political role in many societies. For instance, in many agnatically organised tribes where membership is determined by patrilineal descent the kinship based social unit exists to depend its members and their property against encroachment from similar social units. Patrilineal of course means that men need sons to ensure the continuity of their descent group. Therefore, a man depends on his wife to give birth to his sons, and wants to ensure that he is the biological father of the child his wife bears. Therefore, under these conditions men consider chastity and seclusion of women as an integral part of gender relationships. In other words, they try to make sure that their sons who will inherit their property and position are in fact their biological related offspring. This helps

to explain the cultural superstructure which translates physiological differences between men and women into gender differences.

In most traditional societies women's behaviour symbolises the honour not only of their immediate family but often of their whole kin group. They preserve the honour of the kin-group that women must remain chaste and to ensure their chastity they have to be secluded from men. Women all over India are physically secluded to some degree at least. Purdah is usually considered the most extreme form of this seclusion. It is the "term commonly used to designate seclusion of women behind the walls of the harem or the folds of the veil (Webster, 1984:252). Many women in purdah consider themselves privileged not only vis-à-vis other women whose families are too poor to afford complete female seclusion, but also vis-à-vis their menfolk.

The contrasting views of purdah's social function held by many outsiders on the one hand and many of the women who themselves love in the seclusion on the other is largely the result of different ideological stances pursued by different social groupings. Ideology and religion usually
reinforce each other and together constitute the most powerful influence on the pattern of social behaviour. It is this social field more than any other that determines value systems by means of role and status images and, in turn, influences gender relationships.

In the sphere of structural elaboration, sex-differentiations gradually but inevitably evolves in a manner such that societal roles which are linked with production, governance and ecclesiastic become more or less the exclusive domain of the male sex. Concurrently, the biological capacity of the female to reproduce the human species and ensure its survival, has led to her being assigned role which have progressively tied her down to the home and withdrawn her from the wider economic and religious arenas of social participation. Paralleling their two processes there takes place the progressive elaboration of ideology which rationalises this shift from differentiation to discrimination and institutionalises it by means of customs, rituals and religious prescription. The present predicament of woman in such societies arises, therefore, from the major contradiction between structural inequalities between man and woman and cultural rationalisations.
Throughout human history men have had greater power than women to name, classify, and order the worlds in which they both live. It is still unclear why this is so but the result has been a persistent denigration of women and their activities. Male perception of women as "the other" has not been balanced by reciprocal dialogue. Instead, it has been reinforced the establishment of more or less intensive systems of female subordination. Diverse social structures and supporting ideologies created by men confine as well as define women by restricting them to roles and activities described as feminine. Women frequently find themselves in the painful position of trying to conform to life-cycle patterns and roles that do not reflect their latent and inclinations. If they fail, or refuse, they are neglected to the margins of a society that cannot recognize their existence.

We believed the disabilities imposed on women have to be seen in the total content of a society, where large sections of the population, male and female, adults and children, suffer under the oppression of an exploitative system. It is not possible to remove these inequalities for women only. Any policy or movement for
The emancipation and development of women has to form a part of a total movement for removal of inequalities and oppressive social institutions, if the benefits and privileges won by such action are to be shared by entire women population and not be monopolised by a small minority.  

The role and status of women form an integral part of the prevailing socio-economic structure of any community, and the cultural norms and traditions and value system determine the women's status in the society. A characteristic feature of the Indian society is the involvement of man's prestige in the type of work in which women of the family are engaged. It is well known that throughout the country, with the increasing improvement in the economic condition of the family, the farmers withdraw their women from the fields. A change in the organisational forms and the value system does not take place simultaneously and this explains the fact that there is a wide gap between the theoretical possibilities and actual realisation. In the natal home, a girl is considered a liability, and this has a


far-reaching effect on the socialisation of children. It is an undeniable fact that in an Indian family one can easily notice a traditionally sanctioned discrimination between the boys and girls in regard to food, education and medical care and what not. To bring about an effective change through the expansion of education and the legislative measures an attitudinal and structural orientation of the society is absolutely indispensable.

The position of the Indian women has not lagged behind the change in the socio-economic structure of the Indian society. Apart from playing her customary role in the conformity with the traditional division of labour between the sexes, i.e. bearing and rearing the children and the domestic chores, they have been making an equal contribution in the earning and well-being of the family. The traditional division of labour between the sexes was evidently to maximise the benefit of the combined social efforts according to the aptitudes of men and women in a complementary manner. In the agricultural field, the women and men jointly work with a healthy allotment of different items of work between different members of the family. In
the traditional agricultural economy the household is the unity of labour with men and women playing complementary roles.

The division of labour is, of course, part of the socio-economic setting of society and both affect as well as reflect the status of women. The separation between the "public domain", where men predominate, and the "private domain" where women function, is now often considered a general phenomenon occurring in all societies at all time in history. This too is a myth. Women's living in a more affluent setting often complain about their economic dependence on their husband and their confinement to the unpaid and undervalued status of housewife.

Throughout the history, the society has assigned the role of bread-winner to man and expected him to provide for herself and for the family. As against this, the women have all along been assigned the role of help-mate, e.g., looking after the family as also contributing, wherever possible, to the earnings of the family. Her role as an economic contributor in the family has varied from time to time and from society to society. As in other nations of the world, the women's role in the Indian society has not been stationary and is characteristic of a society in transition from
tradition to modernity. A great majority of tribal women have been engaged in the production and marketing of their handicraft goods. They are rather still engaged in supplementing the earnings of the family by taking up casual or continuing employment in the construction and agricultural operations, whereas the women of the urban middle and upper classes have normally evaded working either at home or outside. This was actually the result of the feudal concept that the status of the family depended on the fact as to whether women engaged themselves in paid work at home or outside.

Evidently, India is principally still an agricultural country; the traditional village community comprises cultivators, artisans and those performing menial services and the village women play a distinctive role in the family's effort for earning a livelihood, contributing sometimes more, sometimes less and generally an equal amount of labour. In the present socio-economic set-up, despite their due contribution of efforts and labour in the economic activity, the women's contribution is not properly recognised. A great majority of the Indian women participate in the family's earning efforts as unpaid family workers. The women's efforts in running the household thereby freeing the husband for his evocation remain unrecognised.
There has been a growing concern in recent years regarding the declining work participation rates of women in India. While there has been a gradual deterioration in the general employment situation as a whole in the country, it can be noted that the impact of unemployment has fallen more heavily on women than men in India. It is felt that this decline in women's employment is likely to have serious and far-reaching effects on fertility, mortality and nutrition.

Female agricultural labourers form the single largest category of workers among Indian working women. In absolute terms there were 44.97 millions (13.99%) female agricultural labourers in 1991. An agricultural labourer is a person who works on another person's land, without exercising any supervision or direction in cultivation, for wages in money, kind or share of produce. She has no right or lease or contract on land on which she works. On the other hand, persons who work on farms held by them in ownership or on lease, are classified as cultivators. Thus, while the former are wage employed, the latter are self-employed.

This overall trend in women's role in agriculture, a shift from cultivator to labourer status, can only
be explained by loss of land for subsistence cultivation and inadequate growth of productive employment opportunities on family's farm which lead to withdrawal of women from active cultivation.

The impact of transition to a modern economy has meant exclusion of an increasing number and proportion of women from active participation in the production process. A considerable number continue to participate for no returns and no recognition. The majority of those who do participate fully are on sufferance, without equal treatment, security of employment and humane conditions of work. A very large number of them are subject to exploitation of various kinds with no protection from society or State.

It may be noted that this adverse impact of economic modernization on women's participation is not peculiar to India. Recent research has revealed similar trends in other Asian, African and Latin American countries. In agrarian societies, the family being the unit of production and the place of work being close to

7. As unpaid family workers whose economic contribution is not recognized by the strict definition of "workers" in the recent census.
home, participation in the production process in both agriculture and industry is a family affair. Markets are mostly local or within accessible distance—giving women the opportunity to play an important role in the process of exchange, ensuring for them considerable economic independence.

The movement from traditional to a modern economy, which substitutes family labour by the competitive labour between individuals, invariably results in a decline in women's participation and the emergence of social theories relegating women to child care and housework as their social occupations.  

Technological changes introduce the demand for new skills and specialization very different from the traditional divisions of labour between sexes. The higher the technology the greater is the demand for basic skills like education and specialized training from its workers. Women in the developing societies, who constitute the large share of the world's illiterates, are handicapped by the lack of opportunities for acquisition of these new skills, at the same time when their traditional productive skills become unwanted by the new economy.

---

3.2 Testing of Hypothesis

After a general theoretical discussion in the earlier part of this chapter, let us come to the main purpose of this chapter by testing the following hypothesis:

The earlier marriage age, negative female gender stereotypes, lack of female choice in marriage partner and marriage at greater distance from the women's home are positively associated with the relative confinement of women's work time to domestic and subsistence production.

3.2.1 Women's Education and Marriage Age

It is a general view that education and marriage age are positively related phenomena. Higher the level of education, higher will be the age at marriage. The age at marriage, here, refers throughout to the age of an effective marriage for the study population.

The households of our sample population have been classified in terms of marriage age. Table 3.1 shows the classification of households among different marriage age groups. Data presented in Table 3.1 indicates that in rural Haryana, 8.89% of the women were married below the age of 10 years and 44.17% between the age group of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Qualification</th>
<th>No. of Households</th>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>11-15</th>
<th>16-20</th>
<th>21-25</th>
<th>360</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Illiterate</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Upto Primary</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Middle</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Matric</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>27.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. B.A.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. M.A.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>321</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
<td><strong>159</strong></td>
<td><strong>134</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>360</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1: Educational Qualification and Marriage age
11 to 15 years, while 37.22% of the total sample of women got married between the age group of 16 to 20 years and only 1.11% got married when they were in the age group of 21 to 25 years. In this way about 53% of women got married before attaining the age of 16 years. 8.61 percent did not respond. They are illiterate and they don't know the actual age of marriage when they got married. Thus, it was observed that in the study area, people continued to follow traditional customs and married off their daughters before or soon after puberty. The child marriage Act (popularly known as the Sarda Act) which forbids the marriage of girls before 18 years, gets little support among rural communities. Even people belonging to the study area were not aware of the existence of such a law.

One of the important characteristics which is clear from the given data is that the social status of women was rather low. Only 23.89% were literate and 10% had studied up to the matriculation or above.

3.2.2 Consultation in the choice of marriage partner

Despite the governmental efforts made from time to time, a woman in Indian society is still considered so
inferior that she does not have an individual identity. She plays several roles throughout her life, those of a daughter, sister, wife, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law and mother but seldom does she have the power to make decisions, which concern her own life vitally. Generally, in India, the girl does not have any control either over the choice of her partner or on the timing of her marriage. Though changes are occurring in Urban India under the influence of education and modernisation, the decision to get the daughter married is taken solely by the parents. There are very few girls who rebel against or deviate from parental decision. If they do, they are ridiculed and become objects of criticism both among the family members and the community. In rural areas generally girls are not consulted in the choice of their marriage partners. This is shown in table 3.2.

In our study also, the parents decided the age at which and to whom to marry their daughter: in 98.1% of the cases, the girl to be married was not consulted.

Thus it becomes apparent from the above table that our hypothesis is found correct in that almost all the girls are not consulted in the choice of their marriage partner.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>98.28</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.06</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.66</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.22</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76.11</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Households</th>
<th>Consulted</th>
<th>No. of Reporting Partnership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. No. Category of Household as Percentage</td>
<td>Consulted</td>
<td>Married Partner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2
So far, women have had less than equal access to power, resources and services than the male population. Women's economic profile shows that women represent almost 50% of the population, make up 30% of the official labour force, perform 60% of all working hours, and own even less than 10% of the world's property (FAO, 1980). Together with this, women bear the burden of unpaid domestic labour. In Haryana, women do every kind of field work except driving the plough. She helps the man in preparing the field for sowing, making the embankments in the field, weeding and heeing. Winnowing, plucking maize cobs and millet earheads, stripping sugar-cane before crushing, carrying heavy foodgrain stored and looking after these to avoid the damage and pilferage. Cooking food, caring about the children, managing fuel and water for the home, looking after the domestic animals, chaffing the fodder, cleaning the cattleshed, preparing the animal feed, milking the animals, filling the manure pits and using the cow-dung for making cow-dung cakes are all done by women.

In spite of all these burdens of farms and homes, their contribution are not given due recognition. Their condition is far from satisfactory and they suffer from various socio-cultural constraints which
came in the way of improving their productivity.

In order to know the participation of women in household chores, one time spent in these, a list of different household chores was prepared. Total time in a day was calculated by summing up the time devoted to all these activities. Data summarised in Table 3.3 shows the participation and daily time spent in these chores by the respondent women.

Table 3.3 indicates that a vast majority of the respondents (80.56%) were involved in animal husbandry and majority of them were spending 2 to 3 hours daily on this activity. The remaining 19.44 percent are not involved in this activity mainly because of the fact that schedule castes and scheduled tribes generally don't participate in animal husbandry activities. In rural Haryana the main occupation of sample households is agriculture and the majority of (77.78%) of that participate in agricultural activities by spending 6 to 7 hours on these activities. The remaining 22.22% are not involved in this activity, mainly because of their being in service and in wage labour activities. These activities usually are performed by the manfolk and women. Usually 93.33% respondents were involved in fetching water. The
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Hours</th>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>No. of Reporting Households</th>
<th>As Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>Domestic Activities</td>
<td>290 (80.56%)</td>
<td>34.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>Pre-cooking activities</td>
<td>304 (84.44%)</td>
<td>36.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>Food Processing</td>
<td>300 (80.5%)</td>
<td>34.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>291 (80.36%)</td>
<td>36.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-9</td>
<td>Children care</td>
<td>242 (67.26%)</td>
<td>29.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-11</td>
<td>Domestic Activities</td>
<td>165 (41.66%)</td>
<td>22.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-13</td>
<td>Pre-cooking activities</td>
<td>150 (39.44%)</td>
<td>19.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-15</td>
<td>Food Processing</td>
<td>132 (33.33%)</td>
<td>17.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-17</td>
<td>Domestic Activities</td>
<td>108 (28.57%)</td>
<td>13.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-19</td>
<td>Pre-cooking activities</td>
<td>90 (24.29%)</td>
<td>11.11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-21</td>
<td>Food Processing</td>
<td>78 (21.21%)</td>
<td>10.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22-23</td>
<td>Domestic Activities</td>
<td>66 (18.24%)</td>
<td>8.89%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3. ACTIVITY WISE TIME ALLOCATION OF SAMPEL HOUSEHOLD.
remaining 16.67% are not involved in this activity mainly because in these houses the respondents have hand pumps and water supply schemes. In manufacturing activity 88.89% were involved and remaining 11.11% were not involved in this activity.

In bringing fuel for cooking 86.11% were involved, the remaining 13.89% are not involved in this activity because some of the respondents have Gas Chullah who are near to some urban places and some respondents have fuel in their houses. It was observed that cooking is the activity in which majority (84.44%) of the respondents were participating. Data regarding pre-cooking activities such as cutting vegetables, kneading and gathering all the things required for cooking presented in our table reveals that majority of the women (55.56%) devoted 2 to 3 hours. The remaining (15.56%) are not involved in this activity mainly because of their old age. Only 33.12% respondents were participating in service and wage labour activities. And the remaining 66.88% were not participating in this activity since in rural areas the majority of households do household chores including agricultural activities. About 80% households participate in domestic activities and the remaining 19.64% do not participate in this activity.
Data summarized in this table also present the time devoted by respondents in taking care of their children which includes time devoted in feeding, bathing, preparing for schools etc. About 80% respondents participated in child care activity and 41.66% were devoting 2 to 3 hours. The remaining about 20 percent of households do not participate in this activity since a number of households do not have children. About 72% were participating in social activities and the remaining were not participating in this activity. About 62% were devoting 2 to 3 hours.

To conclude the present discussion, it may be pointed out that our hypothesis is partially found to be correct. We could not establish any relationship between the distance of marriage and the relative confinement of women's work time to domestic and subsistence production. But we could establish a positive relationship between the marriage age, negative female gender stereotype, lack of female choice in marriage partner and the relative confinement of women's work time to domestic and subsistence production.