In the preceding chapter we have discussed the socio-economic background of the female workers. In this chapter we propose to examine the course and consequences of socialization process on female workers in urban informal sector. It was noticed that the manner in which the socialization process takes place in case of female workers from the Childhood to the adult-hood stage sets in their sub-conscious, a particular thinking pattern, with a specific bias, towards existing social values and thus they tend to become docile and conservative. Some of them are found to develop an attitude which forces them to suffer in silence as they consider this to be their destiny. Hence it was deemed fit to gather information from the respondents, by asking specific questions about the pattern of socialization which they underwent.

A. SWEEPERS:

The sweepers are at the bottom of the Hindu Frame of reference. The women of upper caste do not consider it fit to work outside their homes for wages in the occupations with low social esteem. These women prefer to work only for white collar jobs. The largest section of employed women falls in unorganised sector which employs 94
percent of women workers. In India, after independence, the gap of 'haves, and 'have-nots' has not been reduced and the urban poverty is essentially an overflow of the rural poverty. The survey of slums of Calcutta revealed that nearly 33 per cent of the city's population consisted of slum dwellers. This resource base of the poor and the existence of widespread unemployed and under employed are the root causes of poverty. In our constitution, the sweepers or scavengers are termed as scheduled castes for their identification. Untouchability is the worst form of social inequality between the scheduled castes and non-scheduled castes. The scheduled castes are considered inferior in social status to the non-scheduled castes and they are constrained to do the un-clean and low-esteemed works such as sweeping etc. Sweepers are confined to a particular class and their work is treated as dirty, mean and polluting.

It is an occupation in which both sexes participate but by looking into the data of past twenty five years, it becomes clear that the position of the female sweepers has changed a little. Again, even within the occupation as well, women tend to do the more defiling, arduous and less
paid tasks. The low prestige of the sweeping work is reflected in the stigma of uncleanliness that is attached to this work and which determines many of the elements of the working conditions of sweepers, even the place of work and the type of work. Women's emancipation is not going to be achieved by the job alone especially in the poorest sections of society where job merely enables women to stay alive. Veena Mazumdar, Director of the Centre for Development Studies has pointed out, "...the high degree of dependence on wage employment for their families' survival, is the main obstacle of these women for receiving any access to education, training or upgrading of skills or even proper health care".

Most of the women joined the work force due to economic compulsions either because the income of the head of the family, who was usually a man, was insufficient for the basic necessities of life or because she was the sole bread earner of the family. The life of widows, old ladies, disabled and divorced women was pitiable and wretched. Mahatma Gandhi and some other leaders actively thought of these social problems. But the changes in this direction have been found to be very slow. Throughout the
history, children have been loved, cherished and highly valued as individuals by their parents. On the other hand there has, simultaneously, been a strong traditional notion that the children were the property of the parents who have the exclusive right to deal with their off-springs as they deem fit. So the respondents were pointedly asked "Is there any difference in the behaviour of your mother towards you and your brother?"

DIFFERENCE IN SOCIALIZATION:

The distinctions in the roles of men and women, influence the behaviour of parents in relation to the upbringing of the boys and girls. While enlightened families take pride in not discriminating between boys and girls in educational opportunities, the emphasis on traditional feminine tasks and feminine abilities still remains. There is a distinct difference in the degree of protection considered necessary for boys and girls. Boys are not asked to share in domestic works though they may lend a hand in marketing, running errands and doing escort duty to their mothers and sisters. Boys with an aptitude for cooking or tailoring are ridiculed and discouraged. Studies and career motivation are emphasised for boys.
Marriage remains the main goal and education is considered only a security against unforseen eventualities. 3

In the present study, the respondents were asked the question "Do you see any difference in the behaviour of your mothers towards you and your bothers?" It was found that 9.33 per cent respondents were out of scope of this question since they had no brother and hence the question of differentiation did not arise. 25.3 per cent respondents told that their mothers did not exhibit dual behaviour and the rest of the respondents found some difference. Majority of the respondents complained of difference in imparting facilities for education (34.67 per cent). They told that parents provided more educational facilities to the male members and stressed to them that being girls, they should learn household works. This emphasis on feminine roles has an inevitable effect on the girls personalities and identities. Among the poorer sections where girls contribute to the running of the house as well as to the family economy, their education is often sacrificed while the boys are encouraged to study. 12 per cent respondents found difference in the health care attitude. More care and concern was shown for boys. It
was generally assumed that they needed good health. So better eating facilities were given to boys. 18.67 per cent respondents found difference in the treatment in their family. Boys get better food, clothes, affection and status compared to the girls in the family. They were allowed to play. They have no burden of household chores. They were free to go outside. But females were not allowed to go outside. Apart from the economic reasons, there is also a lurking fear that education may alienate the girls from their conventional roles and make them less submissive to the family. They were asked as to how they feel when mothers differentiate them from their brothers. Majority of the respondents, 29.33 per cent, attribute this behaviour to destiny or fate. It is the fate that gives importance to a person. They further attributed the inferior status of girls to the Almighty. Differentiation starts at the birth itself because girls are considered 'Paraya Dhan' and boys as their own 'Wealth'. 25.33 per cent respondents were found to be silent sufferers because these respondents thought that they had no other alternative. They were small and could not oppose their parents. Only 5.33 per cent have accepted the behaviour of the parents and consider that to be the right way and thus
adopted it as such. One respondent told that parents sometimes are fair also. They do what is good for them. 5.33 per cent show rebellious tendencies when ever differentiated.

The socialization starts from the earlier days of childhood itself. Little boys are allowed to play while their sisters are expected to help in the home. Although, there is marked increase in the education of girls, still the predominant views of mothers still is that it is of no use to educate them. The mothers would be much happier if their daughters could learn 'Useful' tasks like sewing and cooking etc. However, they feel that education is indeed useful and essential for boys. On the Health grounds also, they discriminate between males and females.

As a UNICEF study observes, "If female infants die at faster rate than male infants despite their biologically superior strength, the inference is that social neglect of female health is deeply entrenched". A study of attendance of patients at a primary health centre, in Haryana lends support to this observation. It was found that the percentage of male children receiving treatment
was 76.8 as against 23.2 in the case of female children. Doctors said that people neglect their daughters' treatment but for sons, people take loans, and spend thousands of rupees, to save their lives. On the contrary, for daughters even Rs. 50/- becomes too much. Similar pattern is seen at every clinic of Rohtak city also. This mentality of parents shows that the discrimination between male and female children was common in Rohtak city also. So, it is this pattern of socialization due to which the females are made to feel themselves as inferiors.

**HOUSEHOLD RESPONSIBILITIES:**

Women of the poorer sections, whose days are spent on hard labour and evenings on household chores, are extremely overworked and can give little attention to the upbringing of their children. After going through the difference in the pattern of socialization, it would be pertinent to know whether they were able to fulfil all requirements of their husbands and children. As described above, due to lack of sufficient time, they cannot give more attention to their families. Only 48 per cent of the respondents, found that they were able to fulfil the requirements of their family whereas only 42.67 per cent
thought that they are not fulfilling all the requirements due to variety of reasons. 30.67 per cent women sweepers told that they have the economic reasons i.e. lack of money and also the lack of time and no facilities available to them. Eight per cent women workers told that they do not have good working conditions, their work being dirty and consumes most of their time. In addition to that, they have to spend 4 to 5 hours at household chores. Hence they are not able to attend to their families in the way they would otherwise like to. 4 per cent women workers could not attend to their families properly due to certain social problems. The question was not found applicable on 9.33 per cent of the respondents.

**OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES:**

The heavy manual work performed by women, under the shocking working and living conditions, malnutrition, repeated pregnancies and poor quality of health services take a heavy toll on the health of the women. They also suffer from other occupational health hazards like postural problems, pain in the joints and other such complaints. Majority of the respondents, 88 per cent, have no specific
problem related to this occupation. Only 12 per cent women workers had, pain in joints, tiredness and postural problems. But there is definitely the absence of data and the lack of recognition of occupational health hazards in the unorganised sector of the country. The quality of health services is poor and the poorer is the accessibility of women to them. Maternity benefits are also not available to women in the unorganised sectors. The health conditions are very poor. People are afflicted with cough, cold and bronchitis in the winter and diarrhoea bouts and malaria in the summer and monsoon periods. It is under these constraints and conditions that the women acting as sweepers go out to their work as their income is crucial to the existence of their families.

PROBLEMS:

Now we would like to know about the problems which these sweepers have to face. Sweepers are at the lowest rung of the ladder in the urban economy. The majority of them i.e. 62.67 per cent told about no problems in this occupation. They told that if they have some problems with their employers either they themselves dismiss us or we on our own leave that particular house. We have no
problem in getting this job of sweeping. But 22.67 per cent workers had religious or caste-norms problems in the sense that, they are not allowed to take even drinking water with their own hands from the pots of their high caste employers only because of the fact that they hail from lower caste group of society. Sometimes they are dismissed if some of the high caste people likes to take this job. 9.33 per cent women sweeper had social problems i.e., they could not get job of maid servants and that they were treated to be inferiors. Those workers, who had migrated from other states had the added problem of language also. Only 5.33 per cent feel that they had economic problems. Because they had no written contract for their jobs, they are hired and fired at the will of the employer.

All the married women workers were found living with their husbands. Only 2 respondents were not living with their husbands- one because of conjugal violence and in the other case the "Gona" had not taken place.

ARRANGEMENT OF CHILDREN:

Majority of the respondents i.e. 70.67 per cent did not carry children along on work schedule and left them at
home. Only 12 per cent women sweepers took children along with them to their work places and 17.33 per cent workers either had no child or young ones who need not to attend them. The women workers who do not carry their children to their work places make variety of arrangements for them. There were no creche facilities available to these workers. Only 12 per cent women workers left their children with neighbours and 9.33 per cent with their relatives. Children of 49.33 per cent go to schools and take care of younger children after school. Female children of these workers do house-hold chores also after coming back from schools. Some respondents send their male child to school and they did not consider education very important for their daughters. Desai and Pillai found that illiteracy was three times higher among slum women than among men.

SOCIAL STATUS:

In the caste-based occupational system like India, the process of modernisation has to contend with certain unique factors. Important amongst these is the continued retention of women in traditional jobs. Sweepers form a low status service occupation and are as such subjected to 'cumulative inequalities'. The status of these low caste
women will continue to remain low unless they find jobs in other occupations. 80 per cent of these women told that they have no status in society because they were poor and untouchables. Only 20 per cent respondents told that if they do not work or stay away from work, civic amenities would be substantially affected. So they had a status in society even if it is considered to be low. Also the monopoly over a caste based occupation gives them an important bargaining position in their sphere of work.

CIRCUMSTANCES:

The respondents were asked to elaborate the circumstances which prompted them to work in this occupation. It was found that most of these women joined either because the income of the head of the family, who is usually a man, was insufficient for the basic necessities or because she was the sole bread earner in the family. 72 per cent joined this occupation due to economic circumstances. Being a caste-based occupation this does not demand any financial requirements and skills. This is the reason that most of the schedule caste women work in this occupation. This is also hereditary in the sense that
girls work with their mothers and they continue working even after their marriage. So they work unconsciously in this occupation. 16 per cent women sweepers joined this occupation due to social compulsions, like either because their mother and mother-in-law compelled them to work as sweepers or because it was basically their work on caste basis and does not demand more labour. Only 12 per cent women told that they are working because of being women. The male sweepers these days are moving out of their hereditary occupation to the extent that out of this sample, two respondents had husbands in the armed forces— one in the Army and the other in the Air Force. Even they were doing this job of sweeping.

CONJUGAL VIOLENCE:

The habits of drinking and wife beating were common amongst Balmiki caste. The earning by these women sweepers has not changed the traditional structure of male female relationship within the family. Women sweepers in Jammu also reported one of their major problem as alcoholism amongst the men of their community. One of the sweepers said, "They drink but it has such a bad effect on us that our hard earned income is snatched to support this habit."
Majority of workers, 50.67 per cent of the respondents, get beating from their husbands or fathers. But only 20 per cent get injured due to these beatings. All respondents who get beaten up had admitted that their husbands drink alcohol and then beat them. Beating was also observed by Malavika Karlekar and Sharmshakti reports. Now we would like to know the effects of such beating, 24 per cent respondents became obedient after beating. It can thus be described that when subjected to violence these workers were not in a position to resist.

Only 4 per cent women workers were found to become somewhat obstinate and they did not bow to the wishes of their husbands. Only 18 per cent sweepers do not mind this beating. They said that it was a matter of daily routine with their men folk. Some times the beating is done due to the husbands' extra marital interest. They are not in a position to resist or oppose. It is feared by them that if resistance is shown, their husband may desert them and their children. So they bear these exploits of the husbands. This problem of male drinking is the worst in scheduled caste workers.
HARASSMENT:

The women are more often subjected to rebuking, beating, cheating, threatening and sexual abuses. Beating, threatening with dire consequences and other types of physical torture of female workers, even in the presence of their male relations, is not uncommon among the brick-kilns workers. Different cases of sexual harassment and economic exploitation were found in brick kilns of Bihar and West Bengal. But in Haryana especially in Rohtak, the situation has not deteriorated to this extent. The nature of harassment was of varied types. 36 per cent reported no harassment. 30 per cent sweepers got physical harassment. Only 8 per cent women sweepers got sexually harassed. Their employers, in the absence of their wives, sexually harassed these female sweepers. 26 per cent workers were economically harassed because they were given less money for more work and got no paid leave or any other benefits. Their service can be terminated at any time and hence they have no job security. Women, in fact are the most exploited category whether in terms of wage, sexual harassment or otherwise. It is the struggle for survival which forces women to move in search of work either with
their families or in some cases on their own and they undergo enormous physical, emotional and psychological stress. 16

According to UNO if we count the time spent by women in household chores, it is nearly about forty per cent of the industrial community. 50 per cent of the works done by women were non-productive because they did not earn any money from these household works. Sweepers were at the low level and even after forty eight years of independence, their position has not improved.

LEISURE TIME ACTIVITY:

Now we would like to know about their leisure time. Normally, after working at home or jobs, they have no time to spare for leisure activities. Outings to cinema, distant market places and fairs were unknown except during the festival season in October and November. 49.33 per cent respondents go to see Cinema when they take a break from their work. 29.33 per cent of the respondents relax by gossiping at their door steps. 18.67 per cent of the respondents go to religious places. 2.67 per cent of the respondents reported to have no specific leisure time.
activity. It is very often the older ladies who go to the places of worship.

**WORK CULTURE:**

A woman follows the pattern of her mother's life and with the prevalent circumstances, none of them can aspire for anything better. Nearly all the girls go to work as sweepers. One respondent remarked "why should I waste time and money on sending my daughter to school. If she is put to work, then whenever she is married, she will be knowing something of our works as well and be able to light the stove." 17

In the present study, we found that 64 per cent of women sweepers admitted that their mother and their mother-in-laws were working as sweepers. Only 16 per cent respondents gave an answer in the negative and reported that their mothers or mothers-in-law are not working. 20 per cent respondents said that their mothers & mothers-in-laws were agricultural labourers. These women have adopted their occupation of sweeping on the caste lines. Now-a-days, these women sweepers are also working as maid servants but only a few are allowed to do the kitchen work.
Normally, the higher caste people give them the work as sweepers only. Now we would like to know these sweepers' ideas about their daughters. Majority of these sweepers, 60 per cent, expect their daughters to work. They should work before marriage and even after marriage. Only 22.67 per cent women sweepers do not expect their daughters to work as sweepers. These sweepers were those who were sending their daughters to schools, though most of them were still pessimistic about the use of education. Those respondents who wanted their daughters to work as sweepers said after getting education they will get big ideas which may lead to mal-adjustments with husbands or in laws and will thus be a cause of misery to them. The general attitude of these sweepers showed that since their mothers or mothers-in-law worked as sweepers, they were working as sweepers and that they would like their daughters to work as sweepers. Thus the work culture has hereditary influences. When asked if earnings by women should be a normal routine, the majority of respondents, 72 per cent told that women should earn as a normal routine and 28 per cent thought they should work only in the absence of their husbands. But in the community of sweepers, there is no choice for a woman with regards to working. Employers call
them Jamadarini. They clean latrines, throw away the
garbage, sweep the stairs and drive ways. Some sweepers
sweep the rooms also but never the kitchen.

This researcher visited various colonies of the
Rohtak city like Balmiki Basti, Subashnagar, Balmiki
Colony, Tilak Nagar, Para Mohalla, Garhi Mohalla, Ambedkar
Nagar, Mata Darwaja and Khokrokot to meet these sweepers.
Some sweepers said that since the system of toiletting has
become good, their work has become less bad as compared to
the times of dry toilets, which can now be easily cleaned.

"Were you ever reprimanded for small
mistakes/damages while working?" 82 percent women said if
mistake was minor then employers ignore that but if mistake
was significant then the employer scolded them and
threatened them to remove them from the job. Only 18 per
cent workers were reprimanded even for small mistakes and
their employers made monetary deductions from their wages.

Almost all sweepers, whose children were going to
schools, denied any government incentives like scholarships,
books, uniforms. They complained about the attitude of
school authorities to their children. They were not given
any books by the School. This indicates that the benefits of the various welfare schemes of government are not reaching these underprivileged sections of society. Those sweepers whose husbands, were working or were in a job, they were found living in a better way than their counter-parts. In the present study, we found that women sweepers donot bother about work. They just worked merrily. If they donot like to work at a particular place, they leave it and find some other house for work. When there occured any theft in the houses where they worked, they were usually suspected and some times, employer also handed them over to the police.

All of them are not trusted by the employers. Only 30 per cent reported that employers trusted them. The Brahmin or Bania caste do not allow them to enter their Kitchens. The other castes, have started allowing them to enter the Kitchens. They are still not allowed to touch the utensils. Untouchability was seen in the city but this was more because of the fact that they were not found to remain clean. Employers also give clothes, sweets or other things to the sweepers on the occasions of festivals, marriages and other ceremonies that take place in their houses. All
the sweepers working interact directly with the employer. No middleman was seen between sweepers and their employers. They do not keep any earnings with themselves. When they go to work after two or three days holiday, the employers generally scold them and also tell them to either be regular or else leave the job.

B. CONSTRUCTION WORKERS:

Family is a channel through which cultural and sub-cultural patterns of aggression are transmitted through the child rearing practice, by parents.

DIFFERENCE IN SOCIALIZATION:

To know the difference in socialization of these women vis-à-vis their brothers in their childhood and the younger years of life, they were also asked whether they had experienced any differentiation in their mothers' behaviour towards them vis-à-vis their brothers. Human child is the most vulnerable creature on this earth because he has to depend on others for his physical and social survival. The group which assumes the responsibility of his well-being is known as family. The child gets all the
asistance and help from the family members, who in turn, exercise complete control over the child. The elder members take it for granted that they have the right and obligation to knead the growing child into a particular shape. It is for this reason that the girl child is very vulnerable and is likely to be exploited most in the family. Family, as a group, has been defined as an intimate and loving group. Such a conception of the family relegates the exploitation of the female children in the family to the level of individuals pathology rather than a normal behaviour pattern. The situation is relatively more depressing in the lower class families who are struggling hard to make both ends meet. As the parents of lower segment of society find it difficult to satisfy the basic needs of the family members, they have to depend upon the labour of all the members to get the basic minimums. Out of 75 construction workers, 25.33 per cent workers reported no difference in the behaviour of their mothers towards them in their family orientation, 68 per cent of the respondents confirmed the differentiation, though on varied counts. 21.33 per cent respondents said that their mothers differentiate between them and their brothers on educational front, 5.33 per cent of the respondents found
difference on health grounds and 25.33 per cent found differentiation in food. 16 per cent enumerated differentiation in a variety of other aspects of life. 6.67 per cent were found out of the scope of this question. All those workers who confirmed of differentiation, said that boys (brothers) are given better treatment in the family. They are free to play, get good food, good clothes, and have to do no household chores. Those who talk of differentiation in imparting education to boys, deemed it fit for the girls to work at home. Their parents, who were in construction occupation reportedly justified this on the grounds that male members have to do heavy work and that girls are inferior to the boys. These workers rejoiced at the birth of a male child and ceremonised it with 'Thali Bajana'. Secondly they said that girls ultimately join their "in-laws" so what is the use for them to educate girls. They also think that if a boy gets good job then he will support their family. When looked at the health sector it was found that here also more attention was given to the male child. There was no responsibility of siblings or of household chores on males. These behavioural patterns arise out of an
awareness of the transitory nature of girl's stay with her parents. A girl would always be under the critical eyes of society at her own, as well as at her husband's house. She is subjected to all sorts of strictness to make her a star pupil who would pass all tests of ideal womanhood as society demands it and be a credit to her parents. It is believed that the spoiling and over indulgence may result in pity in the uncertain and unpredictable future which she has to face at the hands of in-laws. All of the construction workers were poor, and were therefore, very well conversant with all the sorrows arising from poverty. Majority of the respondents mentioned difference in education, food and difference in a lot of other things. These respondents who had confirmed of differentiation in the attitudes, also expressed their feelings with reference to the same.

25.33 per cent of them attributed their feelings to fate by saying "boys are lucky and it is their fate only which has given them better opportunities" and 20 per cent kept silent because of the fear of scolding. 2.67 per cent show some rebellious tendencies. They talked ill of their parents. 12.33 per cent had cited several reasons for
their feelings. 9.33 had accepted this behaviour and thus showed adaptable attitude. They adopt this behaviour in feelings being a submissive sex. They tell that girls are considered as a curse. 29.33 per cent found no difference. So they were out of the sample in feelings aspect.

It is observed that women workers are less mobile than their male counterparts due to their household duties, arising out of their traditionally ascribed roles as mothers and wives. Women have perceptibly less free time than men. Further it has been found that the per capita availability of food for consumption is comparatively low for the female population in India. This has led to higher degree of susceptibility specially among the poor families. In India, male babies are always preferred to the female ones. It is, in fact, the house wife who usually discriminates among her male and female children in the distribution of food and other items for subsistence of life. As a result, while the mortality rate of boys in infancy and childhood is internationally higher than that of girls, the neglect of girls in India has led to the reverse, in the age group of 0-4 years.21 In the present study also, it is found that mothers take more care in case
of male child than female. The quality and quantity of educational facilities made available to girls are poorer, than those of boys. This ends up in a vicious circle the low qualification being both the reason and the excuse for unequal position of women.

HOUSEHOLD RESPONSIBILITIES:

When these women were enquired whether or not, they are able to fulfil all the requirements of their husbands and children, they gave varied responses. This question was found not applicable to 9.33 per cent workers. 50.67 per cent, however, replied in the affirmative. These workers are working under the same employer and at the same site and hence they are together for most of the time. 26.67 per cent respondents admitted of feeling tired and hence could not take interest in food making, talking to the children and performing household chores properly. 13.33 per cent respondents replied that they cannot fulfil the desires of their husbands and children because they are poor, have less money and less time as they have to work for 16 hours a day. They get up at 5 O’Clock in the morning, cook food, fetch water, wash clothes, make tea etc. and thus spend nearly three hours on these activities.
After that they go to the site of work. In the evening they stop working at 6 O'Clock, come back and then make food, collect fire wood etc. These activities also take about 3 hours time. As they have no time, or money and since they are tired also, they are not able to fulfil all their responsibilities. These women who work as construction labourers are away from domestic environment, and have no facilities of creches etc. Their children are found roaming around at the site. The labour market is not neutral to men and women. It favours men against women. Gender in-qualities exist in almost all sectors. The division of labour is highly sex-based. In the construction work men do the skilled jobs of bricklaying while women mix mortar and carry headloads of earth and bricks.22

In the present study of women in the construction sector, they were not found doing skilled jobs. They are put on carrying of heavy loads and other unskilled jobs.

**OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES:**

These women workers were also asked to mention whether they have encountered with any disease because of
this occupation. 80.67 per cent women workers denied it. Only 19.33 per cent said that because of heavy work load, they feel physical stress and strain, numbness of hands and fingers, muscular pain etc. These workers who are living in outer areas or construction sites, have in them a feeling of isolation and rootlessness. The factors which are responsible for these diseases are heavy work loads, unsafe noise levels, exposure to dusts and chemicals, accident-prone working conditions of construction labour etc. These workers who feel pain in backbone, body and legs attribute the same to climbing up and down of the stairs with heavy loads all day long.

PROBLEMS:

After the diseases we enquired about the problems they faced in the day to day routine of this particular occupation. Majority of the respondents, 60 per cent, replied that they had no occupational problem. Only 40 per cent workers detailed of their problems. We have divided the problems under the headings of economic problem - that relate to insufficient wages, wage discrimination and, availability of work throughout the year; social
problems where-in, it was studied to know the impact of living in isolated area with no communication with other groups of society and religious problem vis-a-vis the caste norms. 8 per cent of the workers reported about economic problems, 12 per cent about social problems, 9.33 about religious problems and 10.67 had miscellaneous problems in mind. These workers belong to lower caste and middle caste groups and as such, are treated to be inferior by their employers. They can not speak to unknown persons because their employers do not approve of the same and may even remove them from the job because of it. As it is an informal sector, there is no security of job. Migrant labour from neighbouring states also face the problem of being treated as 'outsiders'. The local labourers make no informal relations with these workers.

ARRANGEMENT OF CHILDREN:

Enquires were also made from them about the type of arrangement made by them for their children when going out to work. 49.33 per cent of the respondents intimated that they do not carry their children to their work places. 18.66 per cent respondents were without children and hence out of scope of this question. Only 32 per cent respondents carry
their children with them. Actually the women workers in construction sector, who are living at the site, were not carrying children with them, they just leave them free to roam at site (see in appendix). No arrangements were made by their employers for looking after their children when mothers were at work. Not a single creche was found existing in the Rohtak city for taking care of the children of women working in urban informal sector.

On an analysis of the type of arrangements of children made by these workers, it was noticed that majority of the respondents 50.67 per cent, made no specific arrangements. They took them to site and let them roam around here and there. Only 24 per cent respondents who were not migrants, sent their children to schools. These children stay at home on holidays and play with their siblings. The workers who were living in partially constructed houses or in hutments on site, could not send their children to school being away from city and due to low income. They cannot provide them with, dresses, shoes, fees etc. for sending them to school. 13.33 per cent workers left the children with relatives and 12 per cent children stay with neighbours. The children indeed suffer from lack of maternal affections.
SOCIAL STATUS:

These women workers were asked "Does your job have social status"? Since the women in this sample came from very poor families and usually worked with extremely low wages, their general status in society was found to be very low. But within their given circumstances they had some recognition which society normally gives to its workers. Only 6.67 per cent of the respondents reported that they had some social status in their own circle. One of the major conclusions of the report on the status of women in India was that despite legal and constitutional provisions, Indian women had failed to improve their status because they have lost their relative position in the labour market, as a full time participant in wage work and as important contributors to their family income. The women in this study could hope for a slightly better status than other women. But status of these women as workers remains extremely low throughout their total tenure of employment. If women worked as family labour in their own houses in low status works, it did not matter. If she works as wage labourer then it is assumed that she belongs to a poor family and is living in deplorable conditions.
CIRCUMSTANCES:

After knowing their ideas about status, they were asked as to what are the circumstances that compel them for working in these occupations. Majority of the respondents (60 per cent) came to Rohtak city due to economic compulsions. Haryana state is a progressive state in comparison to other North-west states. Secondly Rohtak city being situated near Delhi, attracts labourers from different states. 28 per cent come in this occupation due to social circumstances since, they are unknown to the city life and, if they work in some other occupation, their husbands disapprove of the same. Because in construction activities, work is under the open sky, liberties taken are mostly verbal in the form of small jokes. Usually young women are the target of all the jokes. 24 This type of situation was also found in the present study. When they work inside the building, there is always a chance that some of the Mistry will try to take some physical liberties with the young women workers. So this is the reasons that male construction workers want that their wives work with them only. On every site we can discover such type of notoriety. But it is a part of the game and workers do not
pay much attention to these goings on. If the woman worker was unmarried or widow, they may find their life partners from within the male workers. 25 per cent women workers were working in this occupation because of gender inequalities being a women. But basically these women workers were essentially working due to poverty.

**CONJUGAL VIOLENCE:**

When I asked to narrate any occasion when their father / husband had beaten them, majority of the respondents, 42.67 per cent, denied any beating and 6.67 per cent respondents were out of scope of the question because these were either widows or divorcees. Only 50.67 per cent confirmed of beating by father/husbands and only 29.33 per cent women were injured as a result of such beatings. Their husbands beat them when they are drunk. Violence is also commonly used by the other powerful male members of the family. This violence takes the form of beating, torture and some times even killing. These women said that their husbands beat them when they are under the influence of liquor.

One of the major problems is that of alcoholism amongst the men of their community. Their priority was
total prohibition of liquor in the city. Beating was quite common amongst the respondents who were quite young. Now we would like to know the mental effects of such beating. Majority of respondents, 40 per cent were found to have become more obedient and 10.67 per cent were found to have become obstinate. There is always a difference between attitudes and actual behavioural patterns. Further we are aware of the fact that people have a tendency to forget the bad experiences particularly if such experiences were gained by them in their own families. It was also found that out of the sample of 75, only one female worker was found not staying with her husband because of his drinking habits and conjugal violence. He used to snatch money from her for his drinking.

HARASSMENT:

In short, the women construction workers suffer worst kind of exploitation. To a pointed query, "Are you harassed by contractor?" 33 per cent of them denied any harassment, where as 67 per cent of them confirmed of their harassment by the contractor. However they were found to suffer harassment of varied types.
24 per cent of the respondents confirmed of sexual harassment. Some times the mistrys also take some liberties. Contractors not only sexually assault these workers for their own sake but also use them as a service commodity for others. They do not speak about the abuse by these persons as they are afraid of losing their jobs. This sexual abuse has been found the main reason which deters these workers not to permit and send their unmarried daughters to work as construction workers. Those harassed sexually are some times beaten up by their husbands on this count. If they are found indulging in loose talks or gossips with other workers or the mistry, they are suspected by their husbands. One of the respondents told this researcher that it was their duty to please their contractor because he has been providing them with employment for years togethers.

LEISURE TIME ACTIVITY:

With the available limited time and money they do not have much choice of entertainment. Majority of the workers are illiterates. They do not read any thing. 42.66 per cent said that they manage to see a film occasionally. They occasionally go to religious places also, 22.66 per
cent workers told that they have no leisure time, 21.33 per cent women workers go to some neighbouring place to gossip. 13.33 per cent workers had their own radios or transisters. They hear it while working. The poorer the family, the more the amount of work the women have to handle. These women workers also dance and sing in groups.

WORK CULTURE:

Each respondents was asked whether her mother or mother-in-law ever worked for money. Those who replied in the affirmative were said to have had a family tradition of women’s work. 45.33 per cent said that their mothers or mothers-in-law were only housewives. They had never worked for money. 24 per cent women said that their mothers or mothers-in-law worked as agricultural labourers because they were living in village. These women have come to the city along with their husbands and doing jobs as construction workers. Only 12 per cent, who are living in city were working as maid servants. 18.67 per cent were working as sweepers. Construction work demands heavy physical labour, than other domestic works like sweeping, washing which are comparatively light works. Women work force participation in Haryana indicates that working women largely belong to
the lower strata of society. When asked about the possibility of their attitude to their daughter's working or her marriage, they revealed their confusion between the realities of life and their illusions. 37.33 per cent considered it fit for their daughters to work before marriage also. At least 40 per cent had realised the fact that they would have to work after marriage though they hoped that good marriage could save them. 42.67 per cent thought they will not be required to work after marriage. 17.33 per cent were out of the scope of this question. 45.33 per cent women workers wanted their daughters to get training for a particular job or skill. In contradiction to this, it was observed that when it comes to send a child to work, more girls are sent to work than boys. 27 No parents would send young unmarried girls to construction works if it could be avoided. Deviki herself is quite aware of these risks and is determined that she will never let her own daughters take up this work. 28 In the present study, the respondents had similar ideas. These workers want their young daughters to either work with them or do household chores in the absence of the mothers. If there was any difficulty to impart education, girls were stopped more readily than boys. But these workers definitely want
their children to do some better work.

It is quite pertinent to find that if some mistakes or damage occurs at the hands of the workers, are they punished? It was found that 82.67 per cent construction workers were not punished. Only 17.33 per cent were punished and their employers deduct the money from their wages. If they go somewhere during working time, the employer increased their working hours. No one gave them medical assistance of any kind. They get no maternity benefits also. The views of these workers about whether should the women work as general routine time, were found to be varied. Majority of workers i.e. 73.33 per cent thought that they should work to supplement the family income and 26.67 per cent thought that women should earn only in the absence of their husbands.

C. MAID SERVANTS:

Women do not prefer whole time domestic employment. Some of them, mostly from poor families, undertake, part-time domestic service to supplement their meagre income. They undertake petty jobs like washing of clothes and cleaning of utensils and are generally paid Rs. 10 to 15
for a month for a working time of one or two hours a day. In urban areas upper middle class and rich often employ domestic servants. A domestic servant is paid Rs. 30/- and Rs. 40/- per month in addition to boarding and lodging. If domestic servants have some place to live, the employer is not bothered about boarding and lodging. With the opening of other avenues, which provide increasing opportunity of employment elsewhere, domestic servants are becoming scarce in relation to demand.

The employment of a domestic worker (maid servant) is not entirely a new phenomenon limited to the aristocracy and gentry alone. It has been extended to the industrial and professional middle classes as well. In the mid of nineteenth century when middle class life styles became more elaborate, domestic workers were needed for the extra works involved. They have also become a status symbol of respectability. In India, employing a domestic worker mean that house wife is free from the burden of house work. It has also became a mark of status. To this growing demand of workers, has been a continuous supply also, mostly from the rural areas. Despairing for livelihood in country, they are driven to the town by hunger. They find jobs in
unorganised sector as rickshawpullers, vendors and several other manual works, their wives find job as maid servants. The work of maid servants falls outside the purview of the minimum wages Act.

Thus poverty and growing population have pressurized them to work in informal sector.

The women in the unorganized sectors are so vulnerable that they are exploited on the will and pressures of the employer. The employer shows no consideration for workers' needs. He employs them, whenever and as frequently as he needs them and dismisses them off when he no longer requires their services. Therefore, employment is irregular and uncertain for the workers. They may have to work sixteen hours a day during the peak season and sit idle for three months during the lean seasons.

DIFFERENCE IN SOCIALIZATION:

On being asked whether they found any difference in behaviour of their parents towards them and their brothers, their response was varied. Social structures, cultural norms and value system influence social expectations.
regarding the behaviour of both men and women, and determine a woman's role and her position in society to a great extent. The most important of these institutions are the systems of descent, marriage, family, kinship and religious traditions. The difference between male and female is first imposed by parents and thereafter by the society through the socialization process.

Majority of respondents (56 per cent) confirmed positively about the difference in behaviour, 40 per cent expressed no significant difference but they admitted that brothers definitely got more importance in family. This question was found not applicable to 4 percent of the respondents. Those respondents who had confirmed about differentiation, attributed various reasons for the same. 36 per cent respondents told that they found difference in educational facilities. 14.67 per cent found difference in the treatment by family in giving good food, clothes etc. to male members. Only 5.33 per cent found difference in the health care attitudes.

The ideology regarding gender roles is a complex set of rules and morals wherein the separation and the seclusion of women is centralized. The gender division of
labour in the households and the ideology, in general, interact with each other. The institution of family plays an important role in the Indian society. Women are not considered to be independent individuals. Within a family, in childhood, a girl depends on her father, later on her husband, and still later she depends on her son. Women do not appear to the outside observer as an individual but as somebody who is always conscious of her responsibilities towards her family. Inside the home, they have to take care of male relatives, when young for their brothers and when married for their husbands. When we enquired about their feelings, 36 per cent respondents told difference in educational facilities. This is again attributed to Gender ideology. By applying the gender ideology, it was noted that there is an unbalanced attitude towards the education of boys and girls. Education is considered to be less important for girls than for boys. The literacy rate of women is found to be 39.29 per cent and that of men 64.13 per cent, as per census report of 1991.

The general tendency is to provide more educational facilities to the male members. Male members get better treatment in the family i.e., food, clothes and health.
Mothers think the boys need more physical stamina. They get more time to play. The present study revealed that even though "Haryana's ambitious scheme of providing free education to the girls upto graduation level has shown high dividends, as today the State ranks fourth in the country in the enrolment of girls in higher education, yet the lower strata of society has not been benefitted from it. According to the report of union ministry of Human resources development 1994-95, Haryana had achieved enrolment of 42.6 per cent in higher education and lags behind the states of Kerala, Punjab and Delhi only. It was only in 1991-92 that the Government made free education for girls upto graduation level. As a welfare state, the government is also providing free uniform and stationary to the students belonging to the weaker sections of the society. But the respondents denied their children ever getting any books and stationery from the schools. Cloth for uniform is some times received by their children. This indicates that the benefits of the welfare schemes of the government are not reaching the lower segments of society.

It is pertinent to probe as to how these female
workers perceive the attitude of their mothers towards them. 45.33 of respondents expressed two types of feelings. 24 per cent were the silent suffering type because if they complained to their mothers they feared punishment and being a child, they could do nothing about it. 21.33 per cent blamed the destiny for it. These respondents also considered themselves inferior to the boys. Thus it is noticed that the parents do differentiate. The institution of marriage can be blamed for this as the girls quit the 'family of orientation' after their marriage. Parents think them as 'Paraya Dhan'. The important family matters are discussed with the boys only. Only 4 per cent women workers became rebellious but their rebellious tendency vanished with time. 6.67 per cent workers accepted this mode of behaviour as the wish of Almighty.

HOUSEHOLD RESPONSIBILITIES:

When they were asked the question whether they are able to fulfil all the requirements of their husbands and children. They replied variedly. All these women workers spend a large part of the day cleaning the houses of the employers and in other household chores. Besides this, half of these women spend even more than 5 hours per day on
their own domestic works. Due to this busy schedule, it becomes difficult for them to fulfil all desires of their husbands and children. These women get up early in the morning, around 4.00 O'Clock, then fetch water, prepare foods for the family and then leave for their productive work for 9 to 10 hours. Some others return to house in the noon and again go to work in afternoon if work place is not far off. It is only after their last meal is prepared, late at night, does their daily task come to an end. With this busy schedule, they cannot attend to their husband and children properly. The question was found not applicable on 18.67 per cent. 49.33 per cent were able to fulfil all the requirements. 14.67 per cent told that they cannot fulfil the requirements due to economic reasons. They have less income and limited time due to long working hours, absence from house and less wages. 9.33 per cent workers cited social reasons. Eight per cent cited the working condition as the reason of the negative response. They have no security of the job, no fixed income and no status in society. Thus they cannot meet the desires of the children.
OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES:

These respondents were asked to specify the occupational diseases, if any. Majority of workers (92 per cent) denied any such disease. Only 8 per cent of women workers complained to suffer from Asthma due to dust and others complained of chronic body-ache and frequent bouts of colds.

PROBLEMS:

They were further asked about other problems in their occupation. Majority of respondents i.e. 65.33 per cent, said that they had no problem. It is a simple occupation with no special demands. 8 per cent respondents were found facing social problem like language problem because they were Tamils and could not communicate effectively with the employer or same were of high caste group but being economically deprived they had to work in this occupation. Some had the religious problem arising out of caste norms. The women of lower caste group are treated as untouchables. People employ them to work for sweeping,
and cleaning or washing but if they belong to the scheduled caste, they cannot touch even their drinking water, cannot sit on their chairs and bed etc. This group constituted 17.33 per cent. 6.67 per cent workers complained about facing economic problems because the employers want to pay less money and extract more work out of them. If they were on leave for one or two days they were faced to do extra work because of holiday.

CHILDREN’S ARRANGEMENTS:

It is, indeed, desirable to know about the arrangement these women workers make for their children when they go out to earn livelihood. Thus they were questioned "what arrangements do you make for your children when you go out for work?" 17.33 per cent respondents were found to be out of the purview of this question. 14.67 per cent of the sampled lot take their kids along with them. But rest of the respondents reported having made different types of arrangements. Majority of respondents, had school going children. But only some of their children go to school. It was found that more male children go to school as compared to females, 13.33 per cent of the respondents left the children with their relatives, mostly with their grand
mothers. Those children who go to school, stay alone in the house after coming back from the school. One domestic worker in Delhi living in unauthorized Jhuggi, works in five houses. She goes to work at 6 AM and comes home in the noon, prepares food for family, after that, she again goes to work. She comes to her house at 9 PM. Her employers keeps an eye on her lest she should that steal some thing. She earns Rs. 450 per month. Children of 14.67 per cent workers stay with the neighbours. Actually, these children play on the streets and roam around here and there. If there is any problem, only then neighbours help them.

SOCIAL STATUS:

When we asked them about their social status, on the whole women were considered as inferior in status to men. These workers belong to lower strata of society. Majority of respondents i.e. 78.67 per cent think that they have no social status. 21.33 per cent workers feel that they have the status of workers. They should be counted as workers. It is felt that these workers urgently need recognition of their status as workers, legal protection for better wages, fair and strictly adhered terms of employment, social security benefits, provision of proper living.
quarters including low cost hostels for single woman which will remove them from their employers constant demand and supervision. Strictly enforced educational and recreation facilities for children to facilitate their general development and assure them the chance of seeking alternative employment.

CIRCUMSTANCES:

Now we would like to know the circumstances which promote the entry of women in these occupations. Many women in lower socio-economic group are victims of social injustice and have no independent status. Women are forced to take up mean jobs because only mean jobs are within their reach. Early marriage, having more children, illiteracy etc., are common to the poor women and majority of them are forced to undertake the manual jobs, as getting a skilled job may be difficult; in domestic sector which does not demand skilled worker, nor training attracts them. In the present study, majority of workers i.e. 69.3 per cent worked as maid servants due to economic reasons i.e., their husbands' or fathers' earnings were not enough to make both ends meet. So financial necessities compelled them to work as maid servants. 22.67 per cent had social
reasons to adopt this as their occupation. As all women in
the neighbourhood were doing this job hence they also took
this occupation. Secondly it is not a very heavy work.
They were able to do it easily. Only 8 per cent women
workers joined because of gender inequality and since they
were not having any skills or qualifications for finding a
better job. In the absence of male earner, the women are of
course, the bread earners. But if the income of male
members is low then women go far outside works. Clearly
poverty and childrens' hunger is the most important factor
determining the labour supply of servants by the
Kudumbis.\(^{35}\) Hunger of women and children strongly depend
on the behaviour of the earnings of men. Man can use his
earnings for personal expenses. Everywhere in India, most
of the men donot like to send their women to work out side.

CONJUGAL VIOLENCE:

The men, in the low caste groups, have the common
habit of consuming alcohol. They then are reported to beat
their wives and even snatch their hard earned wages. 56 per
cent of the women workers reported to get no beating. 29.33
per cent admitted about getting beating up and 22.67 per
cent got injured after beating. 6.67 got beating but
sustained no injuries due to this beating. These workers said that "Pieet deta Tab Hai Jab Pee Kar Aate Hain" (Beat them when drink Alcohol). Domestic workers in Hyderabad slums said that many of them are either deserted or widows due to alcoholism amongst their men. 36

Men drink but it has bad effect on women and children. Now we would like to know the effect of such beating. 20 per cent women workers became obedient as they donot want any family quarrels. 9.33 per cent become obstinate. These women said the liquor and poverty were a clearly linked equation.

All the married women workers under study who were questioned whether they lived with their husbands or not. 58.67 per cent women live with their husbands. Only 16 per cent women were not living with their husbands due to one reasons or the other. The question was not applicable on 25.33 per cent respondents. Among a lot of 16 per cent, 4 per cent workers were not living due to conjugal violence. Conjugal violence is reported usually when the husband is in drunk condition. One respondent told that her husband tortures her mentally. Only 9.33 per cent
women workers were living separately because of economic conditions.

HARASSMENT:

Sometimes women in addition to their exploitation with regards to wages, working hours etc are also physically assaulted and sexually harassed. This is more true in the case of construction workers and bidi workers in which the women are forced to yield otherwise they are threatened with the loss of a job. In a study of Bidi workers in Nipani, it is found that those pounding tobacco in godowns spent eighteen hours in state of virtual imprisonment under the absolute control of the boss. This provided them opportunities for sexual harrassment. We also found all types of harrassment in the present study. Majority of respondents, 50.66 per cent were not getting any harassment. Only 20 per cent respondents of maid servants occupation were physically harassed. They also complained about the lack of job security. Only 13.34 per cent women workers were economically harassed.

Only 16 per cent maid servants were sexually harrassed. Some of the workers mentioned sexual
harrassment in the families, where they work. All the time they tried to make themselves 'invisible' in the house so that they could carry out their work without being molested. Many of them live in constant fear of being sexually abused. If they protest they are liable to lose their employment. If these women feel more insecure in the house of some employer, before any thing could happen to them, they prefer leaving the job.

According to one study 38.80 per cent of domestic maids are exploited. This study has associated exploitation to staying with the employer. She found that if domestic women workers are away from home and stay with employer then the chances of their being exploited are high. When domestic workers stay with employer, exploitation is confirmed. They are available for work through out the day except the sleeping hours. Even sleeping hours were restricted.

LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES:

They were also asked "about their leisure time activities". The workers said that normally they have no leisure time. But when we specifically enquired if they
went to the movies then 36 per cent of respondents replied in the affirmative. The majority was illiterate and hence could not read newspapers etc. 13.33 per cent women workers, go to religious places. 21.33 per cent went to friends and relatives to gossip. They are able to go for these recreations only when they take a break of a day or two.

**WORK CULTURE:**

To know about the work culture in the family we asked the respondents "Do your mother/mother-in-law have worked for money at any time." Majority of the respondents i.e., 56 per cent said 'No'. It may be attributed to our agriculturist economy because these women work at farm and take care of animals. But with the passage of time these women have started working as sweepers, maid servants and construction workers and some of them have become rag-pickers. Only 24 per cent respondents were those who had mothers/mothers-in-law as maid servants. So we can say that only 24 per cent respondents get this work as hereditary. The rest have adopted this occupation. The picture of this will become clearer if we know about their aspirations about their daughters. "What do you expect
from your daughters about their occupation?" 21.33 per cent respondents were out of scope of this question as they had no daughter. However majority of women workers did not want their daughters to do this type of work. They could do some other good works. The domestic workers were willing to learn other kinds of work. Only 26.67 per cent want that their daughters should work to supplement the family income.

The maidservants take three or four holidays with pay in a month. They sometimes work one or two hours then take rest. If they take leave for some actual problem, the employers donot cut their wages. If however they avail more than three or four days leave then they cut their wages for those days. Majority of workers i.e. 61.33 per cent think that they should earn to supplement the family income. Only 38.67 per cent think that a woman should earn only in the absence of her husband. When asked the reasons of working, they told that they worked to supplement their family income as the income of the male member was not sufficient for survival.

Many of these women workers have no vote registrations and ration cards. There were no unions of
maid servants in Rohtak city. No one was member of any union. If some thing got lost in the employer's house, then they are the prime suspects. Majority of respondents, 70 per cent, were suspected and some times were even handed over to the police. When wrongly accused of theft, they usually left that household for good. If employer was sure of their guilt, then he dismisses them. They are allowed to clean utensils but they are not allowed to drink water from their pots or bottles. This was less on accounts of caste & more because of lack of their cleanliness. All the maid servants were allowed to go to kitchen and rooms but not in the place of Puja or Mandir. They were all invited to marriages in the houses of their employers. Employers also give some clothes and sweets to the them on such occasions. In case there is some marriage in the worker's households, then the employers give "Kanyadan" or some gift for the bride, as the case may be.

The children of employers do not play with the children of these workers because they were poor, dirty and belong to lower strata of society. This was also because of distances in their living places.
All the workers were not satisfied with their present job because of low wages and the associated insecurities. When these women workers go to do work after a break of three to four days then, they are scolded, threatened with removal from job and were even abused some times. However they calmly listen to all this. If their employer removes them, then they find some other employer. In the end, they were asked the question if they noticed any change in the people's behaviour towards them. To this query, they informed that in the old days when patron client relationship or Jajman relationships existed, it was rather better as they did not have to worry about survival. Entire household felt secure about its survival as long as the patron looked after them as clients. So the outlook on personal layalities, fully connected the individual at a lower level to the person higher in the rank. Now with the fading away of these relations, as described above, the inter-dependence of wife and husband has increased. In coping with poverty of the household the inter relations between men and women, husband and wife have become more important and crucial than in the old situation of patronage. In the present study, the women workers do not stay in the employers' houses. They work till 8 or 9
PM. They work on contract basis. No where the Jajman system was seen. They complete their work in one house and go to another house. In the overall picture, we find them living in hutments or small houses with dirty clothes, fetching water on their heads from nearby taps. By working all day long, they were not able to take care of their children. They were hand to mouth. The clothes which they wore, were usually given by the employers. Some workers who came from the far off places paid upto Rs. 4/- daily as fare and they could not go to home at lunch on this very count. They just take some tea or eatables from any of their employers. Three respondents told that their husbands were in good job and thus they considered their status to be high in comparison to their counterparts. These women also work because this has become a way of life for them. They are also working as they cannot sit idle at home when all the women of their community are working outside.
Notes and References:


6. Women's Access ability to Health the family planning, Indian Council of Medical Research, 1983.

7. Sharmshakti, 1988, A Report of National Commission of Self employed women and women in urban informal sector, Govt. of India.
8. 'Gona' Married at low age but the girl send to her in-laws house after attaining the age of Puberty.


19. 'Thali Bajana': When a Male Child take birth some plate rung with spoon.


29. Haryana District Gazeteer, 1970 'Rohtak' Haryana Gazeteer Organization Revenue Department, Chandigarh, India.


32. The Tribune, 1995, Haryana Scheme pays rich dividents, 2nd December.

33. Indian Express, 1994, September 8.


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