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# **SOCIAL ECONOMICS, POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT**

**Working Paper No. 23**

**A Report on Socioeconomic Attributes and  
Gender Inequality in Kondh-Dominated  
Villages: A Comparative Analysis of Tribals  
and Non-Tribals in the Phulbani District,  
Orissa, India**

**by**

**Clem Tisdell, Kartik Roy and Ananda Ghose**

**March 2002**



**THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND**

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Ananda Ghose<sup>‡</sup>**

**December 2004**

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<sup>\*</sup> We are grateful for some financial support from the Australian Research Council for this research. We think Professor G. C. Kar, Director, Nabakrushnar Choudhury Centre for Development Studies, Bhubaneswar, Orissa, for his assistance in helping with the organization of fieldwork and Ms Arati Nanda and her team for conducting the surveys in Orissa.

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WORKING PAPERS IN THE SERIES, *Social Economics, Policy and Development* are published by the Department of Economics, University of Queensland, 4072, Australia. They are designed to provide an initial outlet for papers resulting from research funded by the Australian Research Council in relation to the project 'Asset Poor Women in Development',

Chief Investigator: C.A. Tisdell and Partner Investigators: Associate Professor K.C. Roy and Associate Professor S. Harrison. However this series will also provide an outlet for papers on related topics. Views expressed in these working papers are those of their authors and not necessarily of any of the organisations associated with the Project. They should not be reproduced in whole or in part without the written permission of the Project Leader. It is planned to publish contributions to this series over the next few years.

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**A REPORT ON SOCIOECONOMIC ATTRIBUTES AND GENDER INEQUALITY IN  
KONDH-DOMINATED VILLAGES: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF TRIBALS  
AND NON-TRIBALS IN THE PHULBANI DISTRICT, ORISSA, INDIA**

*Clem Tisdell, Kartik Roy and Ananda Ghose*

***Abstract***

Reports on results of a survey, completed in 2000, of wives in three villages in the Phulbani district, Orissa, India. These villages are dominated by the Kondh scheduled tribe but some also contain members of the scheduled caste, called Dombs in Orissa. The article reports on the total responses and comparative responses of these groups to a structured questionnaire. The article provides background information for the villages surveyed, and reports information in relation to wives and their families about property rights, assets and incomes, economic conditions and survival strategies, aspects of credit, production and marketing, social dynamics and education. In addition, children's affairs, including the treatment and entitlements of female and male children, are considered as well as additional aspects of the socioeconomic status of wives.

# **A REPORT ON SOCIOECONOMIC ATTRIBUTES AND GENDER INEQUALITY IN KONDH-DOMINATED VILLAGES: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF TRIBALS AND NON-TRIBALS IN THE PHULBANI DISTRICT, ORISSA, INDIA**

## **Background**

A survey was undertaken in three rural settlements (villages) in 2000 in the Phulbani District in Orissa, India, of wives in 106 households to gather information about gender status, including entitlements of wives and of female children relative to male children using a structured questionnaire, the English version of which is given as Appendix B. Mrs Arati Nanda concluded the survey with the help of assistants by direct interview. Due to the fact that she, and some of her assistants, contracted malaria, a less extensive survey was completed than originally planned.

The Phulbani District, sometimes known as the Khandarmal District, is located about 200 kilometres due west of Bhubaneswar, capital of Orissa state. It is a plateau forested region and is relatively dry and hilly.

It is also a tribal dominated region. At the 1991 Census 51.5 percent of its population belonged to scheduled tribes. Also, 18.21 percent of its population belonged to scheduled castes. The literacy rate is low. In 1991, it was 37.23 percent and only 19.82 percent for females. The literacy rate for scheduled tribes was only 17.49 percent (compared to 34.51 percent for scheduled Hindu caste members) indicating that literacy is least high among members of scheduled tribes.

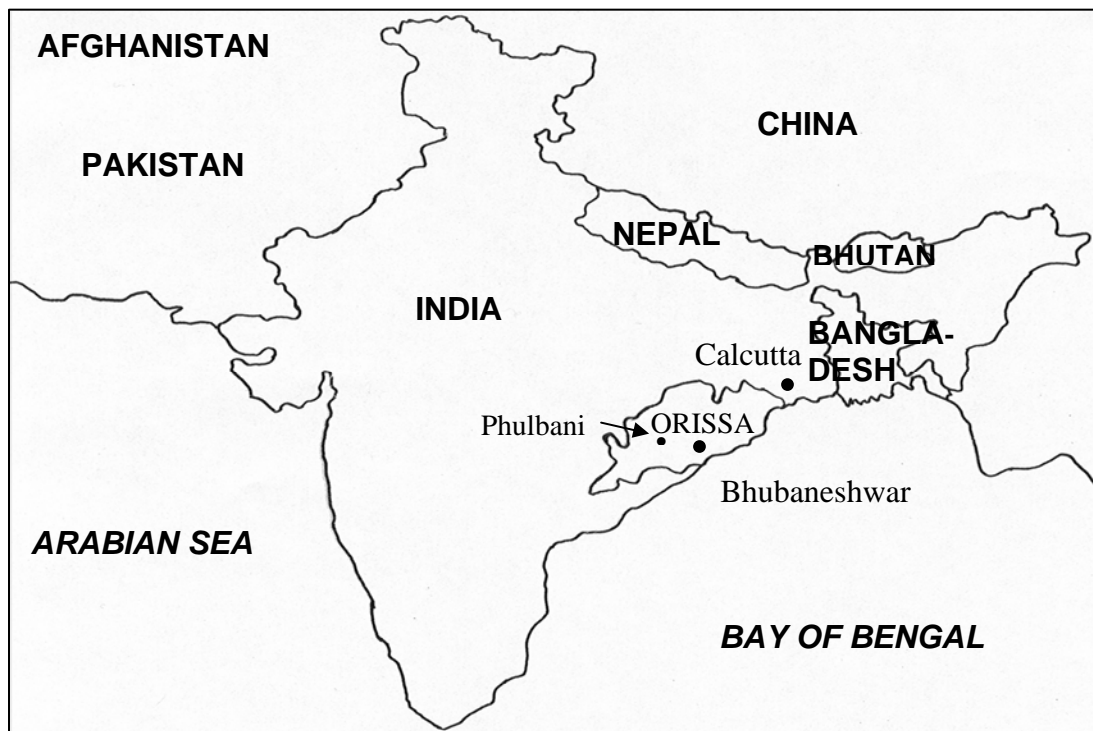
Main amenities are generally lacking in this district. For instance, only 38 percent of the villages are electrified compared to 68 percent in Orissa as a whole. Agriculture is the main occupation. Farms are small with 80 percent being less than 2 hectares in size. Incomes are low and the district is considered to be economically poor. The Kondhs also collect products from the forests and graze animals in the forests. Forest use adds significantly to their income.

Only Kondhs (a scheduled tribe) and scheduled Hindu caste members live in the rural hamlets sampled. No members of the general Hindu castes are present. The subgroup of Kondhs living in the study area are Desai Kondhs. Their mother tongue is Kui, a Dravidian language, but Kondhs in the study area also speak or understand Oriya.

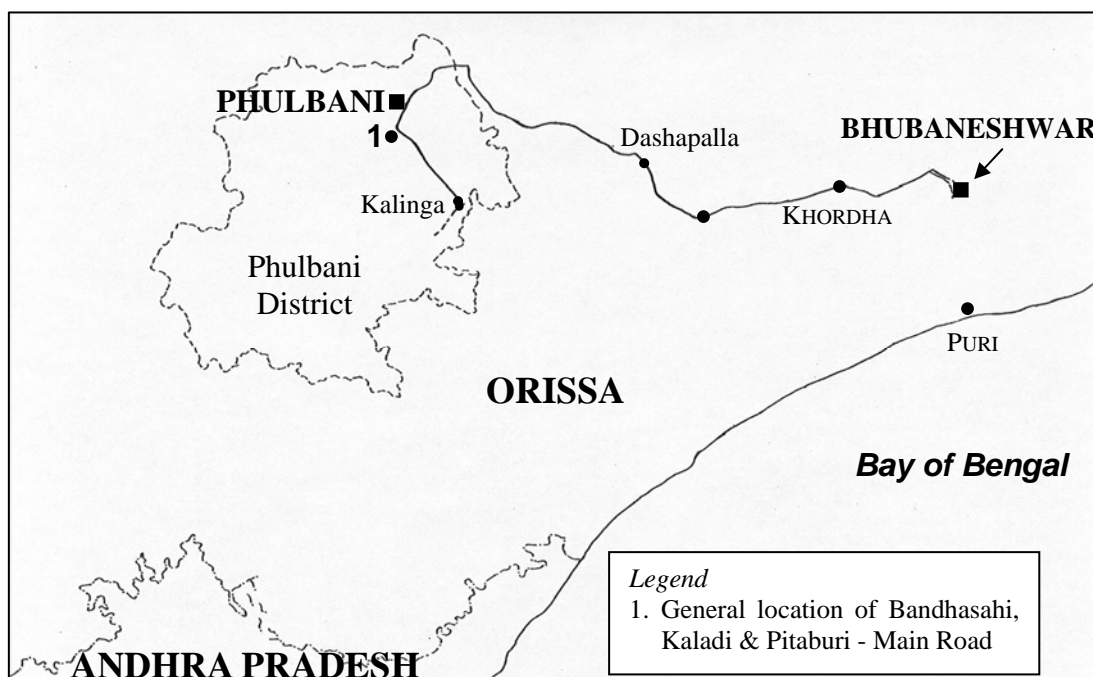
The scheduled caste members intermingled with the Kondhs are called Panos or Dombs. They are often servants to the Kondhs and are usually landless and poor. In the Kondh-dominated villages, the Dombs have a lower social status than the Kondhs. The origin of the Panos or Dombs is unclear. They too are highly dependent on non-timber forest products for their livelihood. In relation to female entitlements and status, considerable social convergence exists between the Kondhs and the Dombs as indicated by chi-square tests of our survey results.

The settlements surveyed are located not far west of the main road at a distance of about 5 kilometres south of Phulbani town (see Map 1). They are relatively close to one another and are Pitabari hamlet, Bandhasahi hamlet and Kaladi village. Interviews were with wives and a total of 106 wives from different households were interviewed. The distribution of

respondents between the settlements and according to whether they are Kondhs or belong to the scheduled caste, as reported by Arati Nanda, is set out in Table 1. One hamlet contained no members of the scheduled caste but the others did contain such members.



**Map 1** Generalised map of India showing the state of Orissa and Phulbani, the major town near which the surveys were conducted. The Afghanistan and Pakistan border is not shown.



**Map 2** Location of villages surveyed in Orissa, India.

**Table 1**  
**Distribution of responding wives by settlement and whether Kondh or a scheduled caste member**

Settlement	Kondh	Scheduled Caste	Total
Pitabari hamlet <sup>(a)</sup>	15	0	15
Bandhasahi hamlet <sup>(b)</sup>	10	10	20
Kaladi revenue village <sup>(c)</sup>	54	17	71
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>106</b>

Notes: (a) All households covered.

(b) All settlements on eastern side of hill covered. Those on the western side were not because they were considered too difficult to access because several interviewers contracted malaria.

(c) Three hamlets fully covered in this village.

## **2. An Outline of Coverage of the Questionnaire and Method of Presentation of Results**

The information requested in the questionnaire (included as Appendix A of this report) covered the following aspects.

1. Background information about the respondent and her family
2. Property rights
3. Assets and income
4. Economic conditions and survival strategy
5. Formal credit, production and marketing
6. Social dynamics
7. Education
8. Children's affairs – treatment of female and male children
9. Status of wives

Summary tables of results from the interviews of the 106 wives follow. Results are given for all respondents, and then subdivided according to whether respondents belong to the scheduled tribe, ST (are Kondhs in this case), or belong to the scheduled caste, SC, are Dombs or Panos in this case. The chi-squared test is used to consider whether a significant difference exists between the responses of the Kondhs and Dombs at the 5 percent level of significance. This was done initially by including non-responses as part of the possible differences, and then by considering only the set of responses. The chi-squared test gave the same results for each procedure, except in the case of question 65 concerning who in your family makes important decision about the future of your children. The difference only occurred because the number of non-responses to this question were higher amongst the Kondh.

## **RESULTS**

### **3. Self Assessment of Economic Status of Family Compared to Other Families in the Village**

Respondents were asked if they thought that their family in terms of its economic situation is in the top one-third, the middle one-third or the lower one-third. The results are reported in



Table 2. Results are biased towards the lower income categories reflecting the fact that most respondents considered their families to be poor generally. At the 5% level, no significant difference exists between the responses of the scheduled tribe and the scheduled caste. However, a slightly higher proportion of the Dombs placed their family in the lower income category. The results are consistent with both groups of respondents being poor on the whole, with some indication that Dombs are somewhat poorer than the Kondhs.

**Table 2**  
**Self-assessment by respondents of their family economic status in the village compared to other families (Family details from Part A Q10)**  
**Distribution of responses by frequency and relative frequency, in percent<sup>(a)</sup>**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Top one third	2 (4)	1 (2)	1 (4)	(-2)	Cri =(5.99)
Middle one third	49 (46)	39 (49)	10 (37)	(+12)	C=(1.67)
Lower one third	55 (52)	39 (49)	16 (59)	(-10)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

<sup>(a)</sup> Relative frequency in parentheses

#### **4. Property, Property Rights, Productive Activities and Expenditure**

The respondents were asked whether the wives owned any plot of land (question 1). All 106 respondents stated that the wives did not own any land. The result is presented in Table 3. It held for both Kondhs and the scheduled caste.

**Table 3**  
**Land owned by the wife (Responses to question 1)**

Response	Frequency	Relative frequency (%)
Yes	0	0
No	106	100
No answer	0	0
Total response	106	

Those wives who stated that they did not own any land were asked whether their family owned any land (question 2). Out of the 106 respondents, 80 or 75 percent stated that their family owned land and 26 stated that their family did not own any land. The result is given in Table 3.

**Table 4**  
**Comparing land ownership between scheduled caste and tribes.**  
**Land owned by family (Responses to question 2)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	80 (75)	77 (96)	3 (11)	(+85)	Cri -(3.84)
No	26 (25)	2 (4)	24 (89)	(-85)	P= (2.18 E-19)
No answer	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	(0)	Reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

From Table 4 it can be seen that nearly all Kondhs owned land (96%) but most members of this scheduled caste (89%) did not. The difference is significant statistically. Because ownership of land confers greater social and economic status in rural India, the status of the Kondhs in these local communities is higher than that of the Dombs.

Wives were asked whether they were a part-owner of the land if the family had land. The results are given in Table 5. Wives were more likely to believe that they had partial rights in land if they were Kondhs.

**Table 5**  
**Wife claims she has part ownership of family land (Responses to question 3)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	6 (7.5)	4 (5.3)	2 (40)	(-34.7)	Cri -(3.84)
No	74 (92.5)	71 (94.7)	3 (60)	(34.7)	C=(5.82)
Total response	80 (100)	75(100)	5 (100)		Reject

To the query whether only male members of the family had ownership rights (question 4), 93 of the respondents sated that males had ownership rights and 13 of the respondents did not answer. The results are summarised in Table 6. One can interpret the responses as implying that fundamental land ownership rights for land are held by males whether they are Kondhs or members of the scheduled caste.

**Table 6**  
**Fundamental land ownership right held by males (Responses to question 4)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	93 (88)	72 (91)	21 (78)	(+13)	Cri -(3.84)
No	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	(0)	P= (3.33)
No answer	13 (12)	7 (9)	6 (22)	(-13)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey investigated whether the 3 villages had any community forestry (question 5). In response all the villagers (both scheduled caste and tribe) stated that they did not have any community forestry. Nevertheless, all 106 stated that all the forests were owned by government (in response to question 6). All 106 respondents stated that they had customary rights to the forest (question 7). They also stated that they go the forests to collect forest products.

These respondents collected leaves, firewood, Sal seeds and leaves, tooth sticks, mahua flowers and seeds, fuel woods from the forests (response for question 9(a)). The same products were mentioned for question 9 (b). Tooth sticks and firewoods were sold for cash (in response to question 9(c)).

The survey queried whether the quantity of product they collect from forest in a week was much less than what they collected 5 years ago (question 10 (a)). 103 of the respondents agreed that the quantity collected is much less compared to what they collected 5 years ago. However, 3 of the respondents stated the quantity was not less compared to collection 5 years earlier. The result is presented in Table 7. There was no material difference in the response of Kondhs and that of members of the scheduled caste.

**Table 7**  
**Collection of forest produce by wives less than 5 years ago (Responses to question 10a)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	103 (97)	78 (62)	25 (7)	(+55)	Cri -(3.84)
No	3 (37)	1 (35)	2 (41)	(-6)	C= (2.75)
No answer	0 (0)	0 (3)	0 (52)	0	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey queried whether reduced collection of forest wood undermined women's influence in the family (question 10 b). One respondent stated that less collection of forest products did undermine her influence in the family, 103 of the respondents stated that less collection of forest products did not undermine their influence in the family. Two did not answer. The result is presented in Table 8. There was not a statistically significant difference at the 5 percent level between the responses of Kondhs and those of the Scheduled Caste.

**Table 8**  
**Influence of wife in the family lessened due to reduced collection of forest produce**  
**(Response to question 10b)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	1 (01)	1 (01)	0 (0)	(+1)	Cri -(5.99)
No	103 (97)	77 (98)	26 (96)	(-2)	C= (1.21)
No answer	2 (02)	1 (01)	1 (04)	(-3)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

Question 11 has two versions—The first version had 67 responses—This question is as follows— “Do you think your wife’s power and influence in the family would have improved if you had owned agricultural land—To which all 57 responded in negative—out of which 35 are Scheduled Tribe and Rest, that is 22 Scheduled Caste. The other version has two sections—which are question 11(a) and question 11(b).

Q 11(a) was “If the woman in the family owns agricultural land, can she work on it?” The result is presented in Table 8.1

**Table 8.1**  
**Wife’s right to work on land (Response to question 11a)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	41 (83)	38 (84)	3 (75)	(+9)	Cri -(3.84)
No	8 (17)	7 (16)	1 (25)	(-9)	C= (0.23)
Total response	49 (100)	45 (100)	4(100)		Do not reject

Q 11(b) was “If the woman in the family owns agricultural land, can she sell it?” The result is presented in Table 8.2.

**Table 8.2**  
**Wife’s right to sell land (Response to question 11b)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	27 (45)	26 (58)	1 (25)	(+33)	Cri -(3.84)
No	22 (55)	19 (42)	3 (75)	(-33)	C= (1.59)
Total response	49 (100)	45 (100)	4(100)		Do not reject

#### 4. Assets and Income

Question 12 investigates the ownership of assets by the Kondh and Domb families surveyed. The detailed list of assets owned is provided in the Appendix A.

The survey investigated whether women spent any of their income from employment on themselves (question 13). Forty five of the respondents stated that they did not spend any of their income on themselves. However, 47 of the respondents stated that they spend some of the income on themselves and 14 did not answer. The result is presented in Table 9. Kondh wives were less inclined to spend their income on themselves than those from the scheduled caste.

**Table 9**  
**Expenditure by wives from their own income on themselves (Responses to question 13)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	47 (44)	33 (42)	14 (52)	(-10)	Cri -(5.99)
No	45 (42)	40 (51)	5 (19) <sup>1</sup>	(+32)	C= (12.74)
No answer	14 (14)	6 (08)	8 (29)	(-21)	Rreject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey asked the village wives how they earn their money income (question 14). Ninety seven respondents stated various types of work, for example selling firewood, stone crushing, husband gets pension, husband works at press, working in their own fields and in the rice fields of others. Nine of the surveyed did not respond (their husbands are government employees).

Question 14 investigated how villagers earned their money income with possible response as follows:

- (1) By working in rice fields of others in planting and harvesting seasons (30, ST, 13 SC)
- (2) Making baskets and other products from Sal leaves and selling them in the market (47 ST, 8 SC)
- (3) Selling firewood (6 ST )
- (4) Others, including stone crushing (4 ST, 3 SC)

#### 5. Economic Conditions and Survival strategies

The villagers were asked whether they and their family earn enough money to provide two meals a day for each member of the family throughout the year (question 15). Of the respondents, 59 stated that they earn enough for two meals a day throughout the year. However, 47 of them stated that their income is insufficient for this purpose. The result is presented in Table 10. Although the inability of scheduled caste members to provide two meals per day throughout the year is relatively higher than for Kondhs, the difference is not statistically different at the 5 percent level.

**Table 10**  
**Income sufficient for two meals a days throughout the year (Responses to question 13)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	59 (56)	47 (59)	12 (44)	(+15)	Cri -(3.84)
No	47 (46)	32 (41)	15 (56)	(-15)	C= (1.84)
No answer	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	(-0)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

Those who stated that they do not have enough income to provide two meals a day throughout the year were asked whether they have to go without meals frequently (question 16). 56 out of the 106 respondents stated they do not have to go without meals and 24 did not answer, and 26 said yes. The result is presented in Table 11.

**Table 11**  
**For families unable to provide two meals a day throughout the year is it frequent? (Responses to question 16)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	26 (55)	21 (65)	5 (33.3)	(32.3)	Cri -(3.84)
No	21 (45)	11 (35)	10 (66.6)	(-31.6)	C= (4.31)
Total response	47 (100)	32 (100)	15 (100)		

The respondents were asked when the husband is given the first preference to consume available food having the first preference when the rest of the family was starving, could this be attributed to cultural practice rather than discrimination (question 17). 86 of the respondents stated 'no' and 7 did not respond. The result is presented in Table 11.

**Table 12**  
**Male members given preference for food when family is starving is part of the culture and not discrimination (Responses to question 17)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	13 (12)	13 (16)	0 (0)	(+16)	Cri -(5.99)
No	86 (81)	63 (80)	23 (85)	(-5)	C= (8.21)
No answer	7 (7)	3 (4)	4 (15)	(-11)	Reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey investigated what sort of economic survival strategies the villagers' adopted in case of need, for example, starvation, serious illness of a family member or a marriage ceremony. The most commonly stated strategies were:

- Pawn or sell some assets
- Borrow from the village money lenders at a very high monthly interest rate
- Borrow from relatives or neighbours
- Work extra hours.

The survey investigated whether the villagers remained in perpetual debt to the moneylenders (question 19). All 106 respondents stated that they were not in perpetual debt to moneylenders.

The survey queried what sort of rate of interest rate moneylenders charge per month for a loan of Rs 100 (question 20). 89 of the respondents stated that moneylenders charged 10 percent and 3 of them said 5. These are monthly rates of interest.

## 6. Formal Credit, Production and Marketing

The villagers were asked whether they borrowed from the bank. Six of the respondents stated that they did take a loan from the bank and 99 of the respondents stated that they did not. One did not answer. The result is presented in Table 13. While there is no statistically significant difference at the 5% level, no difference between the Kondhs and scheduled caste in taking bank loans, members of the scheduled castes actually have no bank loans. This could reflect their poor asset position, lack of land ownership and lower social status.

**Table 13**  
**Family borrows from bank**  
**(Responses to question 19)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	6 (6)	6 (8)	0 (0)	(+8)	Cri -(5.99)
No	99 (93)	73 (92)	26 (96)	(-4)	C= (5.00)
No answer	1 (1)	0 (0)	1 (4)	(-4)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

Those who did not borrow from the bank were asked the reasons for not borrowing (question 22). The main reasons stated by villagers are as follows:

- There is no way to repay and some of the villagers, therefore, have no interest in a loan
- Illiteracy is a major cause for not being able procure any loan
- Small loans are not viable according to the bank
- Do not have any assets to use as collateral

The survey asked, if the obstacles for borrowing were removed, would the respondents like to take loans to engage in production activities. Eighty four respondents stated they would be interested in borrowing from the bank for production activities and 17 of the respondents stated that they were not interested and 5 respondents did not answer. The results are given in Table 14.

**Table 14**  
**Wife would like to borrow from bank for productive purposes if current obstacles removed**  
**(Responses to question 23)**

Response	All	ST	SC	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	84 (79)	61 (78)	23 (85)	(-7)	Cri -(5.99)
No	17 (16)	13 (16)	4 (15)	(+1)	C= (1.90)
No answer	5 (05)	5 (06)	0 (0)	(+6)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The villagers were asked whether they knew of products that are demanded in the market, and whether they would be interested in producing or manufacturing (question 25). A majority, 96, of the respondents stated they knew of some products in market demand and they would be interested in producing those commodities, 1 did not know that, and 1 of the respondents did not answer. The result is presented in Table 15.

**Table 15**  
**Awareness of products in market demand that respondents would like to produce or manufacture**  
**(Responses to question 25)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	96 (91)	71 (90)	25 (92)	(-2)	Cri -(5.99)
No	1 (1)	0 (0)	1 (4)	(-4)	C= (3.92)
No answer	9 (8)	8 (10)	1 (4)	(+6)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey asked the respondents for some examples of such products. The examples included green vegetables, leaf plates, turmeric and turmeric powder.

The villagers were asked whether they needed assistance in arranging low interest loans, purchasing inputs, organizing production and selling their produce. The majority, 92, of the respondents stated that they needed such help but 24 did not need such help.

## 7. Social Dynamics

The survey queried whether all the active female members of the village or a few ever tried to combine in order to take a group approach to obtain loans, purchase inputs, organize



production, sell the produce and to solve other problems. (Question 28). Seventy of the respondents stated that they tried to form ‘Nari Sangh (Women’s society)’ or ‘Mahila Samiti’. Yet, 36 of the women stated that they did not form any women’s group. The results are presented in Table 16. Observe that at the 5 percent level, there is a significant difference between Kondh and Domb wives in their tendency to form groups. Domb wives are less likely to attempt to form active groups than Kondhs. This may partly indicate that Domb wives have less social independence than Kondh wives. It may also be indicative of the lower status of SC members in these local communities.

**Table 16**  
**Attempts by females to form active groups**  
**(Responses to question 28)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	70 (66)	60 (76)	10 (37)	(+39)	Cri -(3.84)
No	36 (34)	19 (24)	17 (63)	(-39)	C= (13.58)
No answer	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	(0)	Reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The 36 respondents who stated they did not form any group, were asked why they did not do so (question 29). All of the 36 of respondents stated that lack of leadership was the main reason for not being able to form such group. 70 of the respondents did not answer.

The survey queried for which activities, the permission of the family head was required (question 30). All 106 respondents agreed that permission was required for all the activities mentioned in the questionnaire. The reasons agreed to were:

- In all important activities, support of the family is essential as all family members cooperate in such activities.
- The head of the family remains the chief decision-maker (all respondents agreed with this statement).

The survey queried what sort of outdoor activities required the head’s permission (question 31). All 106 of the respondents agreed that activity (a) and activity (b) stated in the questionnaire required permission. Activities for which male permission is required include normal family chores, such as gathering forest produce, catching fish and fetching water. Going to the market for selling family’s produce, buying goods and recreation require the family head’s permission as well.

Since permission of the male elder was required for almost all outdoor activities, the survey queried whether the respondents felt that restriction imposed on their freedom of movement and making of decisions constituted a gender restriction (question 32). All of the 106 respondents stated that they did not feel it was a gender restriction.

Respondents who did not feel a gender restriction were asked why with three possibilities indicated as follows:

- (a) My empowerment contributes to total family's empowerment, hence total family consent and support are necessary.
- (b) Requirement to obtain consent of the head or elders is a part of the traditional culture and custom
- (c) It is not gender restriction, as it is done out of affection and concern for welfare.

All respondents (106) agreed with (a) and (b) and 104 agreed with (c). Thus culture or custom plays a dominant role in gender restriction in these communities.

The survey queried whether the family head was a male person (question 34). Only in two households was the family head not a male person, and in these cases the family head was a widow. The results are given in Table 17.

**Table 17**  
**Male is family head**  
**(Responses of wives to question 34)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	104(98)	78 (98)	26 (96)	(+2)	Cri -(3.84)
No	2 (2)	1 (2)	1 (4)	(-2)	C= (0.64)
No answer	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	(0)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The responding wives were asked whether they felt that those restrictions on their freedom of action should be removed (question 35). Eleven of the respondents felt the restrictions should be removed, 94 of the respondents did not want the restrictions to be removed and one did not answer. The results are given in Table 18. Thus most wives seem satisfied with current gender inequalities. Attitudes were not significantly different between Kondhs and members of the scheduled caste. Strong acculturation is present.

**Table 18**  
**Restrictions on freedom of movement of wives should be removed.**  
**(Responses of wives to question 35)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	11 (10)	8 (10)	3 (11)	(_-1)	Cri -(5.99)
No	94 (89)	70 (89)	24 (89)	(0)	C= (0.36)
No answer	1 (1)	1 (1)	0 (0)	(+1)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

## 8. Education

### **Educational attainment of the villagers (Responses to question 36):**

Pitabari (ST) (14 have no education 1 has got education up to class 5)

Bandhasahi (ST)(6 have no education, 1 studied up to class 5, 1 class 2, 1 passed HS (class12)

Kaladi (54 ST) list is given in Table 19.

**Table 19**  
**Years of education of Kondh wives in Kaladi**

Years of Education	Frequency
Nil	40
2	1
3	3
4	2
5	1
7	3
8	2
10	1
No answer	1

In total out of 79 Scheduled tribe wives 60 did not have any education—the remaining 19 had education varying from class 1 to class 12

Out of the 60 scheduled tribe wives with no education, 52 mentioned poverty and cost of education as the major contributors. In addition, 6 of them mentioned girls spend time on household chores to help the family and they are going to get married anyway, therefore education was not important

Education of Scheduled Caste wives interviewed in Bandhasahi and Kaladi:-

Bandhasahi (Scheduled Castes) (6 have no education, 2 studied up to class 5, 1 class 2, 1 class 8)

Kaladi (Scheduled Caste)-- (11 have no education, 3 studied up to class 5, 1 class 3, 1 class 8, 1 class 11)

Out of the 27 scheduled caste wives surveyed 17 had no education, the rest had education varying completion from class 1 to 11.

Therefore, 76% of Kondh wives interviewed had not formal education as did 56% of scheduled caste wives. Therefore, the majority of interviewed wives, whether Kondhs or Doms, had no education. Even by Indian standards, this group had little education.

In response to the question, “if no formal education why not?”, 6 gave no answer. 11 mentioned as the main reasons--girls spend time on household chores to help the family and they are going to get married anyway, therefore education is not important. One mentioned poverty as a reason.

The survey asked wives whether they felt that community education of adult members of families would facilitate the process of removal of restrictions and taboos affecting females

and help women in gaining employment (question 38). Although 83 of the respondents agreed that adult and community education would help to remove taboos and help women get employment, 23 of the respondents did not agree to this point of view. The results are presented in Table 19.

**Table 20**  
**Community education would help to remove restrictions and taboos on females and help women gain employment**  
**(Responses to question 38)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	83 (78)	64 (81)	19 (70)	(+11)	Cri -(3.84)
No	23 (22)	15 (19)	8 (30)	(-11)	C= (1.34)
No answer	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	(0)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey enquired whether a comprehensive education scheme containing formal, community and skill-based education would be necessary for empowerment (question 39). All 106 respondents agreed that a community and skill-based education would be necessary for empowerment. However, all respondents excluded formal education from the comprehensive education scheme

The survey enquired whether female instructors would be necessary to implement the comprehensive education scheme (question 40). All 106 respondents stated that female instructors would be necessary.

The survey investigated whether respondents were willing to participate in the empowerment process through a total empowerment package consisting of comprehensive education, production organization and credit and marketing (question 41). All, except 8, of the respondents stated that they were interested to participate in the empowerment process involving a process of comprehensive education and improvement of skills in organisation of production and in relation to credit and marketing. The results are given in Table 20.

**Table 20**  
**Wife would participate in the empowerment processes described in question 41.**  
**Responses**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	98 (92)	72 (91)	26 (96)	(-5)	Cri -(3.84)
No	8 (8)	7 (9)	1 (4)	(+5)	C= (0.766)
No answer	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	(0)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey asked villagers about their perception of whether the development of community institutions helps develop group action by females and facilitates the guided participatory system of development process (question 42). A total of 98 of the respondents stated development of community institution would facilitate the guided participatory system, 7 did not agree that and 1 did not answer. The results are presented in Table 21.

**Table 21**  
**Community institutions assist in group action of females**  
**(Responses to question 42)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	98 (92)	71(90)	27 (100)	(-10)	Cri -(5.99)
No	7 (7)	7 (9)	0 (0)	(+9)	C= (2.95)
No answer	1 (1)	1 (1)	0 (0)	(+1)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The respondents were asked whether they had a village panchayat (question 43). All 106 respondents stated that they had a village panchayat. All 106 respondents stated that they had female representatives in the panchayat (question 44). Consequently, question 45 was irrelevant.

The respondents were asked whether they were involved in the family's decision making process (question 46). Except for 1, all 105 respondents stated that they were involved in family decision making.

## 9. Children's Affairs and Gender

The following information is summarised in Tables 22 and 23.

- (a) Distribution of family size in terms of number of children of the wives interviewed.
- (b) The sexes of the total number of children overall – that is the number of male and female children in total for all groups and for ST and SC separately.

**Table 22**  
**Distribution of family size in terms of number of children of the wives interviewed for Scheduled Tribe (Kondhs)**

Number of Children	Frequency
Nil	17
1	16
2	21
3	12
4	7
5	5
6	1
Total <sup>(a)</sup>	79

<sup>(a)</sup> In total there are 153 children out of which 84 are boys and 69 are girls

**Table 23**  
**Distribution of family size in terms of number of children of the wives interviewed for Scheduled Caste**

Number of Children	Frequency
Nil	5
1	5
2	7
3	6
4	3
Total <sup>(a)</sup>	49

<sup>(a)</sup> In total there are 49 children out of which 27 are boys and 22 are girls

Observe that male-female ratio for children for both Kondhs and Dombs is well in excess of unity. Such high ratios if male and female children receive equal treatment. The most frequent number of children is 2.

The respondents were asked whether they would like more children (question 49). **[Note: All questions are renumbered serially for the questionnaire for Parts B and C]** Eighty of the respondents stated they did not want any more but 5 of the respondents wanted 1 more and 12 of the respondents wanted 2 more. Nine did not answer. The results are given in Table 24.

**Table 24**  
**Number of additional children wives would like**  
**(Responses to question 49)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
0	80 (75)	59 (75)	21 (77)	(-2)	Cri -(7.81)
1	5 (5)	4(5 )	1(4)	(-1)	
2	12 (12)	7 (9)	5 (19)	(10)	C= (4.83)
No answer	9 (8)	9 (11)	0 (0)	(-7)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

Wives were asked how many children they considered best for their family (question 50). The response of the villagers are presented in Table 25. Virtually all respondents did not want more than three children. Two was the most frequent choice. Possibly Kondhs had a preference for a slightly greater number of children than the Dombs. The average number of Kondh children per family was 1.94 compared to 1.88 for the schedule caste; a negligible difference.

**Table 25**  
**Ideal number of children according to SC & ST wives**  
**(Responses to question 50)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
2	49 (46)	35 (44)	14 (51)	(-7)	
3	8 (8)	3 (4)	5 (19)	(-15)	Cri -(9.48)
2-3	36 (34)	31(39)	5(19)	(+20)	
3-4	7 (7)	4 (5)	3 (11)	(-6)	C= (11.73)
No answer	6 (5)	6 (8)	0 (0)	(8)	Rreject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

Wives were asked their reason for their chosen ideal number of children (question 51). All respondents, irrespective of family size, stated that a small family is easily manageable in terms of care, education and food and clothing.

The survey investigated whether wives prefer more sons than daughters, more daughters than sons or an equal number of sons and daughters (question 52). Thirty-eight of the respondents stated that they prefer more sons, as the daughter will eventually get married and go away. However, 66 of the respondents preferred an equal number of sons and daughters as they view them equally. The result is presented in Table 26. There was not a significant difference between the responses of the Kondhs and the Dombs.

**Table 26**  
**Preference for sons or daughters in family composition for SC & ST wives**  
**(Responses to question 52)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
More sons preferred	38 (36)	29 (37)	9 (33)	(+4)	
More daughters preferred	1 (1)	1 (1)	0 (0)	(+1)	Cri -(7.81)
Equal number of sons or daughters preferred	66 (62)	48(61)	18(67)	(-6)	
No answer	6 (5)	1 (1)	0 (0)	(+1)	C=(0.86)
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		Do not reject

The survey investigated whether the school-age daughters went to school less frequently compared to school-age sons (question 53). The response is given in Table 27. This occurred in relatively few cases.

**Table 27**  
**School age daughters go to school less frequently than sons**  
**(Responses to question 53)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	4 (4)	2(3)	2(7)	(-4)	Cri=(5.99)
No	40 (38)	34 (43)	6 (23)	(-20)	C= (4.45)
No answer	62 (58)	43 (54)	19 (70)	(+24)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The interviewers enquired whether the respondents sometimes kept their school-age daughters home to help with family duties. Nine of the respondents stated that they sometimes kept their school age daughters to help with family duties. However, 41 of the respondents said they did not keep school-age daughter to help with family chores and 56 of the respondents did not answer (question 54). The result is given in Table 28. The response rate is relatively low. However, the occurrence of this practice appears to be more common for scheduled caste members than for the Kondhs.

**Table 28**  
**Daughters sometimes kept at home to help with family chores—SC &ST**  
**(Responses to question 54)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Differenc e in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	9 (8)	3(4)	6(23)	(-19)	Cri=(5.99)
No	41 (39)	31 (39)	10 (37)	(+2)	C= (9.07)
No answer	56 (53)	45 (57)	11 (40)	(+17)	Reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey investigated whether sometimes a school-going son was kept at home to help with family chores (question 55). Thirteen of the respondents stated they sometimes kept their school-going son to help with family duties, 32 of the respondents did not stop their sons from going to school and 61 did not answer. The results are presented in Table 27. Once again the response rate is relatively low.



**Table 29**  
**Sons sometimes kept at home to help with family chores—SC&ST**  
**(Responses to question 55)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	13 (12)	9(11)	4(15)	(-4)	Cri=(5.99)
No	32 (30)	25 (32)	7 (26)	(+6)	C= (0.42)
No answer	61 (58)	45 (57)	16 (59)	(-2)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey asked the respondents whether the children help with family chores or work (question 56). Thirty of the respondents stated that children help with family work, however, 29 of the respondents said children did not help with family work and 47 of the respondents did not answer. The results are presented in Table 30.

**Table 30**  
**Children help with family work**  
**(Responses to question 56)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	30 (28)	16(20)	14(52)	(-32)	Cri=(5.99)
No	29 (27)	25 (32)	4 (15)	(+17)	C= (10.17)
No answer	47 (45)	38 (48)	9 (33)	(+15)	Reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The low response rates shown in Tables 27-30 may indicate that wives are very sensitive about commenting on work required of their children. Their responses may downplay the labour contribution of the children. Some Western economists see the use of child labour as an important contributor to rural income and a motive for larger rural families. However, this is not so in this case.

The survey asked wives whether they were planning to give their (a) sons more education than daughters (b) daughters more education than sons (c) equal number of years for both (Question 57). The result is presented in Table 31. From this table it can be seen that if preference is given, it is more likely to be for the education of the son. A statistically significant difference did not occur between the responses of the Kondhs and the Dombs.

**Table 31**  
**Education plan for children according to their gender**  
**(Responses to question 57)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
More education to son	19 (18)	16 (20)	3 (11)	(+9)	
More education to daughter	2 (2)	2(3)	0(0)	(+3)	Cri=(7.81)
Equal education to son and daughter	56 (53)	37 (47)	19 (70)	(-23)	C= (4.76)
No answer	29 (27)	24 (30)	5 (19)	(+11)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey investigated whether the respondents considered education for their children to be (a) very important (b) important (c) moderately important or (d) not important. (Question 58). The results are presented in Table 30. Most answered this question, and all who did, believed education to be important or very important for the future of their children.

**Table 32**  
**Degree of importance of education for children**  
**(Responses to question 58)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Very important	67 (63)	50 (63)	17 (63)	(0)	
Important	33 (31)	23 (29)	10 (37)	(+8)	
Moderately important	0 (0)	0(0)	0(0)	(0)	Cri=(3.84)
Not important	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	(0)	C= (0.27)
No answer	6 (6)	6 (8)	0 (0)	(-8)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey queried when food was scarce whether preference is given in its allocation to children by gender, or whether they were treated equally (question 59). The results are presented in the following Table 33. On the whole, it seems that daughters and sons have equal access to food, but in one family male preference was shown. There is no significant difference between the practice of the Kondhs and Doms.

**Table 33**  
**Preference in allocating food to children according to gender in times of scarcity**  
**(Responses to question 59)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Preference to sons during food shortage	1 (1)	1 (1)	0 (0)	(+1)	
Preference to daughters during food shortage	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	(0)	Cri=(3.84)
Sons and daughters treated equally	84 (79)	59 (75)	25 (93)	(-18)	C= (0.026)
No answer	21 (20)	19 (24)	2 (7)	(+17)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey asked if there is gender preference in giving access of children to medical attention according to their gender. The results are presented in Table 34. No such discrimination is evident.

**Table 34**  
**Gender preference in access to medical treatment of children—SC & ST**  
**(Responses to question 60)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Preference to sons for medical treatment	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	(0)	
Preference to daughters for medical treatment	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	(0)	Cri=(3.84)
Sons and daughters treated equally	80 (75)	60 (76)	20 (74)	(-2)	C= (0.038)
No answer	26 (25)	19 (24)	7 (26)	(+2)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

Respondents were asked what was an ideal age for marriage of their daughters (question 61). All 104 respondents stated that the ideal age for marriage of their daughters is 18-20 years.

The survey investigated whether later marriage of daughters would create any problems (question 62). Twelve of the respondents stated later marriage did not create a problem, as there was no stigma attached to a later marriage. If the girls earned, they could stay at home or get married when a suitable match was found. However, 94 of the respondents stated that

late marriage for daughters is a problem as there is social stigma attached to it. The results are presented in Table 35.

**Table 35**  
**Late marriage of daughters creates a problem.**  
**(Responses to question 62)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	94 (89)	(a)	(a)	(a)	Cri=(3.84)
No	12 (11)	(a)	(a)	(a)	C= (1.02)
No answer	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	(0)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

(a) To be rechecked.

The survey asked respondents what is their ideal age for marriage of their sons (question 61). Most of the respondents stated that ideal age for marriage of a son is 25 years, 1 that is 22 years and 3 stated is 30 years.

The survey investigated whether later marriage of sons would create any problems (question 62). All 106 of the respondents stated that later marriage of sons did not create any problems. So it seems that 'problem' mostly only occurs in relation to daughter. A significant gender difference exists.

The survey investigated who was the important decision-maker in the family about the future of their children (question 65). Four of the respondents stated that husband made the decisions, one said the wife and 80 of the respondents stated that decisions were made jointly (by both husband and wife) and 11 did not answer. Only one respondent said she made the decisions and this was because she was a widow. The results are presented in Table 36. These decisions are mostly made jointly but if any bias exists it tends to be in favour of the husband. When no responses are excluded, there is no significant statistical difference between the responses of the Kondhs and the Dombs at the 5% level. However, if 'no' responses are included, a statically significant statistical difference occurs.

**Table 36**  
**Important family decisions about future of children**  
**(Responses to question 65)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Decision made by husband	4 (4)	4 (5)	0 (0)	(+4)	
Decision made by wife	1 (1)	0 (0)	1 (4)	(-4)	Cri=(7.84)
Joint decision	90 (85)	64 (81)	26 (96)	(-15)	C= (8.60)
No response	11 (14)	11 (19)	0 (0)	(+15)	Reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

Q66 investigated whether villagers mostly rely on food they grow or collect to feed their family including children. A high proportion of families rely on subsistence food as their main food source as shown in Table 37.

**Table 37**  
**Do you mostly rely on food you grow or collect to feed your family?**  
**(Responses to question 66)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	44 (41.5)	34 (43)	10 (37)	(+6)	Cri=(3.84)
No	62 (58.5)	45(57)	17 (53)	(-6)	C= (0.29)
No answer	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	(0)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey asked wives what proportions of the food eaten by their children resulted from the work of their mother and their father (question 67). The results are given in Table 38.

The modal contribution for wives in this total sample is 30 percent. However, it is higher for scheduled caste wives than for Kondh wives being 50 percent and 30 percent respectively. A statistically significant difference exists at the 5% level. Scheduled caste wives make a major contribution to the income of their families in this case

**Table 38**  
**Percentage of children's food supplied by mother and by father respectively**  
**(Responses to question 67)**

Percentage of Children's food supplied by mother and father respectively	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
(0,100)	23 (22)	16 (20)	7 (26)	(-6)	
(10,90)	2 (2)	1 (2)	1 (4)	(-2)	Cri=(14.06)
(20,80)	15 (14)	13 (16)	2 (7)	(+9)	
(25,75)	1 (1)	1 (2)	0 (0)	(+2)	C=(17.92)
(30,70)	29 (27)	24 (30)	5 (18)	(+12)	
(40,60)	8 (8)	5 (6)	3 (12)	(-6)	Reject
(50,50)	12 (11)	4 (5)	8 (29)	(-24)	
No Answer	16 (15)	15 (19)	1 (4)	(+15)	
Total Response	106				

The survey asked respondents if they had a home garden (question 66). Nearly all respondents stated that they had a home garden but 3 of the respondents stated they had no home garden. They belonged to the scheduled caste.

The survey queried how important the home garden is as a source of food for the family (question 68). The response is given in Table 39. Its relative importance was greater in the

case of the scheduled tribe than the scheduled caste and the difference is statistically significant.

**Table 39**  
**The importance of the home garden as a source of food for the family**  
**(Responses to part of question 68)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Very important	36 (34)	34 (43)	2 (7)	(+36)	
Important	67 (63)	45 (57)	22 (81)	(-24)	Cri=(5.99)
Moderately important	0 (0)	0(0)	0(0)	(0)	C=(18.21)
Not important	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	(0)	Reject
No answer <sup>(a)</sup>	3 (3)	0 (0)	3 (12)	(-12)	
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

<sup>(a)</sup> Corresponds to those without a home garden.

The survey investigated whether providing food for the children was becoming more difficult, less so or remained equally difficult (question 69) The result is given in Table 40.

Most respondents reported that it was less difficult or just as difficult compared to 5-10 years previously to provide food for their children. The likelihood of a Kondh wife reporting that it was less difficult was significantly higher than for a scheduled caste wife.

**Table 40**  
**Degree of difficulty in providing food for children**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
More difficult	22 (21)	17 (22)	5 (18)	(+4)	
Equally difficult	28 (26)	12 (15)	16 (60)	(-45)	Cri=(7.81)
Less difficult <sup>(a)</sup>	40 (38)	35(44)	5(18)	(+26)	C=(21.53)
No answer	16 (15)	15 (19)	1 (4)	(+15)	Reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

<sup>(a)</sup> Those who stated it was becoming less difficult to feed the children were all either government employees or had land.

The survey investigated whether families received cash income. It also investigated what proportion of cash income was earned by the husband and wife (question 70). It was found that 95 of the families received cash income but 11 did not. The results are reported in Table 41. The most frequent (modal) contribution is 30 percent of cash income provided by the mother and 70 percent by the father; with 20 percent and 80 percent respectively being the next most frequent combination.

**Table 41**  
**Proportion of cash income earner by mother and by father respectively**  
**(Responses to question 67)**

Proportion of cash income by mother and father respectively	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
(0,100)	16 (16.84)	12 (16.21)	4 (19.04)	(-2.83)	
(10,90)	7 (7.36)	6 (8.1)	1(4.76)	(3.34)	Cri=(12.59)
(20,80)	20 (21.05)	18 (24.32)	2 (9.52)	(14.89)	
(30,70)	31 (32.63)	24 (32.43)	7(33.33)	(-0.92)	C=(3.74)
(40,60)	8 (8.42)	5 (6.75)	3 (14.28)	(-7.52)	Do not reject
(50,50)	6 (6.31)	4 (5.4)	2(9.52)	(-4.11)	
No proportion given	7 (7.36 )	5(6.75)	2 (9.52)	(-2.76)	
Total Responses <sup>(a)</sup>	95	74	21		

<sup>(a)</sup> 11 of the respondents did not have any cash income. Out of the 95, 74 of the ST and 21 of the scheduled caste had cash income

The survey asked whether any of the family's cash was used to meet the non-food needs of the children (Question 71). Most of the respondents, 95, stated that this money was spent on books, clothes, cosmetics and material for clothes, and 11 did not answer.

The survey investigated who controlled the family cash (question 72). The responses are presented in Table 42. Most decisions appear to be jointly made by the husband and wife. If any gender bias occurs, it tends to favour the husband. There was no statistically significant difference in responses by Kondhs and Dombs.

**Table 42**  
**Person controlling spending of cash in the family**  
**(Responses to question 72)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Husband	16 (15)	13 (16)	3 (11)	(+5)	
Wife	4 (4)	3 (4)	1 (4)	(0)	Cri=(5.99)
Jointly	86 (81)	63(80)	23 (85)	(-5)	C=(0.45)
No answer	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	(0)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

## 10. Status of Wives within their Family

**Question 73 asked how many years the wife has been married—the details are as follows:**

Pitabari (ST) ((19,6,25,8,14,40,2,20,8,18,5,3,8,8,8).

Bandhasahi (ST) (25,25,30,6,6,22,32,6,6,20).

Kaladi (ST) (na, 35,25,15, 45,8, 10, 2,35, 20, 45, 28, 20, 15, 17, 29, 30, 25, 15, 10, 40, 25, 4, 25, 20, 2, 10, 25, 5, 2, 19, 10, 10, 42, 6, 36, 8, 20, 8, 18, 25, 12, 25, 13, na, 19, 15, 12, 15, 15, 20, 6, 40, 18).

The details of years of marriage for scheduled are as follows

Bandhasahi (SC) ((18,8, 35,8,12,22,45,18,5,7).

Kaladi (SC) (28,18,35,33,18,3,10,21,4,22,30,17,7,5,25,3,21).

**Question 74 queried where did the wife's parents live or if deceased lived.**

Pitabari (ST) (All the parents of the wives lived in different villages distances are as follows: (100,6,8,8,6,18,20,7,45,35,20,25,6,15,8) miles away).

Bandhasahi (ST)(All the parents of the wives lived in different villages distances are as follows: (12,5,5,22,2,3,25,25,2,7 miles away).

Kaladi (ST) (All the parents of the wives lived in different villages distances are as follows: (15, 20, 20, 3, 20, 25, 5, 2, 4, 20, na, 10, 40, 6, 5, 20, 25, 20, 20, 5, 2, 5, 20, 20, 18, 18, 30, 25, 15, 3, 25, 8, 3, 10, 18, 30, 6, 10, 25, 15, 20, 20, 25, 4, 2, 2, 20, 15, 10, 7, 25, 20, 20, 10 miles away).

The details of scheduled caste villagers are as follows:

Bandhasahi (SC) (All the parents of the wives lived in different villages distances are as follows: (6,20,4,2,20,22,35,20,2,20 miles away).

Kaladi (SC) (All the parents of the wives lived in different villages distances are as follows: (5,3,15,15,15,3,2,20,15,15,20,4,20,20,25,20,2 miles away).

The survey investigated whether the wife's family visited them and in with what frequency (Question 75). The result is presented in the following Table 43. The modal number of visits by the wife's family is 3-4 times annually. However, it is slightly lower for scheduled caste families (2-3 visits annually) although the difference is not statistically significant.



**Table 43**  
**Frequency of visits annually by wife's family**  
**(Responses to question 75)**

Number of visits annually by wife's family	ALL Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
1-2	14 (13)0	11 (14)	3 (11)	(+3)	
2-3	12 (11)	6 (8)	6 (22)	(-14)	
3-4	27 (26)	22 (28)	5 (19)	(+9)	
4-5	11 (10)	9 (11)	2 (7)	(+4)	Cri=(18.30)
5-6	5 (5)	4 (5)	1 (4)	(+1)	
7-8	5 (5)	4 (5)	1 (1)	(+4)	C=(12.68)
10-12	1 (10)	1 (1)	0(0))	(+1)	
15-20	6 (5)	4 (5)	2 (7)	(-2)	Do not reject
20-25	9 (9)	6 (8)	3 (11)	(-3)	
Always	7 (6)	3 (4)	4 (15))	(-11)	
No answer	9(9)	9 (11)	0 (0)	(+11)	
Total	106 (100)	79(100)	27 (100)		

Wives were asked to comment on the degree of contact with their families in terms of whether it is frequent, moderate, infrequent or non-existent (question 76). The result is presented in Table 40.

**Table 44**  
**Wife's assessment of degree of contact with her family**  
**(Responses to question 76)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Frequent	24 (29)	17 (22)	7 (26)	(-4)	
Moderate	46 (43)	33 (42)	13 (48)	(-6)	
Infrequent	23 (22)	18(23)	5(19)	(4)	Cri=(9.48))
Non existent	9 (8)	7(9)	2 (7)	(2)	C=(1.94)
No answer	4 (4)	4 (5)	0 (0)	(5)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey investigated where the parents of the respondent's husband live (question 77). The result is presented in Table 44. It can be seen that Kondh wives live with their parents-in-law more frequently than Dombs.

**Table 45**  
**Dwelling place of husband's parents (wife's in laws)**  
**(Responses to question 77)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Same village	31 (29)	18 (23)	13 (48)	(-25)	
Same house	65 (62)	55 (70)	10(37)	(+33)	Cri=(5.99)
No answer	10 (9)	6 (7)	4 (15)	(-8)	C=(9.02)
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		Reject

**Question 78 investigated whether member of the husband's family (not residing with them) visit their house—The details are as follows**

Pitabari (ST) (4 are dead, 2(n/a), 9 of them visit varying from every day to 5 to 6 times a year).

Kaladi (ST) (3 yes (frequently) 3 no, 48 na--consistent).

Bandhasahi (ST) (5 yes 3 no, those who visit almost everyday), 2na).

In total out of 79 ST—there is 52 no response and 4 are dead. 17 of the Scheduled Tribe visit their house and 6 did not visit the house.

Bandhasahi (SC) (7 yes 3 no, those who visit (7) visit almost everyday).

Kaladi (SC) (4 yes—frequently 13 na (5 are dead, 4 live in the same house).

Out of the 27 scheduled caste 11 visited the husband's house, 3 did not , 13 did not respond (out of which 5 mentioned that husband's family members were dead and 4 lived in the same house).

It can be seen from the above than the wife's parents have much less contact with her immediate family than the husband's parents.

The survey investigated whether the wife's family influenced decision of the wife and husband (question 79). The result is presented in Table 46. It can be seen that the wife's kin had virtually no influence on decisions within her immediate family.

**Table 46**  
**Influence present of wife's family on decision-making**  
**(Responses to question 79)**

Response	All	ST	SC	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	5 (4)	4(5)	1(4)	(+1)	Cri=(5.99)
No	99 (94)	74 (94)	25 (92)	(+2)	C= (0.71)
No answer	2 (2)	1 (1)	1 (4)	(-3)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey queried whether husband's family influenced the decision of the respondents' family (question 80). The result is given in Table 47. It seems that the husband's family has relatively greater influence on the decision of a married couple in the case of the scheduled caste than in the case of the scheduled tribe. The statistical difference is significant.

**Table 47**  
**Influence present of husband's family on decision making**  
**(Responses to question 80)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	46 (43)	29(37)	17(63)	(-26)	Cri=(5.99)
No	52 (49)	46 (58)	6 (22)	(+36)	C= (11.04)
No answer	8 (8)	4 (5)	4 (15)	(-10)	Reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey queried whether the husband's family or the wife's family had more influence on family decisions (question 81). The results of the survey are presented in Table 48. On the whole, the husband's family has the greater influence. This is also apparent from comparing the results in Tables 46 and 47. This could reduce the influence of wives on family decisions.

**Table 48**  
**Comparison of influence by husband and wife's family on decision-making**  
**(Responses to question 81)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Main influence on decision					
Husband's family	64 (60)	45(57)	19 (70)	(-13)	Cri=(5.99)
Wife's family	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	(0)	C= (2.26)
Equal influence	36 (34)	30 (38)	6 (22)	(+16)	
No answer	6 (6)	4 (5)	2 (8)	(-3)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey investigated whether the wife's family was in a position to help the wife in times of difficulty, both financially and morally (question 82). Forty percent of wives stated that their family could help them financially and morally. However, 60 percent of the respondents stated that their family was not in a position to offer any financial help.

The survey investigated whether the wife had control over the use of any cash in the family (question 83). The results are presented in Table 49. While most wives did have control over some cash, many did not. Kondh wives were more likely to have control over cash than scheduled caste wives. The difference is statistically significant. Note: However, wives can not spend cash without their husband's permission, so their control of cash is limited.

**Table 49**  
**Control of any cash by wives**  
**(Responses to question 83)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	84 (79)	67(85)	17(63)	(+22)	Cri=(3.84)
No	22 (21)	12 (15)	10 (37)	(-22)	C= (5.83)
No answer	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	(0)	Reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey investigated women's inheritance if the husband dies (question 85). All 106 respondents stated that property of the husband is distributed among sons with the largest share being inherited by the eldest. Daughters and wives therefore receive no inheritance.

The survey investigated whether divorce is possible within the community (question 86). The result is presented in Table 50. Nearly all respondents said 'Yes'.

**Table 50**  
**Divorce possible within community**  
**(Responses to question 86)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	100 (94)	73(92)	27(100)	(-8)	Cri=(5.99)
No	5 (5)	5 (6)	0 (0)	(+6)	C= (2.17)
No answer	1 (1)	1 (2)	0 (0)	(+2)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey queried whether women can begin divorce proceeding (question 87). The result is presented in Table 51. The responses indicate that it is more difficult for a Domb wife to begin divorce proceedings than a Kondh wife.

**Table 51**  
**Ability of wives to initiate divorce proceedings**  
**(Responses to question 87)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes <sup>(a)</sup>	68 (64)	57(72)	11(41)	(+31)	Cri=(5.99)
No	36 (34)	20 (25)	16 (59)	(-34)	C= (10.60)
No answer	2 (2)	2 (3)	0 (0)	(+3)	Reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

<sup>(a)</sup> Although 68 of the respondents stated that women could bring divorce proceedings, it is rare in the community and they can do so in practice only if the husband agrees.

The survey investigated how the property is divided between the man and woman after their divorce (question 88,) and whether the division is usually equal or unequal. All 106 respondents stated that women did not get any property after the divorce, although the husband may return the dowry. Divorce leaves a former wife in a vulnerable position.

The survey queried whether the respondents' husband would be pleased if the wives could work outside their house and earn cash-income (question 89,17). The results of the survey are presented in Table 52. In the majority of cases, but not all, it was stated that the husband would be pleased if the wife could work outside the house for cash.

**Table 52**  
**Husband would be pleased if his wife could work outside the house and earn cash or wage income**  
**(Responses to question 89)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	59 (56)	41(52)	18(67)	(-15)	Cri=(5.99)
No	41 (39)	33 (42)	8 (29)	(+13)	C= (1.80)
No answer	6 (5)	5 (6)	1 (4)	(+2)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey investigated how the wife normally divides her day between sleep and work (including household work). (Question 90, 18). All 106 of the respondents stated that they sleep on an average of 6-8 hours, and spend 2-3 hours for leisure by chatting with the neighbours.

The survey enquired about the hours of work and leisure for the husband as well (question 91, 19). 104 of the respondents the husband sleeps for 6-8 hours and spends 2-3 hours on leisure. They spend their leisure by dancing, singing and chatting with neighbours and family. Two did not answer. The amount of leisure time and working hours of both sexes seem to be much the same.

The survey investigated when food is scarce whether the wife has to go without it to make more available to the husband and children, and whether this happen frequently or infrequently (question 92). The result is presented in Table 53. It appears to occur more frequently for Domb wives than for Kondh wives, although the chi-squared test does not indicate the difference to be statistically significant. More than a third of wives deprive themselves of food when food is scarce, to make it available to their husbands.

**Table 53**  
**Frequency of wife's going without food to make it available to husband or children**  
**(Responses to question 92)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	36 (34)	23(29)	13(48)	(-19)	Cri=(5.99)
No	67 (63)	53 (67)	14 (52)	(+15)	C= (3.91)
No answer	3 (3)	3 (4)	0 (0)	(+4)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

The survey investigated whether the wives have gone without medical attention when they needed it (question 93). The results are given in Table 54. More than half of scheduled caste wives had gone without medical attention when needed and so had over 40 percent of Kondh wives. The difference may reflect the relatively greater poverty of the Dombs.

**Table 54**  
**The wife has gone without medicine or medical attention when she needed it**  
**(Responses to question 93)**

Response	All Frequency and relative frequency	ST Frequency and relative frequency	SC Frequency and relative frequency	Difference in relative frequency (ST-SC)	Significance
Yes	48 (45)	33(42)	15(56)	(-14)	Cri=(3.84)
No	58 (55)	46 (58)	12 (44)	(+14)	C= (1.54)
No answer	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	(0)	Do not reject
Total response	106 (100)	79 (100)	27 (100)		

Lack of money was the main reason given for wife going without medicine or medical attention. Lack of medicine or medical treatment appeared to be more frequent amongst scheduled caste wives than scheduled tribe wives. As mentioned above, this was also so for food deprivation even though in both cases the differences are not statistically significant at the 5 percent level. However, the results would be consistent with a higher incidence of poverty amongst the Dombs than the Kondhs.

Wives were asked whether they would have liked to have had more education or schooling (question 94,22). All 106 respondents stated that they would have preferred more education so that they could teach the children, read books and get better jobs

Those who stated that they would have liked more education (in this case all 106) were asked why did they not receive it (question 95). The respondents stated various reasons, for example, their parents were not interested to provide them with more education, and in a number of cases the wives themselves were not interested at that point of time. In addition poverty was one of the major reasons for not having the preferred amount of education. Cultural issues played a role too, for example during their time (in case of some of the respondents) no girl was going to the school.

The survey asked respondents their opinion about what should be done to improve the position of the married women in their community (question 96). All 106 respondents suggested that there should be provision of informal and vocational education and training. In addition, there should be provision of greater employment opportunities for women.

## **10. Concluding Observations**

Both the scheduled caste and tribal families in the villages surveyed are very poor and subsistence-oriented. The social status of the Dombs (scheduled caste members) is lower than that of the Kondhs. This is reflected in the lower economic status of the Dombs, their lack of ownership of land and the fact that they have much fewer assets than Kondhs on average. The majority of wives interviewed, both Kondhs and Dombs, had no education. The educational level of the whole sample is quite low.

The results suggest that the socioeconomic status of wives is very similar for Kondhs and Dombs and this is also the case for the treatment of and attitudes to children by gender.

No females had any land as property, although Kondh wives were more likely to state that they had part ownership of land than Dombs. However, since the Dombs in this sample are virtually landless, it is unclear what the latter response means. It probably reflects lack of ownership of land by Dombs. All respondents stated that land ownership is fundamentally the right of the male.

It seems that Domb wives are less likely to be active in forming female social action groups than Kondhs. Virtually all wives had to seek permission from the family head, usually a male, to engage in most outdoor activities.

Most respondents thought that 2-3 children is ideal and this was the most frequent number of children of the wives interviewed. The majority respondents said that they preferred sons and daughters equally but if a preference was expressed, as it was in 37 percent of the cases, it was, except in one case, in favour of sons.

Most respondents do not, they state, send their daughters to school less frequently than their sons. However, the majority of those interviewed did not answer this question. Most respondents said that they plan to give equal education to sons and daughters but most of those who expressed any preference did so in favour of sons. All respondents thought that education was very important or important for their children.

There was said to be virtually no discrimination between access of sons and daughters to food in times of food shortage – only one respondent discriminated in favour of a son. No gender preference was shown in access of children to medical treatment. This contrasts with our field result in the Midnapore District of West Bengal. There, amongst Santals and Hindus, sons had greater entitlements than daughters with this being less marked amongst Santals following the Sari religion.

The overwhelming majority of respondents felt that late marriage of daughters would create 'a problem' but none thought this was a problem in relation to sons.

In the majority of cases, decisions about the future of the children was a joint decision of the husband and the wife, and this was relatively more frequent than was found in our earlier study in West Bengal of Santal and scheduled caste villagers (see this working paper series).

If any one individual in these villages in Orissa controls the spending of cash in the family, it is more likely to be the husband than the wife. However, the majority of wives stated that the spending of cash in the family is jointly controlled by the husband and the wife.

On the whole, wives had less contact with their own family than their husband's family. The parents of the wives usually lived some miles away whereas the husband's parents usually lived in the same house or village. The wife's parents/family virtually had no influence on family decisions but the husband's parents/family was relatively influential in affecting family decisions.

While the majority of wives said they had some control over cash, this may have been very limited control since the husband's permission is normally required for the wife to spend cash.

Most of the respondents said that divorce is possible within their community. Fewer said that the wife could initiate divorce proceedings. Divorce is a difficult process and the wife can usually only proceed if her husband agrees to it. The woman has no entitlement to property in the divorce settlement so her bargaining power is very weak.

Wives inherit none of their husband's property on his death. It is distributed to his sons with the eldest son favoured. This also means that daughters lack such entitlement. Hence, females are thereby deprived of resource rights in these communities.

While the majority of wives stated that their husbands would be pleased if they (wives) could work outside the house to earn cash or wage income, a significant proportion (39%) stated that their husbands would be displeased.

There was considerable evidence of 'self-sacrifice' by wives to make more food available for husbands and children during food shortages. In addition, many women admitted to going without medicine or medical attention when needed. This was mainly a result of poverty (lack of money).

Most wives said that they wish that they had had more education. Poverty and cultural factors were mentioned as important influences on their lack of education. From the responses received from the respondents in relation to their own children, there appears to have been a cultural shift in favour of providing greater equality of access to education for daughters. Educational opportunities seem to have improved for females.

While Kondh females may be relatively empowered by Indian standards (and Dombs seem to have a significantly similar cultural situation to the Kondhs, on balance), in these Kondh dominated villages, females are subject to considerable social restrictions and economic disadvantages. Furthermore, acculturation results in wives not recognizing or complaining about their lower status compared to males. This is evident from the responses of wives to questions 30-32 and 35. For example, the requirement of females to obtain male permission to join social groups and engage in outdoor activities was not regarded by most wives



interviewed as a gender restriction and most felt that such practices should continue. Hence, most wives supported the classical patriarchy.

## APPENDIX A FOR ASSET LIST (Responses to Question 12)

**Table A.1**  
**Asset distribution of the 15 Scheduled Tribe families in village Pitabari by individual families**

Goat	Cow	Money	Jewellery	Chicken	Fruit Trees
3	2		50		
	3			6	
	3 (2 ox)			1	1
1				4	
4				2	
2			10,000	8	
2	2				
				2	
2					1
1	1				
2	7 (4ox)			2	
	4(2ox)		7,000	4	20
	4			3	2

**Note:** 2 families did not have any assets

**Table A.2**  
**Asset Distribution of the 9 Scheduled Tribal families in the village Bandashahi by individual families**

Goat	Cow	Money	Jewellery	Chicken	Fruit Trees
	4		10000	2	
	2		2000	2	
	4 (oxen)		20000	5	3 (mahua)
	6 (oxen)		2,000		
6	3	121	10,500		
4	1		5000		
4	6		15,000	7	
2	2			6	2 (mango)
	4				3

**Note:** 1 family did not have any asset

In Bandaashahi, out of the 10 Scheduled Caste families surveyed, only one had four goats, two cows and jewellery worth Rs30,000. The rest of them (that is 9) did not have any assets. This underlines their relative poverty.

**Table A.3**  
**Asset Distribution of the 51 Scheduled Tribe families in the village**  
**Kaladi by individual families**

Goat	Cow	Jewellery	Chicken	Others
2	3	5000		
	2	5000	1	
2	2(ox)			
2	2	5000		
2	2	2000	2	
2			2	
	3	3000		
	2	2000		
	7(4ox)	2000		
2	1		1	
		1000		
	2	5000	4	
4	1(b)	5000	2	
	2(ox)		6	
	2(ox)	5000		
2		1000		
	2(ox)	5000		
	2(ox)	10000	1	
	2(ox)	5000		
2	2(0x)		3	
4		5000	4	
	4(b)	10000		
2		10000		
4	2		3	
	3(ox)	6000	3	
	1 (ox)	5000	2	
4	2		1	
4	4			
	3(1ox)	2000	2	
2	3(1ox)	2000	6	
4	3(2ox)	5000	2	
2	3(1ox)	2000	3	
	7	10000	6	LIC
	2	5000	6	
	3(ox)			
2	2	5000	2	
	2(ox)		4	
	2	10000	2	
	2	15000	2	
	5		1	
	2	5000	2	
2	2	10000	4	

2	2	2000		
	4	5000		
2	5	5000		
3	6	15000	LIC	
2	4	5000		

Note: 6 families did not have any assets.

**Table A.4**  
**Asset distribution of Scheduled Caste in village Kaladi by individual families**

Goat	Cow	Chicken	Jwellery	Others
2	2(ox)	3		
3	1(ox)	4		
2				
4	2	3		
4	2		5,000	LIC
2		2		
	1			
4	2(ox)	4		
2				
2		4		
3		6		
4	1	3	15,000	LIC
4	1	2		
2		2		

Note: LIC—implies life insurance policy

**APPENDIX B**  
**ARC LARGE GRANT 1999-2000**  
**Questionnaires**

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Name of the Village .....

**Family details**

**[For Wife]**

1. Name of the respondent.....age.....sex.....

Religion.....caste.....

Santal yes/no; Scheduled tribe yes/no

2. Relation to Head of the family.....3. Total family members .....No.

4. Male adult, No. & Age 1..... 2..... 3..... 4.....

5. Female adult, No. & Age 1..... 2..... 3..... 4.....

6. School-going children, No. & Age 1..... 2..... 3..... 4..... 5.....

7. Non school-going " , No. & Age 1..... 2..... 3..... 4..... 5.....

8. Relationship to respondent

male 1..... 2..... 3..... 4..... 5.....

female 1..... 2..... 3..... 4..... 5.....

school-going 1..... 2..... 3..... 4..... 5.....

non-school-going 1..... 2..... 3..... 4..... 5.....

9. Main earning members Total male.....female.....

Relationship to the respondent Male 1..... 2..... 3..... 4..... 5.....

Female earning members 1..... 2..... 3..... 4..... 5.....

10. Compared with the economic activities of other families in your village, do you

believe your family is in

(a) the top

(b) the middle

(c) the lower one-third

Answer .....

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**PART A**

**Property Rights**

**[For Wife]**

1. Do you (your wife) own a plot of land? yes/no
2. If no, does your family own land? yes/no
3. If yes, are you (wife) a part owner of the land? yes/no
4. If no, does only the male member have the ownership rights? yes/no
5. Do you have any community forest which you can use? yes/no
6. If not, are all forests owned by the government? yes/no
7. If yes, do you have customary right to use forests? yes/no
8. If no, do you still go to forests to collect forest products? yes/no
9. (a) If yes, what do (your wife) you mostly collect from the forest?  
.....
- (b) What other things do you (wife) collect free of cost from elsewhere  
.....
- 10.(a) Is the quantity much smaller than what you could collect in a week five years ago? yes/no
- (b) If smaller, does it undermine your (wife's) power and influence in the family  
yes/no
11. Do you think that your (wife's) power and influence in the family would have improved if you had owned agricultural land? yes/no

### Other Assets and Income

[For Wife]

12. Is there any other asset which you own? (tick one or more)
  - (a) goat (number)
  - (b) cow (number)
  - (c) money in bank.....money otherwise.....
  - (d) jewelry/amount (rs).....
  - (e) chicken (number)
  - (f) others .....
13. Is it true that all your money income and the goods you collect from the forest and ponds are spent on family's consumption and nothing is left for you to spend on what you want? yes/no
14. How do you earn your money income?

- (a) working in rice fields of others in planting and harvesting seasons
- (b) making baskets and other products from Sal tree leaves and selling them in the market
- (c) working at family's land
- (d) other.....

### **Economic Condition and Survival Strategies**

**[For Wife]**

15. Is the income that you and family earn in a year sufficient to provide two meals a day for each of you for the whole year? yes/no
16. If no, do you and your family have to starve frequently? yes/no
17. Do you agree that when you and your family are starving, if there is some food, male members eat that and that this is a part of the culture and not a discrimination in your view? yes/no
18. In the case of starvation, serious illness of a family member or a marriage ceremony, what survival strategy does the family adopt? (Tick one or more strategy)
  - (a) pawn some assets
  - (b) sell some assets
  - (c) borrow from the village money lender at a very high monthly interest rate
  - (d) all of the above
  - (e) other .....
19. Repayment of money lender's loan takes much of the year's produce. Hence to survive, the family has to borrow again and it remains in perpetual debt. yes/no
20. How much interest does the money lender charge per month for a loan of Rs 100? Rs.....
21. Do you borrow from the bank? yes/no

### **Formal Credit, Production and Marketing**

**[For Wife]**

22. Of the following, what are your reasons for not borrowing from the bank?

- (a) The bank is located in a town, too far from our home
- (b) Bank does not extend small loans
- (c) Bank interest rate is high and repayment condition difficult
- (d) I do not have any asset
- (e) I am illiterate and unable to fill out the forms
- (f) Cost of raw material is high when buying in a small quantity
- (g) when selling my produce, I don't get a good price as I am a small supplier
- (h) I cannot organise production without help
- (i) other reason .....

23. If these difficulties were removed, would you like to take loans to engage in production activities? yes/no
24. If yes, what interest rate would you be able to afford? 15%/10%/still lower
25. Do you know any kind of product which has demand in the market and that you would like to produce/manufacture? yes/no
26. If yes, mention some of these .....
27. Do you need help with arranging low interest loan, purchasing inputs, organising production and selling the produce? yes/no

### **Social Dynamics**

**[For Wife]**

28. Have all the active female members of your village or of a few villages ever tried to join together to take a group approach to obtain loans, purchase inputs, organise production, sell the produce and to solve any other problem? yes/no
29. If no, what are the reasons?
- (a) Families may belong to different castes in the same village as well as in different villages
  - (b) No-one takes the leadership role
  - (c) Permission of the family head may be difficult to obtain



- (d) It is easier to organise group action on a para basis
  - (e) No one told us about it
  - (f) As females, our freedom of movement and freedom of action are restricted.
30. Why is the permission of the family head required?
- (a) In all important activities, support of the family is essential as all family members cooperate in such activities
  - (b) The head of the family remains the chief decision maker
  - (c) Other.....
31. For what outdoor activities, is the head's permission not required?
- (a) Normal family chores such as gathering forest produce, catching fish and fetching water etc.
  - (b) Going to market for selling family's produce, buying other goods and for recreation
  - (c) Others.....
32. Therefore, do you feel that the restriction imposed on your freedom of movement and to make decisions on important issues is a gender restriction, i.e. because you are a female? yes/no
33. If no, why not
- (a) My empowerment contributes to total family's empowerment, hence total family consent and support are necessary
  - (b) Requirement to obtain consent of the head/elders is a part of the traditional culture and custom
  - (c) It is not gender restriction, as it is done out of affection and concern for welfare.
34. Is the family head a male person? yes/no
35. Do you feel that restrictions on your freedom of action should be removed. yes/no

**Education****[For Wife]**

36. What formal education do you have? .....
37. If no formal education, why not (tick those relevant)
- (a) Hardly any education is provided at school at primary level
  - (b) There are very few schools available in the locality
  - (c) Even with education, being females, we cannot go out to look for employment at distant places
  - (d) We are too poor to afford the cost of education at primary and secondary markets
  - (e) Spending time on household chores helps the family
  - (f) Girls would get married anyway, so education is not so important
  - (g) Skill based training is more useful
  - (h) Other .....
38. Since even with formal education, a person being female may not get employment in rural areas, do you think that community education of adult members of families would facilitate the process of removal of restrictions and taboos affecting females and of obtaining employment? yes/no
39. Do you think a **comprehensive education scheme** containing (a) formal, (b) community, and (c) skill based education would be necessary for your empowerment? yes/no
40. Would female instructors be necessary to implement the comprehensive education scheme. yes/no
- So with the **help and guidance from others,**
41. Would you want to participate in the empowerment process through a **total empowerment package** consisting of (a) comprehensive education, (b) production organisation and (c) credit and marketing? yes/no
42. Do you agree that building up of community institutions would help develop social dynamics and facilitate the guided participatory system of development process. yes/no

43. Do you have village Panchyat? yes/no
44. If yes, are there female representatives in the Panchyat? yes/no
45. If not, is the participation by females in the Panchyat necessary for your empowerment? yes/no
46. Are you involved in the family's decision-making process? yes/no
47. If no, do you feel that your opinion should be taken into account? yes/no

---

## PART B

### Children's Affairs

[For Wife]

1. How many children do you have now? ..... (Number)  
List ages and sexes. ....
2. Would you like more children? yes/no  
If yes, how many more? ..... (Number)
3. How many children would be best for your family?..... (Number)
4. Why do you consider this number of children to be ideal for your family?  
List reasons (if possible in order of importance)
  - (i) .....
  - (ii) .....
  - (iii) .....
5. Would you prefer
  - (a) more sons than daughters
  - (b) more daughters than sons
  - (c) an equal number of sons and daughters
 Answer.....  
 Why do you prefer that?.....
6. Do your school age daughters go to school less frequently than your sons?  
Yes/No/N.A. Why?.....
7. Do you sometimes keep your school-age daughters home from school to help with family duties? yes/no  
If yes, what type of family duties, e.g. minding of older children, do your daughters help with?.....

8. Do you sometimes keep your school age sons home from school to help with family duties? Yes/No/N.A. If yes, what type of family duties do your sons help with?.....
9. Do your children help with family chores or work? Yes/No Why? If yes list
  - (a) chores/work duties of daughters.....
  - (b) chores/work duties of sons.....
10. Have you or are you planning (a) to give your sons more years of education than your daughters (b) daughters more years of education than sons or (c) equal number of years for both?  
 Answer.....  
 Why?
11. Do you think that for the future of ;your children and family, their education is
  - (a) Very important
  - (b) Important
  - (c) Moderately important
  - (d) Not very important
 Answer.....  
 Why?
12. When food is scarce, is preference given
  - (a) to sons compared to daughters,
  - (b) to daughters compared to sons or
  - (c) equal preference?
 Answer.....  
 Why?
13. When medical attention or medicine is needed for a daughter or a son, who is more likely to receive it?
  - (a) son rather than daughter
  - (b) daughter rather than son
  - (e) both treated equally
 Answer.....  
 Why?
14. By what age would you like to have daughters married? Age ..... years.  
 Why this age?.....

15. Would it be a problem if a daughter was 5-10 years older before she was married?  
Yes/No.  
Why?
16. By what age would you like to have sons married? Age ..... years.
17. Would it be a problem if a son was 5-10 years older before marriage? Yes/No.  
Why?
18. In your family, who makes the important decisions about the future of your children
- (a) Mostly husband with little influence of wife
  - (b) Mostly wife with little influence of husband
  - (c) Both share in most decisions so they are jointly agreed.
  - (d) Other – whether grandparents or other people

Please explain.....

19. Do ;you mostly rely on the food you grow or collect to feed your family including your children? Yes/No
20. What proportion of the food eaten by your children results from the work of
- (a) their mother .....%
  - (b) their father .....%
21. Do you have a home garden? Yes/No  
Who cares for it? .....How important is it as a source of food for your family?
- (a) Very important
  - (b) Important
  - (c) Unimportant

Answer..... Explain.....

.....

22. Is providing food for your children becoming
- (a) more difficult
  - (b) less difficult
  - (c) about the same degree of difficulty.

Answer..... Explain.....

23. Does ;your family get cash income? Yes/No.  
If yes, what proportion is earned by each marriage partner?  
(wife) mother .....%

- (husband) father .....%
24. Is any of this cash used to meet the needs of your children? Yes/No.  
If yes, specify type of children's needs met by cash .....  
.....
25. Who controls the spending of cash in your family?
- (a) Husband
  - (b) Wife
  - (c) Other person(s)
  - (d) Person who earns it
  - (e) Shared decision
- Explain .....
- 

## PART C

### **Wives – (Married Women) – Status**

**[For husband/wife both]**

1. How many years have you been married? ..... years.
2. Where do your wife's parents live, or if deceased lived?
  - (a) In your present village
  - (b) In another village (location) ..... miles away
  - (c) In your house
3. Do members of your (wife's) family (not residing with you) visit your house?  
Yes/No  
If yes, how many visits are likely each year? Number.....
4. Would you describe your (wife's) contacts with your (her) own family as
  - (a) Frequent and close
  - (b) Moderate
  - (c) Infrequent
  - (d) Non-existent or almost so.
 Answer .....
5. Where do your husband's parents live or if deceased where did they live?
  - (a) In your present village
  - (b) In another village (location) ..... miles away

- (c) In your house.  
 Answer .....
6. Do members of your husband's family (not residing with you) visit your house?  
 Yes/No  
 If yes, how many visits are likely each year? Number .....
7. Does your (wife's) family influence decisions of you and your husband? Yes/No  
 Elaborate.....
8. Does your husband's family influence decisions of you and your husband?  
 Yes/No
9. Would you say:
- (a) Your husband's family has more influence on decisions by yourself and your husband than your (wife's) family
- (b) That it is the other way around
- (c) They have about equal influence  
 Answer.....
10. If you were in personal difficulty, would your own family be able to give you any support of any kind?  
 Yes/No.....Please elaborate .....
11. Do you have the control over the use of any cash in your family from any source?  
 Yes/No. If yes please specify.....
12. Is there any cash in your family that you have no control over? Yes/No  
 Please specify .....
13. When a woman's husband dies what property can she inherit? Please specify and indicate how his property would be distributed.
14. Is divorce possible within your community? Yes/No
15. Can a woman begin divorce proceedings? Is this common? Yes/No  
 Why .....
16. How is property divided between the man and woman after their divorce? Is division usually equal or unequal?  
 Explain.....
17. Would your husband be pleased if you could work outside your house and earn cash or wage income? Yes/No  
 Please explain .....

18. How do you (wife) normally divide your day between sleep, work (including household work) and leisure activities?  
     sleep ..... hours per day  
     leisure activities ..... hours per day  
     what kind of leisure ..... [must add to 24 hours]
19. How does your husband (if now married) divide his day between sleep, work and leisure activities?  
     sleep ..... hours per day  
     leisure activities ..... hours per day  
     what kind of leisure..... [must add to 24 hours]
20. When food is scarce do you (wife) go without to make more available for your husband or children? Yes/No. If yes, does this happen (a) frequently or (b) infrequently? Answer .....
21. Have you (wife) ever gone without medicine or medical attention when you needed it? Yes/No. If Yes, why?.....
22. Would you (wife) have liked to have had more education or schooling than you have? Yes/No. Please explain why .....
23. If yes to Q.22, why did you (your wife) not receive as much education as you (she) would have liked?  
     .....
24. What in your view needs to be done to improve the position of married women in your community?.....  
     .....  
     .....  
     .....  
     .....



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