

Voices from the Fields: A Phenomenological Exploration of Adivasi Women's Live Experiences in Tea plantation Assam, India

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ABSTRACT

This article intends to explore the appearance of everyday lived experiences of tea garden womsen, with a particular focus on the intersection of their roles within the private and public spheres. Women are displayed as an icon of tea plantation and the most potential work force in the industry. Despite being important participations, women are victims and worst sufferers in their work in both public as well as private speeches of life. The tea garden labourers in Assam branded as the tea tribes, usually known as Adivasi live a ghettoized life in tea garden. Women in tea plantations are the most vulnerable ones who are exploited to both close as well as open structure of patriarchal discourse. The research article attempts to understanding the factors associated of women violence and examine the in depth phenomenological inquiry of lived realities of Adivasi women labourers from the meniscus of Raewyn Connell theory of Hegemonic Masculinity. Violent metaphors are often undesirable participations therefore such experience tends to stay of mind forever. A person who experiences and victims of traumatic events in remembering such experiences all the time to defeating their disgrace, shame and self regard. This article focuses on the narratives of women labourers in tea plantation for steeping in challenges to manipulate with everyday life. The purpose of the conclusion is trying to propose women are targeted the circumstances of violence and victims of gender discrimination and gender relation through the lived realities in tea plantations.

Keywords: Tea Garden, Assam, Lived Experiences, gender, Adivasi

INTRODUCTION

The status of women in the society recognized religious, aesthetic, social and spiritual attributes. However, the tea plantation workers also known as Adivasi tribes directed a ghettoised life beyond the domicile of hegemony's dilemma of British without a strong opposition, through of very little frivolous instances of colonialism. Tea plantation industry upward occupational mobility demands for a highly huge labour force in Assam with the widespread distribution of an image of the women in tea plantation. Inscribing the locating migratory history, Adivasi labourers having victims of crisis in their life that vulnerable their viability to the employment freedom that came their process along with the increase of plantation industry in Assam. Gradually, employment of women plantation labourers is steadily rising. Having seen the tea garden in deeper it seemingly unchanged from a time and flourishing of a colonial root. Being a woman in tea plantation they have face different problems while dealing with structure of patriarchy, living conditions, gender discrimination and victims of various types of violence in both public and private sphere. Since, tea tribe community is male dominated society, where male hegemonic discourse played a significant role for management, women labourers have remained marginal position by the continuous rejection from dominant authority. Despite forming half of the labour force in the tea plantations, women labourers have remained marginalised. They are victims of various forms of discriminations, in both work sphere as well as domestic sphere (Sarkar & Bhowmik, 1994). Navigating the complexities of women in society has been fostering social changes and empowering women encouraging for rights and privileges. They can become influential for transformation to produce changes in a world and development needed profound variation in social structure. Every extent of women life is full of difficulties and challenges. Despite being significant contribution in the life of every human being, women also belong to a disadvantaged position due to several obstacles and social inequalities. Women have come a great amount in the fight for equality, but there are still face many obstacles

existence in the way of equal status in the society (Farcasiu, 2022). Women's significant contributions to the society, often face a lower social position due to a variety of factors including gender based discrimination, economic inequality and limited access to resources and opportunities. The traditional gender roles and societal norms create obstacles women's full participation and restrict their freedom.

History of Indentured Coolie and Colonial Migration

Tea is considered as the classic representing aspect of colonial delineation symbolised the transition of underdeveloped realm bothered by British Colonialization. The state of Assam was appended into provinces of British India throughout the period of 18th century since it was mandatory for the immense value of the East India Company continuing to tea trade remaining monopoly over the China. The ending company' monopoly over Indian trades it incumbent to look for new approach of manufacturing of tea. Through the operation of interrogation during the 18th and 19th century period, it was discover that tea plantation could be successfully grown in Assam for trading object. Drinking the beverage of tea became extremely famous since the period of 19th century and throughout the industrial revolution 'the British consumed three times as much tea as the East of Europe put together' and by the middle of the century about 0.6lb of tea was legally imported per head of the population plus a considerable amount smuggled in and already there was evidence that the drink was not uncommon in the countryside even among labourers. The upper dominion of the East India Company was at the first head unfavourable to the notion of the origin and discovery of wild tea gardens in the foothills of Eastern Himalaya region.

It was Major Robert Bruce who came to Assam in 1823 is widely recognized at the discover of tea in upper Assam. Two factories combined in providing the stimulus to the British entrepreneurs to establish tea plantation in Assam. First indigenous tea plants were discovered in Assam in 1823 and secondly, British monopoly of tea trade with China ended in 1833 (Ganguly, 1891). The experimental site of tea was planted at Saikhowa near Brahmaputra and Kundil rivers near Sadiya in Upper Assam but due to the poor soil many plants died. After the experiment of tea plantation was shifted in 1835 in Lakhimpur district (Provincial Gazetteer of Assam, 1906). The British were compulsorily to take control of lands affinity to the native labours for tea plantation. The tribal peasantry belonging to the Tiwa and Bodo-Kachari communities of the erstwhile Nagaon, Darrang and Kamrup districts suffered worst causalities of the British land revenue policy (Das, 2016). The first Assam tea company to undertake the local indigenous people such as Bodo and Kacharis and other Assamese people. But these peoples were not compatible and often abandon tea plantations pay no attention. In this manner, British officers differentiate Kachais from caste Hindus and other 'Asomiyas' with regards to 'primitiveness' and noticed that Kacharis are work extremely hard because of their opposition of conflicting colonial force, who had initiated number of oppressive laws. As a result, tea industry of continuous inflow the tea industry has demand for broadening numbers of workers. The British representatives were sent to gather from various regions within a country. The land and workers were engaged two ruthless recruit labourers named Arkati and Sirdar as agents. They brought from the workers from different parts of the regions from Bengal, Bihar, Odisha, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Chotanagpur areas were engaged. In the Sardari system as introduced by the Act of 1870 (Singh, 2022) who was more responsive to control and who already admitted ended up to various regions and most of the 'Adivasi' employed as labourers. The whole system contributes to an explicit in the matter of constrained and bonded labour. The root cause of plantation labourers agony from poor, insufficient people who were admitted by forced and fraud to leave home and to process a labour enter the tea gardens. The contender of tea gardens of Assam to accommodate a degree of labour proportion to escaping the complementary rules and regulations. In the year, 1858-59 a huge number of bonded labourers numbering nearly 84,915 came to Assam (Das, 2016). The working situation of labours was close to subjugation with flopping, rape, torture and even the following dead workers in rivers (Toppo, 1999).

The Portrayal of Adivasi Ghettoized life in Tea Estates of Assam

The mobility of the labourers in tea gardens of Assam was live inside and completely detached from the outside world. Migrant labourers in tea estate may victims of discriminatory practices, xenophobia and racism, innumerable restrictions and serious human risks at work sphere. Despite this, the status of the labourers in tea garden is almost very pitiable and most oppressed ill treated by their managers. Originating during the Colonial period in the early 19th century, managerial authority divided into 'Sahib-Manager' dominion where a

sole English Sahib (sometimes Indian) in charge in small tea garden, to a Burra Sahib (an English official) with a few Indian assistant in larger establishments (Das, 2016). In Assam, a great proportion of tea plantation had approximately half dozen coolie lines. The managers of the tea plantations in fixing and managerial power the coolies leading propositions for managers today. The reluctance of the integrate the tea plantation labourers in the large-scale process of identity assertion in Assam. The migrant labourers in Assam are paid minimal wages that do not adequately cover their fundamental basic needs. In fact, wage dispute in the labourers in tea plantation industry in Assam all the time predominance of the industrial management. In the early years of tea industry Adivasi people throughout the scarcity of cheap workers migration to Assam led the British authorities. The ghettoized migrated labourers could provide continuous services by labourers.

In order to keep the assurance and apathy of the migrant labourers constrain various agreements which become one of the presiding symbols of plantation labourers. After the independence in the case of historical background of migrated labourers in Assam and other parts of North-East tea estates but the assimilation process is not adequate. The heterogeneous migrant labour groups have been exposed to a different but common type of economy, administration and society (Kar, 2005). The tea garden labourers in Assam began to develop a customary language which is also known as 'Sadani' or Bagania bhasa popular in various etiquette of Hindi Religion. The tea plantation labour in Assam also assimilated the greater Assamese culture and society. But the plantation community is always conceded to being biologically and socio-economically inferiority in the Assamese society. They are deprived, exploit and most of the working labourers in tea garden in a contemptible condition.

METHODOLOGY

The universe of the present study represents the state of Assam where as Charaideo district has been selected as field of the study. In Charaideo district has estimated around 110 tea estates. Out of the 110 tea estates the researcher has selected only one tea estate namely Tawkok tea estate which also known as Tawkok Group of tea estates. The area of the study covers 4 sub division of Tawkok Tea Estate in Charaideo district of Assam. From the four-sub division, in this present study only one division viz Mangalam division has been selected. In the Mangalam division total 60 number of household are there. Out of the total 60 household researcher has collected only 15 respondents applying the stratified random sampling because universe is heterogeneous in nature and also divided population into different strata on the concern study area Each women labourer in tea garden presented a unique personal live realities or perspectives in their daily life. The present study researcher has been used descriptive research design for systematically collecting information to describe a phenomenon, situation and circumstance of population. This present research is based on purely qualitative interpretation and also included some short narratives of the respondents views from their own personal experiences. Therefore, observation, interview and case narrative method has been applied to generalise the data and developed the major findings. The basic elements related to the selection of the respondents are based on their objectives of the study.

Theoretical Framework for the Study

The theoretical approach that serves as an assumption to better understanding of live experiences in tea garden women for perception of women is both public and private spheres under the sociologist Raewyn Connell theory of Hegemonic Masculinity. The theoretical assumption of Raewyn Connell's 'Hegemonic Masculinity' is gender feminist theory which refers to the pattern of practices that how men's dominance over women to continue. Women are victims of masculine values and opinions, ideas and standards (Connell, 2005). For Connell, hegemony is achieved through specific, gendered relations of power, whereby, dominance and subordination maintain hierarchies of men and masculinities. In Masculinities Connell stated that

Hegemonic Masculinity can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the Subordination of women (Connell, 1995).

Plantation women labourers have been marginalised and address several challenges and problems and considered the most vulnerable in inside and outside in tea garden. The concept of gender division of labour

constitutes the variable over time and space and constantly under negotiation. There also gendered division of labour in tea plantations appearing from the structural imperatives of 'social division of labour'. Discrimination exists beyond the plantation women labourers in their work life and domestic life in multiple levels. Majority of women labourers have their agency and also resist the exploitation in their daily life. They have faced as a legitimized men's deconstructing hegemonic ideology at multiple levels of their life. In the patriarchal society, women do not have any special identity. They are socialised in such a way that they accept their exploitation without protest. Their ignorance, lack of skills and assertive nature make them submissive both the place of work and in family life (Bhadra, 1985).

Marxist Feminist thinker Sylvia Walby (1990) holds that the structure of patriarchal relations at the level of body, both the public-private divides which men dominate, and exploit women. The public-private dichotomy has served to establish the patriarchal structure and effect the oppression of women in society. Women who started to have overcome in the public patriarchy were also exploited and took part in separated working conditions and oppressed from dynamic power relations, wealth and inequality and in private patriarchy, women face various types of oppression and gender discriminatory expectations within their household sphere such as child care, cooking, cleaning etc. In domestic sphere there are multiple factors associated for violence against women. Some factors such as hegemonic masculinity under male domination, low literacy level, men control over women etc. are influence to domestic violence against women in private life.

Life world of Women in Domestic Sphere

The ingrained and institutionalized new configuration of domestic life is often characterized by family, marriage and self expression. The domestic life is a dynamic structure which can be influenced by different factors including cultural norms, regulations and social trends etc. The gendered relation can assign in domestic sphere increasingly being challenged and negotiated in many times. In domestic level of life the institution of family is a primary or basic unit that multifaceted functions performed in a society. Starting from the family is the smallest institution of society and the state, which has its own social structure and system. Anthropologist Levi Strauss has described family and its structures and functions in the following manner: 'social groups that originate in marriage, they consist of husband, wife and children born of their union; they bind members with legal, economic and religious bonds as well as duties and privileges; and they provide a network of sexual privileges and prohibitions, and varying degrees of love, respect and affection (Strauss, 1956). The role of women in family life is complex and multifaceted, influenced by societal norms, cultural expectations and economic realities often leading to both empowerment and constraints. For decades, the sociologist and psychoanalysis has seen women as inferior and claimed that women could only be truly referred to as such when performing the roles of a wife and or a mother. Women are in different fields and serving the society in different ways. In accompanying with, women also have played domestic responsibilities and the responsibility of offspring. The gender-based division of roles weakens not only women's but also men's ability to develop an equal relationship. The domestic life of working women are significantly shaped by traditional gender roles and expectations, impacting the division of labour, time spent on unpaid work and potential work life conflicts. Although the importance of gender roles and attitudes in family relations has been interest to researchers for several decades (Benin & Agostinelli, 1988). Usually, the concept of gender generally refers to gender relations between men and women in practices of households, community and analysis of the way social rules, norms and practices. The gender ideology is also reflected in the social discourse, as frequently the couple recreates the dominant social discourse in which is referred the essential characteristics in which is referred the essential characteristics in which men and women differ ignoring the socio-political context.

Women and Unfolding Unpaid Family Labour

The term unpaid family work historically related with focusing or emphasizing women unpaid activities within household endured socially and economically underestimate. Unpaid family works incorporated all work which non profitable or non remunerated work and activities inside or outside in household and potentially not appreciated of being undervalued (Antonopoulos, 2009). The allocation of gender based unpaid care work is the duration and inherent character of the workforce usually stand on different factors such as gender, age, marital status, types of family structure and range from economic stability. Typically, role of women in tea

plantation is systematically management of domestic responsibilities is considered as a significant part of their lives. The societal norms which considered women taking care of their duties and providing care of the family members. Women's secondary status, along with their underperformance in the labour market is sharply associated with the division of labour between men and women in domestic sphere. Women's burden of unpaid domestic work, the poor access to education and skill development, restricted horizontal and vertical mobility and restricted choice of work- all of which are the consequences of unequal division of unpaid domestic work and socio-cultural norms- result in women inferior status in the labour market (Hirway, 2008). The concept of unpaid work is closely associated with domestic sphere in household activities. Women's burden of unpaid domestic work, the poor access to education and skill development, restricted horizontal and vertical mobility and restricted choice of work- all of which are the consequences of unequal division of unpaid domestic work and socio-cultural norms- result in women inferior status in the labour market (ibid). The allocation of unpaid labour depends upon different factors including age, class and types of structure of household responsibilities. The societal behaviours and expectations which regarded care work as being a segment and women' life has ensured in the time and energy in unpaid labour work. The unpaid domestic care is often recognized as low important and is invisible in mainstream economics, carried by notion of patriarchal institutions.

In the household production private patriarchal ideology is the oppression of women by the unpaid household labour. Sylvia Walby (1990) noted that private patriarchal values as an exclusionary tactic as women's exploitation. The control and oppression over women's lives means that males automatically have some benefits, drawing all attention and privilege men receive as men. Walby describes the 'patriarchal mode of production' where women's labour dominated by their husband and within household. From the study found that gendered division of labour is looking around effectively in every household in tea garden. The household burden is unequally distributed with women in tea garden addressing immense responsibilities to unpaid domestic work.

Kabita Mahali (assumed name of the respondent) She narrated that

"I am 40 years old with three children. I am always hard work because of my children. I have managed all the household chores alone. I have a busy schedule with household chores and garden work. Last year my husband suffered a stroke. My life got harder day by day. I have managed children responsibilities along with my husband's complete work like medicine, washes clothes and takes a shower. Apart from that i have worked in the garden whole day. After I back to home I involve cooking, cleaning, washing and all household chores restlessly".

Above the statement it is clear that, women in tea garden struggle to get their life without their husband support and care. Women one's handily all domestic chores with take care of children without other helps. Some women were left in a vulnerable economic position on top of her vast unpaid care burdens. The enormous burden of unpaid care work causes both women to have limited time to relax and explore the own economic growth, let alone engage in community activities. Women bear a disproportionate doubly burden of gender based unpaid work in domestic sphere.

Nita Teli (assumed name of the respondents) narrated that

"I wake up at 4 am. I have managed all household chores single handily. My husband doesn't do any household responsibilities even I ask him to help me. My husband so lazy and consume alcohol whole day. I have managed double role in the household responsibilities and workplace. Currently my mother is very ill. She can't sit up without help. I stopped working for few days. Sometimes my unfair domestic activities entrenched mental stress of double burden. My husband does not take care of his children. I always wake up feeling extremely exhausted. Sometimes I unable to attend my workplace due to the reason of my disable son. My child with disabilities at birth or acquired later. Therefore I requiring obtaining medicine for treat health issues of children sometimes. There is an extreme problems and obstacles that I have faced in everyday of my life. Sometimes my domestic life, upbringing and challenges all affect my mental health".

Above the statement it is clear that women in tea plantation has many responsibilities in both inside and outside and replicates the double burden pervades all aspects of society. In tea garden women labourers generally leads a very busy schedule in their daily life circle therefore health condition of the women labourers very deplorable. The lack of access of health is convoluted by not sufficiently wages which tea plantation labourers earn. Women often managed a disproportionate share of domestic responsibilities including, childcare, cooking, cleaning, caring elderly person and also work outside at home. Women often bear a larger burden of household labour.

The family, domestic responsibilities can be viewed as a women regular daily obligations and responsibilities mostly on her own without external support or aid. A woman was the primary sole person who single handily for managing all aspects of the domestic responsibilities. Lali Bhumij (assumed name of the respondent) said that

“Nobody is providing help me for my responsibilities. I always work alone and handling all tasks and manages all aspects. I have to wake up at 4 a.m. to manage all the household responsibilities and providing for the needs of all members before going to my work. I have to deep cleaning the house, prepare for breakfast and lunch for the members, and ready to my children for school. I have to walk 2 km. for physically carrying water to my house. I return home at 4:30pm”.

From the statement it has been clear that the entire period of everyday life women in tea garden continue being actively engaged in work or household activities. Women are being constantly working or managed all responsibilities having no time for leisure or inactivity.

While traditionally women have been assigned the role of primary caregiving, with expectations that they would be responsible for child care like nurturing, feeding, bathing rearing, emotional support and managing household responsibilities. Societal expectations and actual behaviours often place the primary burden of caring for children on women. Especially mothers bear the main burden of childcare, often dedicating significant time and energy to the task. Rina Porja (assumed name of the respondents) narrated that

“I have four children. My youngest child is sick or injured so I have to taking leave time for provide caring responsibilities of my children. There is nobody to take care and provide support of them. My youngest child is only 6 months. My kids are very little. Sometimes my eldest son Nathu can stay at home and providing basic needs and nurturing of the younger one. But when they are suffering from diseases I have to depart from to care of my children without help from anyone else”.

Regarding the availability of mother as a source for support and primary attention for children. Mother playing a vital role in their emotional, social and a child's well-being and healthy development. Working mothers often face the challenge of balancing work, household chores and their children's needs, requiring effective time management and resourcefulness. She always prioritizes their children's needs and allocates time, dedication to the child's growth and development.

Women have always been struggling and juggling multiple roles in daily life but they almost not receive due recognition or appreciation for their continual efforts. The lack of recognition and appreciation of wmen's for domestic responsibilities is significant issue, leading to their marginalization and underestimation of their contribution. Mahalaxmi Kurmi (assume name of the respondent) said that

“Our domestic responsibilities never got recognised. I have been working hard from early morning to late night. My husband never be recognised or any help to my work. It's our responsibility to fulfil the duty and care of all the members”.

Women work at domestic sphere, get no remuneration and reward, therefore, their work is considered non work having or no little values. Household responsibilities are regarded to be women's duty which they must fulfil without any expectations.

The Structure of Patriarchy and Loss of Autonomy

The concept of patriarchy is ideology of unequal distribution of power relation which women are suppressed to men. Walby defines 'patriarchy as a system of social structures and practices in which men dominance, oppress and exploit women' (Walby, 1990). The structure of patriarchal discourse in society is the prime factor to women advancement and progress. The concept of patriarchal dominance describes to the women as oppressed status and lack of access of resources and decision making at every level of life. The notion of powerless, gender discrimination and experience of limited self esteem perpetuated women had to be domesticated and controlled men over them. Women are not confined to domestic roles; rather, they can speak positions of public authority (Harriden, 2012). Patriarchy imposes masculinity and femininity character stereotypes in society, which strengthen the power relations between men and women (Rawat, 2014).). In household mode of production the structure of dominating patriarchy influences with employment, the state, sexuality, violence and culture as secondary patriarchal influences (Mitchell, 2009). Women in tea estates are kept dominance in a number of levels. The level of domination that experience at a daily life takes different types such as control, exploitation, gender relation, oppression within public and private sphere in society. Women in tea estates are kept dominance in a number of levels. The level of domination that experience at a daily life takes different types such as control, exploitation, gender relation, oppression within public and private sphere in society. Laxmi Mahali (assumed name of the respondents) tries to express from dominant and discredit husband who restricted from societal tasks.

"My husband is a very controlling person. He always controls my work and reproduction, sexuality, power privilege and has to control over my own income. My husband always doubts me and does not talk with my friends or neighbors. I have lived my own life according to my husband wishes. He never agrees with his mistakes and has anger issues. Always he tells everyone that I am the problem"

The theoretical approach of Raewyn Connell theory of Hegemonic Masculinity is gender feminist theory depicts that men dominate, oppress and exploit women in society and often contributes to the subordination of women and marginalized masculinities. Roles of men in the family are closely linked to the attributes of masculinity Women are treated as inferior and often have to victims of gender discriminatory practices. The hegemonic masculinity often emphasizes control, dominance and a sense of entitlement, which can be used to justify abusive behavior towards women. Therefore, the issues can be better dealt by emphasizing on feminist perspective.

Another issue of women in tea plantation of domestic sphere is loss of personal as well as financial autonomy after marriage. Women in tea plantation have to always struggle for their fundamental needs. Men also waste all their income on alcohol or other personal needs. Women are always control by his partner or any other members of his family. Women labourers can't have properly use their own income according to their desire. Nita narrated that

"I have been worked in this tea garden last 6 years. But recently gave up my job because of my husband. My husband always doubts on me in every steps and doesn't interact with neighbors. I am totally restricted from my own house. I started feeling alone and isolated most of the times. He doesn't include me in any family discussions. Women always sacrifice and think about families respect and keep quite everything. My husband always considered that women are secondary status and weaker section and need to be controlled. I have some friends. I couldn't go anywhere. Always his decision is final and couldn't involve me on any decision making process. One day I visited my neighbor Nita's house. For a long time, she was invited me in her new house. At that time my husband also present and he does not know what he is saying and heating on me"

The above statement reveals that women most desire is complete control over their husband in tea estate which indicates that completely lose her identity. Articulating the theoretical perspective based on assumptions under the coercive control theory given by Even Stark. This theory explains that it is a pattern of behavior which seeks to take away the victim's liberty or freedom, to strip away their sense of self (Stark, 2009). Stark's concept of coercive control focuses on the motivation of perpetrator. Coercive control to be more detrimental to women's well being than physical violence because, he suggests, not all acts of physical violence are

coercive and controlling. The concept of coercive control arose out of the debate about the disputed nature, extent and distribution of domestic violence: whether domestic violence is primarily rooted in men's control of women (Dobash, 1992).

Another narratives found that women are controlled and dominated by their partners that they complete lose their autonomy. Their married life is controlled by their husband who restricts and influence power over wives. Shital Munda (assume name of the respondent) narrated that

"After marriage my life is completely change in every aspects. I lost my identity. My husband controlled and dominated n every move of my life. I cannot go anywhere without his permission".

It reveals that marriage significantly impacts women's autonomy, potentially controlled and face other gendered expectations that limit their choices. Men control over every move over women and actively asserting their rights and autonomy within marriage.

The nexus between Alcoholism and Domestic Violence

Use of alcohol is one of the leading causes of the global burden of disease and injury. Violence related to substance use has been widely reported and studied, particularly the potential for violent outcomes between the different substances of use (Duke, 2018). There is strong evidence linking alcohol with domestic abuse or domestic violence (Gadd, 2019). According to World Health Organisation (2018) describes that alcoholism is one of the major health and social problems around the world, which results in 3.3 million deaths in every year (WHO, 2018). Alcoholism is considered as a family disease which affects the individual's physical and mental wellbeing. Individual's excess drinking habit or alcohol dependency will adversely affect the symphony of family functions which will lead to domestic violence, marital dissatisfaction and quarrels between family members (Meredith, 2020). Masculine gender role stress leading to intimate partner violence is moderated by heavy episodic drinking and intoxicated men are likely to process gender-relevant threats faster than suppressing cues (Lisco, 2015). Given the drinking and fighting are demonstrative of masculine power, women who threaten gendered norms in relationship to a greater extent, i.e. those who are more empowered, may be higher risk of facing violence from their partners who drink alcohol in an attempt to restore hegemonic masculinity. Based on qualitative interviews, it has been observed that husband who drinks alcohol, documenting triggers for intimate partner violence, which includes asking husbands about drinking, refusing to give husbands money for alcohol, suspicion that wives are not faithful, domestic issues and not having children at the expected time (Berg, 2010). The traditional societal gendered norms may influence or exacerbate wives risk for domestic violence victimization within the context of partner's heavy drinking. Alcohol use can heighten the risk of perpetrating domestic violence by lowering inhibitions, impairing judgement and self control and increasing aggressive behaviour (Eclhardy, Parrott & Sprunger, 2015). Numerous explanations exist for the mechanisms underlying the association between alcohol consumption and the perpetration of domestic violence. In the context of an intimate relationship, it results ineffective problem-solving, distorted perceptions of the partners action and violent reactions (Wilson, Graham & Traft, 2014). Second alcohol can facilitate aggressive behaviours both men and women; however the effects it stronger in men (Bushman, 2002). Third, alcohol creates a high potential for conflict due to greater inhibition and control over emotions as well as higher levels of aggression, which can result in a marital conflict between partners at the moment of intoxication, over the amount of consumed alcohol and because of unfulfilled expectations. Ratna Tanti (assumed name of the respondents) tries to express her abusive partner when she leaves her abuser.

"I suffered this for 10 years. My husband always drunk when he comes to back home in the evening. He does not work go to the work regularly. Always spends time at home. When he gets drunk he turns into a horrifically beats me badly. Every day he consuming alcohol and harassed me at every night and my children. I felt helpless and frustrated because he lost his job only for too much consuming alcohol. I tried killing myself twice due to my alcoholic husband. He started to hit me infront of my children. My heath condition has also deteriorated. I have frequent headache and low blood pressure".

The above statement revels that the survivors Priya experienced alcoholic violence by her partner. Everyday women had survived her life of their alcoholic abusive husband in tea estates. Fear to their partner's reactions

can make it very difficult for staying in abusive relationship. The study has been found that women whose partners drink alcohol are at a higher risk of experiencing physical, emotional and sexual violence within the domestic sphere.

During the interview, another survivor Rakhi Nayak (assumed name of the respondents) narrated her experiences of alcoholic husband

“When I was married my life is completely changed. I am daily wage worker and earned money. But my husband is very lethargic and non responsive person. He got drunk everyday and beat me up and tries to sexual harassed me. He and his friend Ramesh has too much consuming alcohol and kept saying some awful things. I felt really scared for my husband aggressiveness. Last year my husband and his friend raped of a 10 years girl near our village influence of alcohol. Now he is in jail”

The above case statement it has been found that under the influence of alcohol the person commit awful acts and violence in society along with domestic sphere. While intoxication is not a prerequisite for sexual violence, often it may play a causal role in some sexual assaults. Women are suffering from their partners drinking behaviour and harmful consequences.

Another narrative was that abusers aggressive behaviours are more likely to commit violent crimes, especially under the influence of alcohol. In aggressive individuals increase their susceptibility to commit violent crimes when alcohol present in their system. Nitu Mahali (assume name of the respondent) narrated that *“After drinking alcohol my husband would abuse and constant criticise me, hit me and always fights with me. I am tired of this”*.

Alcohol to have direct effect on individual's behaviour. Men tend to cause worse assaults and physical violence after drinking and women are more likely to suffer from abuse with living partners who are heavy drinkers. The study found that women in tea plantation who are excessive alcohol drinkers tend to suffer from many forms of abuse themselves and also suffer from higher aggressive behaviour from their partners.

Women and Marital Challenges

The family as primary institution has always been described as a important parts for the development of the individual along with societal structure. In a family relationship, differences in the levels of emotional expressivity found in men and women; women usually are found to be more expressive of a number of different emotions, including happiness, sadness and fear Between the husband-and-wife relationship within the family structure based on love, affection, trust, security, respect and full of happiness between others. Marital relationship are continuing and ensuring for developing, prosperity and quality of life. Family relationship may become even more important to well-being as individuals age, need for caregiving increase, and social ties in other domains such as the workplace become less central in their lives.

Radhika Porja (assumed name of the respondent) narrated their experience of being unhealthy and hardest part of marriage life. She narrated

“I married my husband at the age of 21, As I here reflecting on my marriage journey, I can't be able to help but marriage has drastically changed in my life. I have always been scared of getting my marriage. Throughout our marriage I have not been in love with him. My husband is very controlling person and completely isolated from my friends circle and family and constantly arguing in unnecessary issues. He always doubts on me? In my toxic relationship my anxiety levels so rise abruptly. I constantly worry about my partner. I would have intense fear attacks regularly, and the longer I stayed in harmful relationship. My husband does not maintenance or any responsibility to my kid and myself. My orthodox in-laws always impact on my freedom and happiness. At starting point, I had very healthy relationship with my partner and their family members but later on my husband constantly criticizes me with extreme frustration and anger. My husband is going all out to make my life miserable”.

The above statement found that every marriage is not healthy in every woman in tea plantation. They have struggled to get husband's respect and support in every domain of life. In some situations, women feels neglected, betrayed and even doubt their worth. A toxic marriage relationship can be elaborated as a chronic situation where individual much going on their physical, emotional and mental health status. In some situation women becomes an absolute nightmare and it's making more miserable every single day. A women's life completely changes drastically after marriage. Many women in tea plantation marriage become problems between husband and wife. Most important thing is that marital strife is more common in family relation. Underlying the marital strife are issues of disagreements and disputes that creates between husband and wife in a marriage. In some situations, marriage turns into controlling and excessive jealousy into a dreaded daily battle. After marriage women experiencing many traumatic events or situations can take a toll on relationship.

Status of Women in Work Level

The tea industry is also afflicted by migrant labourers and subordination of women labourers in all aspects. Therefore, tea industry established that hierarchal structure, intersectionality of gender relation, gender disparities and work sphere inequalities within the women and work relation. Rima Teli (assumed name of the respondents) narrated that

"In tea plantation, women have continued to be significantly lower presence. Our work is very hard and tough and most hazardous which includes carrying heavy baskets on uneven terrain, without our intensive task the industry could not survive properly. I wake up at 4 am in the morning and it was not easy to work for continuous work in both hot and cool season. Women labourers in tea garden played crucial role, where number of women employed in the field. But in some times if a specific task requires the equal level, the pay of women is lesser comparatively of men. At the wage structure, women are vulnerable and would exhaustion under lots of work. They are ill treated and no respect becomes the gender specific norm".

In the work level, gender relation and male supremacy plays an important role over women. Therefore, women have no chances to be the upward position or status in tea estates. The gendered division role also widely practiced, with notably lower participation of women in society. Women are relatively a oppressed position and due to gender hierarchy and social constructs.

The gender discrimination is prevalent in the workplace in tea estate. Women in tea sector often face exclusion from decision making process and are susceptible to harassment and abuse even in plantations. Ragini Parja (assume name of the respondent) narrated that

"Sometimes when we go the outside or construction work, I face discrimination. During off season, I have to search work in outside of tea garden. Sometimes, our owner do not appointed women labourers. In some circumstances they prefer only male labourers".

Women labourers in tea plantation face gender discrimination in outside the tea plantation. The face significant challenges including gender discrimination, wage gaps and lack of social protection. Lack of access to quality education and training opportunities limits women's ability to secure better paying jobs.

CONCLUSION

From the above discussion, tea industry is the second largest producer of India but it will be wrong to assume that women labourers in tea plantation suffer restrictions in their society. The life cycle of women labourers is still pitiable and struggle for basic needs in their life. The plantation women labourers are icon of tea garden sector but their daily life are coupled with unfold suffering only because of gender discrimination, gender relation and gender stereotyping norms and practices. They have been often confront of various challenges of their life such as low wages, lack of avenues for social mobility, domestic abuse poor healthcare etc. Women are never promoted to higher status in society and they are still ignorance and oppressed class in work as well as family life. Most of the women labourers in tea garden join in her work at the early age. Some of the women labourers join to her work after marriage. In tea garden labourers are join her work only because of struggle of poverty and financial support of her family. Some of other join her work to manage their own expenses.

However, some women become a struggle her work because of his children and to share expenses of the household. Women in work in tea garden is become a very hard and exhausting. They are also very hard work and struggle in their work in life. It becomes a place of socialization where labourers share their joys and sorrows. Women in tea plantation who struggle hard and maintain work in both public as well as private speeches of life. They are most deprived and marginalized section of the other communities. Further, they are hard working group who struggle hard and maintaining work his family. But position of women labourers in tea society is always deprived and oppressed class within his community. In patriarchal Adivasi community they are being controlled, marginalized and violated by the men. From the very young age girls are overburdened and domesticated with household chores for prepare them her marriage. Women labourers always play multiple roles in their domestic sphere still they hardly receive sure recognition and appreciation for the effort. Women are engage in unpaid domestic chores because of the gendered nature. But despite managing the household efficiently and looking after the needs of each family member, still women are victims of domestic violence in their life. Domestic violence is rampant which victimized by women labourers under the influence of alcohol. Alcohol can individual to engage in violent behavior and it can leads to various forms of abuses against women. Most of the propagators of violence are intimate partner who are dominant role and abuse the victim. Women tea plantation labourers in a patriarchal society are nurtured into believing in the inherent supremacy of male. It significant impacts the domestic sphere along with families and workplace. The theoretical interpretation of Raewyn Connell's hegemonic masculinity is used to justify and maintain power imbalances in society and understanding patriarchal hegemony significantly reinforce dominance over women.

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