

Chapter X

WORKING DRAFT

Women's Development
And
Institutional Changes

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Sponsored by

Women's Bureau
Ministry of Social Welfare
Government of India
New Delhi

October 1984

CHAPTER X

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INSTITUTIONAL CHANGESWorking Draft

Devaki Jain/ISST

Introduction

The U.N. Decade for Women, 1975-1985, has generated and experienced enough development to provide a learning base for the future. One of the key areas which it has highlighted is the importance of institutional support, the institutional frame for women's advancement.

In India those who have been involved in the advancement of women prior to 1975 would quite justifiably add that while recognition of the importance of the institutional framework was part of the experience of the first half of the century, it is legitimate to state that the Decade has enlarged the importance of this issue in relation to development. The pressure and pace of economic and social development both overall as well as women-focussed has been much more intense and rapid in the Decade than before. Hence, like all responses to impulses, the more brisk and compelling the impulse the more intense the response.

In that sense whether the development is gender neutral namely overall development of area or product or

social category, or women specific there has been much greater investment in development in India, especially in relation to alleviation of poverty, in this period, than ever before.

Much of the development has been channelised through various forms of implementation machineries, not all of which could be called "institutional". Some of it has been through institutions and some of the development programmes have in fact been institution building programmes.

Reviewing the experience of the Decade and the link and processes between development impulses and institutional requirements and experience, India has had to pay attention to the forms of organisation which best facilitate women's quest for survival, for a space, for recognition, for articulation, for empowerment and of course for influencing the processes of healthy, just and peaceful change.

Just as there are many faces, components and styles of development there are many faces, components and styles of institutions. Some of the categories that are currently debated are issues of gender based institutions as different from subject based, class or caste based, ideology based. In other words, are women's organisations necessary to reach the kind of goals that women aspire for? If so, what kind and with what functions and how do they link to the overall social process?

Apart from the issue of gender there is also the issue of sponsorship and management - the adjustments between government and non-government agencies; and finally the less discussed issue of formal and informal organisation. These questions are being debated not only in India, but there is recorded evidence of experiences of each of these forms, and now their interaction all over the world.

This chapter will be presented in V sections covering the following topics:

Section I would delineate the broad profile of Indian economic and social development in the 70s coming up to 1983 where possible. In this delineation attention would be paid to: quantum of development expenditure overall and sectorally, including mechanisms and arrangements for reaching goals. Supporting this quantified profile would be a description of the development style, namely the philosophical underpinnings of the Five Year Plans and the approaches to them: such as an ethic of self-reliance, focus on poverty, equity generation, and so on. Attention would be paid to priorities as well as methodologies.

Section II would try a similar delineation in relation to not only development with specific focus on women but women's place or lack of it in this development. The attempt would be to bring in women's participation sectorally or in the unspecified areas.

Section III would be on methodologies that have been used for integrating women in development covering three aspects:

- a Arrangements generated and implemented by the State;
- b Arrangements generated and implemented by non-governmental agencies; and
- c Arrangements generated by the State but implemented by both and the linkages between the two.

This section would be based on a categorisation of effort at the policy level, programme design level, and implementation (ground) level.

Section IV would try to derive the lessons for institutional or infrastructural arrangements that emerge from the description and try to address itself to the question: where has this infrastructure succeeded or failed; if so, how and what is necessary?

Section V would review this Indian experience in terms of generalisation for the broader based concern of development styles for the Decade following 1985, with an overall objective of equity, justice and peace.

SECTION I

Profile of Indian Development - Pace & Style

Plan
Philosophy

Removal of poverty and attainment of self-reliance were the two major objectives that the country set out to accomplish through the successive plans. As necessary corollaries higher growth and better distribution of incomes and a very significant step up in the domestic rate of saving were to be achieved in fulfilment of the major objectives.

As in the Fifth Plan (1974-79) so in the Sixth Plan (1980-85), the removal of poverty was made the foremost objective. It was, however, recognised that given the magnitude of the task, the removal of poverty could not be accomplished in a short period of 5 years. The Plan also stressed:

improving the quality of life of the people in general with special reference to the economically and socially handicapped population, through a minimum needs programme whose coverage is so designed as to ensure that all parts of the country attain within a prescribed period nationally accepted standards;

strengthening the redistributive bias of public policies and services in favour of the poor contributing to a reduction in inequalities of income and wealth; and

promoting the active involvement of all sections of the people in the process of development through appropriate education, communication and institutional strategies.

The guiding principles of the Seventh Plan are to be growth, equity and social justice, self-movement improved efficiency and productivity. The movement towards social justice is to be faster and there is to be a sharper focus on employment and poverty alleviation. The emphasis will be on policies and production, work, and productivity.

Resources for Development

The total resources deployed for development registered a phenomenal rise during the Decade ending 1985, compared with the previous Five Year Period 1969-74. The plan investment in all sectors of the economy increased by 3.6 times during the first half of the Decade over the previous five years, and by 6.7 times in the second half of the Decade (See Table 1). It is noteworthy that except at the margins, all the resources for development in India are from the country's own public and private resources.

More significant has been the shift in the pattern of investment in favour of programmes of poverty alleviation, minimum needs, social services, (education, health, family planning and housing). They have received proportionately much higher and unprecedented plan allocations. There was also a record increase in investment in irrigation which aimed at improving productivity and employment in the agricultural sector which is India's principal economic sector. (See Tables 2 to 8).

Full force of these increases was, however, offset to a considerable extent by substantial increase in prices and population during this period. The prices at the wholesale and consumer level as also for urban non-manual employees, nearly doubled between 1973-74 and 1982-83. The population (See Tables 9 to 11), increased from 54.82 million to 68.52 million between 1971 and 1981. One aspect of the population increase was that it was much higher than anticipated by the planners which implied revision of plan estimates/investment on minimum needs and additional jobs.

Imple-
menta-
tion

Experience of the Decade has shown that increased plan allocations are a necessary but not a sufficient condition for reaching out the intended benefits to either the poverty population in general

or women in particular.

The National Committee on Backward Areas and the Expert Group on Poverty Alleviation Programmes of the Planning Commission have pointed out that only a small proportion of the plan funds are actually reaching the poor households or backward areas. The Seventh Plan Working Group on Women too has observed that only a fraction of the vast resources deployed on programmes aimed to improve the socio-economic condition of women could reach them due to faulty and faltering implementation arrangements.

Addressing itself to the problems and style of implementation, the Fifth Plan had stressed the need for "improving the apex implementation machinery of the Government at the Centre and States ... to spearhead the reform of the implementation process at lower levels". The Fifth Plan had argued that in the past public participation and commitment could not be actualised "because development tasks regarding public involvement were not carefully assigned to various representative institutions and voluntary organisations alongwith the concomitant resources and adequate motivation could not be created (for local bodies and Panchayati Raj bodies) because schemes at the national and state level did not contain any provision for the

exercise of initiative either for introducing the modification or for the taking up of supplementary activities to suit local conditions".

The Sixth Plan reiterated these suggestions but with no significant improvement in results. The Approach Paper to the Seventh Plan also reiterated the urgency of qualitative improvement in the plan formulation and administration. It has argued that:

"planning should increasingly be concerned with the appropriate administrative arrangements and personnel policies, especially in the less developed and remote areas and in the implementation of programmes for the weaker sections. There is need to emphasise motivation and values in accomplishing goals of economic and social development. The example and outlook of the administrative and managerial cadres affect the beneficiaries of all programmes. Our management and administrative systems have to be improved to eliminate inefficiency, cynicism and lack of integrity. There is also need for elimination of the numerous points of unnecessary and petty restrictions which have increased partly because of inertia-dominated adherence to past procedures and rules;

to achieve the twin objectives of effective implementation of the anti-poverty programmes and ensuring a balanced regional development at least in respect of the minimum needs, it is essential that the planning process is also decentralised.

Choice of
implement-
ing
agencies

A recent paper on "Choice of Implementing Agencies" which analyses the main continuous causes for poor implementation has argued for a more durable and reliable institutional base embodying a real decentralisation in the form of a District Government. In short, to devolve development functions to representative bodies at the district level with Constitutional backing. The Central Government too has initiated consultations with the State Governments for effective ways of decentralisation of development planning administration.

Some Aspects of Plan Allocations

While the pattern of plan investment has gradually shown greater accommodation for sensitive programmes like the Minimum Needs Programme, some inequities in allocation of resources deserve notice in order that correctives could be pressed for in the Seventh Plan now under preparation.

Elementary Education

Elementary Education is fundamental to human development. India's Constitution makers "had made it obligatory for the state to provide free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years". But even the Sixth Plan expected to enrol only 50.3% of the 6-11 years age group, two-thirds of the non-enrolled children being girls. If universalisation of elementary education is to be achieved by 1990, nearly 50 million additional children (6-11 years age) will have to be covered during the Seventh Plan as against 18 million targetted for the Sixth Plan. Efforts to meet this challenge have to be mounted.

The accessibility of schools continues to be particularly difficult for girl students as also for boys and girls from the poverty households. The hours observed by the schools, the inadequacy (also indifferent attendance) of teachers, buildings, equipment alongwith the very thin (and irrelevant) content of education have been acknowledged as major impediments. Attempts at non-formal education, to supplement the school system, have been too feeble, if not ineffectual. These shortcomings need to be overcome.

Poor plan allocations are stated to be one of the contributing factors to these problems besetting

elementary education. The allocations are poor both with regard to the needs of elementary education as well as in relation to other sectors. Even within the Minimum Needs Programme, for example, allocation for elementary education during the Fourth Plan was only Rs.226 crores compared with nearly twice that sum for rural electrification at Rs.427 crores. In the Fifth Plan the allocation for elementary education though raised to Rs.452 crores was still below the provision made for rural roads at Rs.498 crores. Again, during the Sixth Plan, rural roads were allocated Rs.1,165 crores compared with Rs.919 crores for elementary education. Even at Rs.919 crores the sum is so inadequate that (as pointed out by the Steering Group on Elementary Education for the Seventh Plan) nearly 95 percent of it goes only towards teachers' salaries leaving little for educational equipment or activities let alone syllabus innovations.

Rural Health

During the Fourth Plan, the provision for Rural Health was only Rs.23 crores. In the two subsequent Plans, Fifth and Sixth, it has been raised to Rs.291 crores and Rs.408 crores respectively. Considering that rural areas account for nearly three-fourth of India's population, the inadequacy of these provisions

are obvious. The inequity of these provisions even within the Minimum Needs Programme, let alone the total plan allocation, is apparent from the fact that during the Fourth Plan while rural health was allocated Rs.23 crores, rural electrification was allocated Rs.427 crores. In the Fifth Plan, the rural health allocation was raised to Rs.291 crores but rural roads were much higher at Rs.498 crores. In the Sixth Plan rural health has been raised to Rs.408 crores but rural roads were raised to Rs.1,165 crores. To achieve the goal of "Health for All by 2000" a drastic upward revision in plan provision for health is imperative.

Village &
Cottage
Industries

Another area neglected hitherto is the Village and Cottage Industries. These are highly important for generating non-farm employment which matters most of weaker sections and women and in backward areas in particular. The Sixth Plan allocation for this sector including the modern Small Scale Industries was about one percent of the total Plan; and if we exclude the modern Small Scale Sector their share would be a mere 0.6 percent of the total Plan.

Institutional Credit

Direct Plan allocations are supplemented by institutional credit. Institutional credit has twin objectives. One is to release the poor from excruciating indebtedness to private money-lenders, and two to enable the poor - especially the self-employed which includes a large proportion of women - to acquire productive assets for economic progress. There has been a manifold increase in recent years in the availability of institutional credit to what the policy-makers rightly recognise as the "neglected sectors" (see Table 11). However, within this group, the bulk of the resources have gone to the relatively stronger elements such as the modern small scale industry, bigger farmers for agricultural mechanisation (tractors etc.), government corporation for holding community stocks ("indirect finance"); for purchase of taxis and scooters and to retail trade. Self-employed, including professionals, accounted for less than 0.8 percent and even with this group, the bottom deciles of the self-employed barely figured.

Implications

The wider implications of inadequate allocations for elementary education and rural health in particular, can be appreciated against the findings of a Study of the Centre for Development Studies, Kerala:

that the widespread availability of rural health care facilities and high literacy rates in Kerala were cumulatively responsible for the remarkable decline in Kerala birth rate. This insight is capital for Plan strategy.

Population is frequently mentioned as the foremost issue in India's development, but strategy which can effectively deflate the population growth rate has not received its due attention even after the findings of the Kerala Study in the mid-seventies. Of the total resources invested in development during the Sixth Plan, elementary education and rural health combined received less than one percent (0.8%) of the total investment. Proper education and health could empower the poor and women to advance on their own.

It is, therefore, not sufficient that the gross investment in the economy should be increasing. It is even more important that it flows adequately where it is most critically needed. From the women's point of view the two sectors: elementary education and rural health, are of paramount importance. The past neglect of girls' education has to be remedied. The special health care needs of women have to be met.

Equally important is to provide adequate wherewithal for economic activities of the poor and the self-employed by way of plan support and institutional credit.

Table 1 - India's Plan Investment & Its Sources

(Rs. in Crores)

<u>Period</u>	<u>Plan</u>	<u>Gross Investment</u>	<u>Of Which</u>	
			<u>Private (Indian)</u>	<u>External Resource</u>
1969-74	Fourth			
1974-79	Fifth	47,561	16,161	2,431
1980-85	Sixth	172,210	74,710	9,063
1985-90	Seventh (Preliminary)	320,000	170,000	15,000*

* This has not yet been estimated in the Approach Paper for the Seventh Plan. However, based on the previous trend between 1974 to 1985 where external resource was about 5 percent of Gross Investment, a tentative figure of Rs.15,000 crores has been assumed here.

Source: Fifth and Sixth Plan, and the Approach to the Seventh Five Year Plan, 1985-90, Planning Commission.

Table 2 - Plan Investment on Minimum Needs Programme

	(Rs. in Crores)		
	1969-74 Fourth Plan	1974-79 Fifth Plan	1980-85 Sixth Plan
1 Elementary education	225.88	451.51	919.07
2 Rural health	22.79	291.47	408.46
3 Nutrition	1.38	530.23	218.74
4 Rural water supply	165.11	554.00	1407.11
5 Rural roads	206.28	498.00	1164.90
6 House sites for landless	4.46	107.95	353.50
7 Slum improvement	6.91	94.63	151.45
8 Rural electrification	427.11	276.03	301.05
<u>Total</u>	<u>1059.92</u>	<u>2803.79</u>	<u>4924.28</u>

Table 3 - Plan Support for Education, Health, Family Planning and Housing and Urban Development

	(Rs. in Crores)		
	1969-74 Fourth Plan	1974-79 Fifth Plan	1980-85 Sixth Plan
1 Education	905.1	1710.3	2523.7
2 Health	335.5	760.8)	2831.0
3 Family Planning	278.0	491.8)	
4 Housing & Urban development	270.2	1150.0	2488.4

Source: Economic Survey, 1983-84.

Table 4 - Plan Support to Agriculture and Allied Activities

	(Rs. in Crores)	
1969-74	Fourth Plan	3466
1974-79	Fifth Plan	4730
1980-85	Sixth Plan	5695

Table 5 - Plan Investment on Irrigation

(Rs. in Crores)

1969-74	Fourth Plan	1750.00
1974-75	Fifth Plan	4287.00
1980-85	Sixth Plan	10258.66

Table 6 - Plan Support to Village & Cottage Industries

(Rs. in Crores)

1969-74	Fourth Plan	242
1974-79	Fifth Plan	1050
1980-85	Sixth Plan	1780

Table 7 - Plan Support for Backward Classes
(Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes)

(Rs. in Crores)

	<u>Fifth Plan*</u> <u>1974-79</u>	<u>Sixth Plan</u> <u>1980-85</u>
Education	188.86	560.50
Economic development	45.43	274.00
Health, housing, etc.	90.35	170.50
Direction	1.30	9.30
Tribal Sub Plan	189.31	470.00)
		600.00)
<u>Total</u>	<u>515.25</u>	<u>2030.30</u>

* Addition of figures for 1974-78 and the year 1978-79 total in the Fourth Plan Rs.164.6 Crores.

Source: Sixth Plan.

Table 8 - Special Employment Programme

(Rs. in Crores)

	<u>Sixth Plan</u> <u>(1980-85)</u>
IRDP	997.55
NREP	980.00
RLEGP	500.00
<u>Total</u>	<u>2477.55</u>

IRDP - Integrated Rural Development Programme
 NREP - National Rural Employment Programme
 RLEGP - Rural Labour Employment Guarantee Programme.

Table 9 - The Negative Factor: Inflation
(Index Numbers)

	<u>Wholesale</u> <u>Prices*</u> <u>(1970-71</u> <u>= 100)</u>	<u>All India Con-</u> <u>sumer Price**</u> <u>Food</u> <u>Index</u>	<u>General</u> <u>Price**</u> <u>Index</u>	<u>Urban non-</u> <u>manual employees</u> <u>general price</u> <u>Index**(1960=100)</u>
1973-74	142	279	250	221
1974-75	178	358	317	270
1975-76	166	342	313	277
1976-77	167	317	301	277
1977-78	184	345	324	296
1978-79	182	346	331	306
1979-80	207	373	360	330
1980-81	238	419	401	369
1981-82	264	476	451	413
1982-83	274	508	486	446

Source: Economic Survey, 1983-84

* Average of weeks

** Average of months

Table 10 - Employment : Organised Sector - 1972-1982

(Rs. in Lakhs)

<u>Sector</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>Additional</u>
1 Public Total	112.09	159.46	47.37
of which community, social & personal services	(57.86)	(75.47)	(17.61)
2 Private Total	67.69	75.47	7.78
of which community, etc. services	(10.37)	(12.59)	(2.22)

Table 11 - Annual Rate of Inflation

<u>Month</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>
January	+15.6	+ 6.8	+ 2.5
February	+16.2	+ 3.7	+ 4.7
March	+15.8	+ 2.6	
April	+17.3	+ 0.4	
May	+15.8	+ 0.1	
June	+13.2	+ 2.1	
July	+11.0	+ 1.9	
August	+ 11.1	+ 1.8	
September	+ 8.0	+ 2.1	
October	+ 7.4	+ 2.0	
November	+ 8.9	+ 2.8	
December	+ 8.7	+ 2.7	

Table 12 - Growth in the Supply of Institutional Credit to Neglected Sectors

Accounts in '000s
Amount in Rs. Crores

	June 1969		June 1978		June 1979		June 1980*		June 1981		December 1981	
	No. of Accts	Amount out- standing	No. of Accts	Amount out- standing	No. of Accts	Amount out- standing	No. of Accts	Amount out- standing	No. of Accts	Amount out- standing	No. of Accts	Amount out- standing
Agriculture:												
a Direct Finance*	160	40.21	4701	1234.63	5932	1680.18	7385	2299.10	8496	2954.66	9563	3495.9
b Indirect Finance	4	122.12	674	424.51	965	543.00	1159	656.79	1203	9260.01	1064	1026.0
Small-scale industries**	51	251.07	495	1643.73	589	2001.13	718	2639.88	844	3350.80	924	3763.1
Road & water transport Optrs.	2	5.49	199	306.61	229	386.40	259	527.33	304	746.34	348	915.9
Retail trade and small business	33	19.37	1041	298.00	1313	413.46	1605	549.23	1824	677.50	2003	755.0
Professional and self-employed persons	8	1.91	575	87.19	672	110.18	758	153.78	888	195.10	944	219.3
Education	1	0.80	30	6.49	34	7.45	36	8.93	40	11.01	45	13.2
Total (1 to 6)	260	440.97	7715	4001.16	9733	5210.85	11920	6835.04	13599	8861.42	14891	10188.7

(continued)

Table 12 (contd)

	<u>June 1969</u>		<u>June 1978</u>		<u>June 1979</u>		<u>June 1980*</u>		<u>June 1981</u>		<u>December 1981</u>	
	No. of	Amount	No. of	Amount	No. of	Amount	No. of	Amount	No. of	Amount	No. of	Amount
	<u>Accts</u>	<u>out-</u>	<u>Accts</u>	<u>out-</u>	<u>Accts</u>	<u>out-</u>	<u>Accts</u>	<u>out-</u>	<u>Accts</u>	<u>out-</u>	<u>Accts</u>	<u>out-</u>
		<u>standing</u>		<u>standing</u>		<u>standing</u>		<u>standing</u>		<u>standing</u>		<u>standing</u>
Housing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	140	35
Consumption	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	221	15
Total (1 to 8)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15252	10239
Total advances by these banks		3017.00		13364.00		16220.00		20029.00		23950.00@		26251

@ Provisional

* Excludes advances to plantations other than development finance

** Number of units

Note: Figures may not add to totals because of rounding

Source: Economic Survey 1983-84.

SECTION II

The Position of Women in the Development Scene

One of the issues that comes up in discussing the methodology for safeguarding the interests of women in the development process, in the developing countries is how far there is justification for women focussed investment and women uplifting strategies.

Broadly describing the less-developed countries (LDC's) as those which find themselves in a situation where large sections of the population are poor or deprived in terms of basic necessities like food, health, education, housing; where there is also inequality in the dispersal of these facilities and finally there is a shortage of currently available material resources for setting the situation right as rapidly as possible it becomes clear why there could be this doubt.

Entire populations - not only of women, but men and children, require all the attention and strengthening that can be mobilised. Thus there is the question why women in particular from this equally deprived or otherwise oppressed population.

It is also true that in such societies there is a built-in gender specific format within the society - what can be called the place of women - which is not strongly identified or articulated and often cannot be identified due to the overall pressures for survival, especially survival with dignity.

Various forms of overall political and economic environment such as racism, militarism apart from colonialism appear as priority, appear as clouds which have to be dissolved before individualisation based on gender can be legitimised. Thus we see the women's movement in these countries moving between the gender specific concerns with a fluidity. In fact it can be said that there is a continuous attempt by the women's movement and those who articulate on its behalf to find the right chord to strike in such a situation. This kind of doubt or concern or position is not only limited to the perspective of women (leadership) in India but is part of the perspective of those engaged in this field all over the world.¹

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- 1 (i) "Another Development with Women": Seminar held at Dakar, Senegal, June 21-25, 1982, organised by Association of African Women for Research & Development (AAWORD AFARD) and the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation.
 - (ii) Special Conference of Non-Aligned and other Developing Countries, Baghdad May '79.

This kind of perspective thus influences both the nature and style and quantum of development which could be called specifically women focussed. Thus it is necessary to see how women appear or disappear in the overall development focus and method.

Research during the decade has exposed the differential impact of development of men and women. The analysis of this phenomena has revealed the basis of this differential impact - namely specification of women in a society, and in the household. While this specification and its rigidity often gets resolved or diffused within sections of societies or social and economic categories of society which have access to resources including knowledge, the differential not only persists but tends to increase in no resource and zero resource families and households and sections of the population¹

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- 1 (i) Sixth Five Year Plan 1980-85 Chapter 27.
Yojana Bhawan, Government of India.
 - (ii) Approach Paper, Seventh Five Year Plan.
Yojana Bhawan, Government of India.
 - (iii) Jain, D. Padmaja Naidu Memorial Lecture,
"Indian Women - Today and Tomorrow" November
1982. Organised by Nehru Memorial Museum and
Library.

Women are known to be still engaged in cooking, cleaning, child care, often water and fuel fetching much more predominantly and regularly than men all over the world.¹ They perform these roles along with the earning of income especially amongst the low resource households since they are regularly responsible for the domestic and household zone. Programmes meant to improve household income do not necessarily improve women's well being.²

The same reasons create a difference in needs of women and capability to absorb certain kinds of development. The neglect of this differential impact has often revealed new problem areas as a result of a development programme. For example, a programme of improving rice cultivation may have had extension services

- 1 (i) Jain, D., and Chand Sheth, Malini: "Domestic Work - Its Implications for Enumeration of Workers", paper presented at the Golden Jubilee Symposium on Womens Work & Socity. Held at ISI, New Delhi, 1982.
- (ii) Devaki Jain & Malini Chand, Report on a Time Allocation Study, Its Methodological Implications. Paper presented at Technical Seminar on Women's Work & Employment, ISST, November 1982.
- 2 (i) Kynch, J. and Sen, Amartya. "Indian Women Well-Being & Survival", Journal of Economics No. 7, 1983, P 363-38).
- (ii) Sen, Gita and Chiranjib "Women, Domestic Work and Economic Activity", Paper presented at Workshop. On the Family and Women's Subordination at Bogota Colombia. August 6-11, 1984.

directed to men, while women in fact are the main transplanters of rice seedling. Hence production does not move in the anticipated direction or speed.¹ "Although it is now widely recognised that women make important contributions to agriculture, little has been done to make women productive through extension and input supply services".¹

In another situation intensification of production could add to the hardship of the women in terms of work burden.^{2 & 3}

In a third, intensification of production could displace women from earning opportunities due to the introduction of a technology⁴ which does not continue to use their earlier contributions - for example, hand spinning of wool to machine spinning, hand rolling or

1 Swaminathan, M.S. Report of Women in Rice Farming Systems Conference, International Rice Research Institute (IRI) 20-30 September, 1983. P. 9.2.

2 Jain D. Women's Quest for Power, 1980, Vikas

3 Dixon, R. Measuring the Sexual Division of Labour in Third World Agriculture, June 1983. Unpublished P.118.

4 (i) Workshop-cum-Exhibition on Science & Technology for Rural Women. New Delhi 1982.

(ii) Agarwal, B. Diffusion of Rural Innovations: Some Analytical Issues & the Case of Wood Burning Stoves. Institute of Economic Growth, New Delhi, 1982.

cigarettes to machine rolling etc. A study of the modernisation of the traditional handloom weaving industry in Kashmir reveals that women are displaced as the new looms use only mill made yarn - thus hundreds of women hand spinners lose their livelihood. Furthermore, new looms are not an addition but are replacing the old ones.¹

A similar situation in agriculture can be seen in Rajasthan and West Bengal. In these areas a majority of women of working force age group earn a steady income from the weeding of fields. Improved agriculture with inputs like chemical fertilisers to remove weeds take away a source of income for rural female labour.²

Women's need for fuel has shown that their ability to absorb new research on alternative sources of energy has been much greater than men.³ The Chipko

1 ISST Case Study: The Modernisation of the Traditional Handloom Weaving Industry in the Kashmir Valley, P. 10 Prepared for the Asian & Pacific Centre for Women & Development, 1979

2 Jain, D. "Are Women a Separate Issue"? In Populi Vol. 5, No.1, 1978.

3 Agarwal, A "Try Asking the Women First". Indian Express, 20 July, 1982, P. 6.

Movement in the Himalayas has highlighted the differences in articulated needs between men and women. " For example, in one area men wanted to plant fruit trees to earn cash incomes, and women wanted fuel and fodder trees.¹ For sometime to come this allocation of responsibility will continue and development will have to take notice of it.

Looking at this from another perspective women have begun to move towards the direction of capitalising on this difference rather than lamenting it.

Responding to the current economic and cultural crisis in the globe today a meeting of women researchers from 5 continents held in India a few months ago affirmed that it was women's survival strategies in the face of crises that could provide the model for survival-development strategies for the Third World.² It was suggested that global economic and political crises which was squeezing many countries into impoverishment, into accepting new colonialism and dependence could only be withstood and overcome if the methods followed by poor women for

1 Jain, D. "Development as If Women Mattered, or Can Women Build A New Paradigm" ISST, 1983.

2 First Advisory Committee Meeting on Development as a Platform for Nairobi, Bangalore, India. 19th to 23rd August 1984. ISST, Delhi.

survival in the large context of exploitation and crisis can be used as a model.

The model was to strengthen the small scale decentralised and less dependent more self-reliant forms of organisation, not only of production but of society. Women's tendency to have local level function based organisations were identified as being more effective, more flexible, more adaptable in comparison to men's highly politicised impersonal forms of organisations.

Thus from a position where women were asking to be included in the process of development, many experienced women who met at Bangalore moved to the point where they felt it was good that women had not been too deeply included in the development that had taken place so far as that would have pre-empted them and pushed them deeply into the crisis. Far better now women consolidated their "outside development" experience and built a new alternative style of development from their own experience.

This was the vision and the methodology for the future and this came from as widely dispersed regions as Latin America, Africa, Asia, North America and Europe.

We may now look at some specific aspects of women's development in India in recent years.

Table 13 gives programme-wise outlays and expenditures for women's welfare in the social welfare section under Central and Centrally sponsored schemes from 1978-79 to 1981-82: Statistics on the promotion of grassroots level women's organisations are a new feature. The earlier Handbook on Social Welfare Statistics, (1976) does not contain such a section. There is, however, an obvious discrimination in allocations for this section despite its being a new programme and thus requiring greater initial expenditure.

But the real area for planning and development to relate itself to women, especially amongst the poor, is in the economic sectors: Agriculture, Industry and Construction as well as in Basic Needs.

Programmes like the Rural Employment Programme, Integrated Rural Development Programme, Dairy Development, Sericulture Development, Handloom, Handicraft, Village Industry Development provide a large economic base to women workers who form 50 percent and more of the labour of these sectors.

The Sixth Plan allocation for these programmes is approximately Rs.3,500 crores (special employment programmes plus village and cottage industries excluding modern small scale industry) as tables in Section I show.

However the fact that women are present in equal numbers, if not predominantly, is not taken NOTICE of in investment or project design.^{1 & 2} Their biological and domestic needs are ignored - that is no social amenities are built into the project, and secondly neither extension nor training is tuned towards them³. In some cases the new investment might even disengage them unintentionally because of ignorance of their existence in the occupation.⁴

An analysis of tables in Section I reveals that areas of critical importance to women, namely health, drinking water, education are less than one percent of

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- 1 Jain, Devaki. Women Workers on the Employment Guarantee Schemes, ILO Geneva 1980.
 - 2 Jain, Devaki. Milk Maids of Kaira, Women's Quest for Power, VIKAS.
 - 3 Jain, Devaki. Women in Sericulture - ISST/ Ford Foundation, New Delhi
 - 4 Banerjee, Nirmala - Women's Occupations ICSSR - Forthcoming Vikas "Tyranny of the household".

the planned expenditure. Roads take more than two and a half time the expenditure on health. Yet any articulation by women reveals health to be a priority over roads.^{1 & 2}

Further analysis of development expenditure affirms the view, that even in a situation as if found in the LDC's, where poverty is pervasive, the perception of needs and priorities by planners is a male or patriarchal perception.

Thus even here, whether in village or district or higher level bodies which pick up the signals, design and implement development, the voice/opinion of women will be different from men in choice of priorities, even for the community.

Hence it is now clear that even in such societies women have to be consulted, vehicles for expression of their opinion created.

Table 13 - Growth of Cooperatives

	1978-79		1979-80		Sixth Plan	1980-81		1981-82	
	Budget	Expen- diture	Budget	Expen- diture	Outlays 1980-85	Budget	Expen- diture	Budget	Expen- diture
<u>CENTRAL SCHEMES</u>									
WOMEN WELFARE (Family + Child Welfare)	400	100							
Functional literacy	156.00	133.86	175.00	174.39	237.00	237.00	184.42	300.00	276.07
Condensed courses of education	90.00	90.00	100.00	100.00	700.00	120.00	125.00	150.00	150.00
Socio-economic programme	150.00	150.00	150.00	150.00	225.00	225.00	235.00	275.00	275.00
Hostels for Working women	200.00	201.45	150.00	150.28	1375.00	275.00	244.99	275.00	250.18
Promotion and strengthening of grassroots level women's organisation									
a Mahila Mandals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
b Training of rural women in public cooperation	200.00	2.00	2.00	3.50	197.00	2.00	4.50	35.00	5.00
c Training of social workers in designing and imple- mentation women's projects programmes	-	-	-	-	-	4.00	2.95	-	-

(continued)

Table 13 (contd)

	Budget Provision	Expen- diture	Budget Provision	Expen- diture	Sixth Plan Outlays 1980-85	1980-81 Budget Provision	Expen- diture	1981-82 Budget Provision	Expi diti
<u>CENTRALLY SPONSORED</u>									
Creeches for children of working mother's	50.00	50.00	60.00	79.25	975.00	175.00	175.00	220.00	220.
Integrated child develop- ment services	362.00	340.00	490.00	438.88	4500.00	544.00	592.00	767.00	827.

SECTION III

METHODOLOGIES USED TO INTEGRATED WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

There are many structures instituted at the governmental and non-governmental level for the advancement of women and for delivery of development services to them.

As early as 1953, in order that the extensive voluntary effort generated by the freedom movement should not be dissipated, the Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB) was created as the first government structure to foster systematically voluntary effort in social welfare. The CSWB had a very special status in that though set up and funded by the government, it had a large measure of autonomy, and flexibility in the utilisation of funds. Headed by a Chair person, always a woman, the thirty-nine members of its Central Body were drawn from amongst voluntary social workers, non-government organisations, representatives of state governments, representatives of Parliament, and of the Ministries of the Government of India connected with social welfare programmes. A broad outline of the Central Social Welfare Board's objectives is given in Annexure I. For the financial year 1975-76, the

outlay was Rs.342.78 lakhs.¹ With the end of the UN Women's Decade, this has increased to Rs.568.76 lakhs. This increase is however, nullified given that the rate of inflation has been higher.

Programmes of the CSWB that are particularly aimed towards improving the delivery of development services to women are, the socio-economic programme, Mahila Mandals, and Training of Rural Women in Public Cooperation (begun in 1976). Table 14 shows expenditure on these programmes between 1975-76 and 1983-84.

Table 14 - CSWB: Expenditure & Units Covered for 3 Women's Programme: 1975-76 to 1983-84

<u>Programme</u>	<u>1975-76</u>		<u>1983-84</u>	
	<u>Expend. (Rs. in Lakhs)</u>	<u>Units Covered</u>	<u>Expend. (Rs. in Lakhs)</u>	<u>Units</u>
Socio-Economic programme	50.00	204	280.00	5.9 thousand
Mahila Mandals	43.00	-	46.13	-

<u>Training in Public Co- operation</u>	<u>No. of Organisations</u>		<u>No. of Camps</u>		<u>Amount released (Rs. in Thous- and)</u>
	<u>1978-79</u>	<u>1980-81</u>	<u>1978-79</u>	<u>1980-81</u>	
	51	44	59	130	265,500(1978-79) 585,000(1980-81)

2 Ministry of Social Welfare, Report, 1983-84

3 Reports, 1975-76 and 1983-84, Ministry of Social Welfare.

1 CSWB Report, 1953-78.

Annexure II gives a list of all programmes conducted by the CSWB.

The CSWB is an example of a national body that is involved in women's development at three levels - policy, programmes and implementation. The Board generates policy at the central level through its linkages with voluntary women's organisations, formulates its own development programmes for women on the basis of funds given by government, and implements programmes through its Welfare Extension Projects which reach remote areas of the country.

The major government structure for implementing development programmes for women at the centre are the Ministry of Education & Social Welfare, the Ministry of Health & Family Planning, and the Ministry of Labour

Ministry of
Social Wel-
fare

In 1963-64, the government established the Department of Social Welfare, which was later made into a full fledged Ministry, in charge of policy Planning and Implementation. The Ministry of Social Welfare remains the nodal government agency for women's development in India. Broadly, the central concern of the Ministry of Social Welfare is providing services to the 'Welfare Needing', subsets of the population. The target groups include children, women, physically and socially handicapped persons.

Committee
on Status
of Women
in India

In 1971, the Government of India decided to initiate a comprehensive review of women in India and appointed a Committee on the status of women in India.

Annexure III provides details of the points focussed on by the Committee. The Committee's report received by the government in 1975, emphasised the need for a national machinery to coordinate and intensify the efforts and measures needed for women's development.¹ In response to this recommendation, The National Plan of Action for Women was drawn up. The National Plan, like the World Plan of Action, stressed the need of a national machinery for women.

National
Machinery

The national machinery set up in India in 1975 consists of:²

- 1 a National Committee;
- 2 a Steering Committee of the National Committee;
- 3 an Inter-Departmental Coordination Committee; and
- 4 a Women's Welfare & Development Bureau.

1 & 2 National Machinery for Women's Development in India, P.2 Women's Welfare & Development Bureau. Department of Social Welfare, Government of India.

The National Committee functions on the policy as well as programme implementation level. It advises the Central and State Governments on the legislative and administrative measures necessary for removing, as far as possible, economic and social injustices, disabilities and discriminations against Indian women. It also reviews the progress and implementation of programmes designed for this purpose. The Steering Committee identifies fundamental questions and demarcates the roles of government, political parties, and women's organisations. The official level Inter-departmental Committee, constituted on the recommendation of the Steering Committee provides analysis of the bureaucratic framework in terms of women's development programmes and their implementation.

's
u The primary function of the Women's Bureau is to plan financial and physical targets for the implementation of the National Plan of Action for Women. This also necessitates the collection and analysis of data, the coordination of development programmes for women in different sectors and through State Governments.

Planning
Commission

In the Planning Commission, the Social Planning Division has been delegated to frame and evaluate policy with respect to women. The Women's Bureau provides programme guidelines to the Commission based on what they conceive as the felt needs of different groups of women in the country. Since the planning process began, the focus for women's development has been largely in the areas of health, education and welfare. This remained largely unchanged till the Fourth Five Year Plan. The Fifth and Sixth Plan, which correspond to the Women's Decade, have emphasised the need to provide training for women, functional literacy, nutrition, and childcare. Employment has been another priority area, along with training in marketing and management in the Sixth Five Year Plan. Programmes for women under different plan sectors are given in Annexure IV.

Chapter 27 of the Sixth Plan (1980-85) is a supportive analysis of the position of women.

"Recent empirical studies show that just as laissez faire in the market has discriminated over a long period against scheduled tribes and other weak sections of the population, it has also discriminated against women in certain parts of

the country. They have lost traditional occupations as a result of changes which have transferred productive activity from homes and cottages to factories and machines, conscious and unconscious biases of employers operate against their recruitment in various occupations. The power structure in traditional families and communities prevents them from seeking and obtaining adequate education and outside employment and thereby securing an independent income and status"¹

in The total budget for social welfare, hitherto the strongest sector for women and development, has risen from Rs.63.53 crores in the Fifth Plan (1974-79), to Rs.150.10 crores in the Sixth Plan². Recommendations that child care facilities, a priority need for women, needs expanding was acted on by increasing the total outlay of the Integrated Child Services Programme, (ICDS) begun in the financial year 1974-75, from Rs.7.40 lakhs

1 Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85). Chapter 27.

2 Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79) and Sixth Five Year Plan, 1980-85.

in 1974-79, to Rs.4.5 lakhs in 1980-85.¹ This programme provides critical support services for women, without which they cannot be freed to participate in development and obtain its benefits.

Table 15 - Integrated Child Development Services

	<u>1975-76</u>	<u>1979-80</u>	<u>1983-84</u>	<u>1985</u> <u>(Targeted)</u>
Number of projects Functioning	33	150	820	1,000

Source: Report, 1983-84, Ministry of Social Welfare, Government of India.

Various central ministries formulate their own programmes either specifically for women, or which include women in them. These run concurrently with the schemes of the Ministry of Social Welfare and the Social Planning Division. They include health programmes of the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare and State Health Departments, education programmes of the Central Department of Education and its state counter-parts, and vocational training programmes. The Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation also has women's programmes, done by its Department of Rural Development and the Extension Directorate in the Department of Agriculture.

tional
rporat-
ns and
ards

There are many national corporations and Boards in India which are autonomous but government supported associated with products such as milk, handicrafts, handlooms, coir, silk, etc. They provide institutional support in terms of finance, training and marketing. Details on their roles will be discussed in the employment chapter. However, here it is pertinent to discuss the National Dairy Development Board - which is in charge of a massive programme to increase the production of milk - and the Khadi & Village Industries Commission.

The relevance of this project here is that the programme is based on cooperativisation of the milk producers,¹ a pre-condition to receiving either inputs like animal fodder or veterinary services or market support through the milk collection centres.

There is no doubt that this project has helped to strengthen, to make remunerative and regular income from small scale dairying, ownership of even one milch animal for thousands of peasant households across the country. Its basic strategy is infrastructure support on a collective basis for individual, self-employed,

1 Jain, D. Women's Quest For Power, 1980, Vikas.

dispersed rural households, a valuable model for the promotion of any product production on a decentralised scale be it milk, fish, eggs, coir, handicrafts etc. especially for women who in many of these countries prefer homebased work.

Amongst the dairy households research revealed that though women were the main workers, not more than 10 percent were in the cooperatives. This is gradually being rectified.

It was also found that their health was deteriorating due to overburdening of work. A health and child care and food activity has been set up to take care of this.

The Khadi
& Village
Industries
Commission

In the national economy, women's participation is low. But in the case of the KVIC programmes women's participation is approximately 45 percent. The activities of the KVIC focus on self-employment schemes which assist individual artisans in various trades. Besides financial assistance, individual artisans are given support in the form of cooperatives and institutions.

The principle objective of the science and technology programme of the Khadi & Village Industries Commission (KVIC) is upgradation of technology and transfer of technology, which makes the tasks of artisans, particularly women, less onerous by lessening the drudgery in their work. Technologies so developed are simple and not capital intensive.¹

The following table shows the percentage participation of women in the KVIC programmes:

Women Employed Under Khadi & Village Industries (1981-82)

<u>Industry</u>	<u>Total Employment (Lakh Persons)</u>	<u>No. of Women Employed (Lakh Persons)</u>	<u>Percentage Share of Women in Total Employment (%)</u>
I KHADI			
1 Cotton	10.22	7.67	75
2 Woollen	1.92	0.77	40
3 Silk	0.59	0.35	60
<u>Total I</u>	<u>12.73</u>	<u>8.79</u>	<u>69</u>
II VILLAGE INDUSTRIES			
1 Processing of Cereals and pulses	0.47	0.38	80
2 Ghani oil	0.56	-	-
3 Village leather	1.20	0.12	10
4 Cottage match	0.47	0.21	45
5 Cane Gur & Khandsari	1.33	-	-
6 Palm gur	4.34	1.52	35
7 Non-edible oils & soap	2.01	0.80	40
8 Handmade paper	0.06	0.01	10

(continued)

<u>Industry</u>	<u>Total Employment (Lakh Persons)</u>	<u>No. of Women Employed (Lakh Persons)</u>	<u>Percentage Share of Women in Total Employment (%)</u>
9 Beekeeping	1.86	-	-
10 Village pottery	1.82	0.73	40
11 Fibre	1.52	0.84	55
12 Carpentry & blacksmithy	1.10	-	-
13 Lime manufacturing	0.32	0.06	20
14 Gobar (Methane) gas	0.11	-	-
15 Collection of forest plants	0.49	0.25	50
16 Shellac	0.03	-	-
17 Gums & Resins	1.43	0.64	Gums 50 Resin 20
18 Katha	0.09	0.05	50
19 Fruit Processing and fruit preservation	0.03	0.02	50
20 Polyvastra	0.02	-	-
<u>Total II</u>	<u>19.69</u>	<u>5.80</u>	<u>29</u>
<u>Total I + II</u>	<u>32.42</u>	<u>14.59</u>	<u>45</u>

Note: - : negligible.

Special Cells for Women

University
Grants
Commission

During the decade, the University Grants Commission (UGC) showed a concern in developing programmes relating to women's studies in Indian Universities. Research Units on Women's studies were established in State Universities - Kakatiya University in Warangal, Andhra; Karnataka University, Dharwar; SNDT, Bombay, Mother Teresa's University in Kodai Kanal and many others.

One of the most established, the Research Unit at SINDT, began in 1974 and it is hoped to develop it into a full fledged Women's Archives Department for Western India.

The first programme for orientation and training for University Teachers on Women's Studies in the Social Sciences' was held in 1983. The workshop evolved guidelines for women's studies and has prepared some sample course outlines.

Ministry of
Labour and
Rural Development

In the Ministry of Labour and in the Department of Rural Development, which play a critical and vital role in taking up women's programmes in these sectors, special cells for women's programmes have been set-up.

Training
Institutes
for Women

Institutional training is provided by different ministries, primarily the Ministry of Labour & Rehabilitation, and the Ministry of Social Welfare. These vocational training institutes provide instructor training, basic training, and advanced training in selected trades suitable for women. The National Vocational Training Institute at Delhi, and two regional vocational Training Institutes at Bombay and Bangalore were set up

by the Ministry of Labour in 1977 in response to changing patterns in women's employment in the labour market away from an exclusively domestic role. Objectives of the institutes and the courses offered are given in Annexure V.

The pattern of women's employment is monitored by Employment Exchanges which have provided valuable data on job availability in the organised sector over the past 25 years. It is seen that during the decade, the number of women job seekers rose one and a half times from 1971 to 1981.

State
Structure
for
Women's
Develop-
ment

Given the federal structure of the country, the well defined roles and responsibilities of the Central and State Governments, machinery at the State Level for coordinated measures for women's development is a critical need. Prior to the Decade there were no separate cells for women's development planning at the state level. However, urged by the central government, the states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Tamilnadu have set up Directorates of Women's Welfare. Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, and Punjab have Women's Economic Development Corporations.

The Women's Development Corporations set up in 1975 by the Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra governments were meant as one-stop agencies for women's development, but in fact undertake only a part of the functions necessary.¹ The Punjab Women & Children Development and Welfare Corporation, set up in 1979 follows a model similar to Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. The Andhra Pradesh and Punjab organisations are essentially cooperative financial bodies which identify activities suitable to women, and provide credit and an institutional framework conducive to self-employment. The Maharashtra Women's Development Corporation is a marketing organisation functioning through Mahila Mandals to promote employment.

Almost the entire capital investment in these corporations comes from government (90%), and the remainder from welfare cooperatives, cooperative banks, and commercial banks. The donors become 'A' Class members of the corporation, with shares of Rs.100 each. Individual borrowers are 'B' class members, with shares of Rs.10 each and no right to vote. Furthermore, these corporations particularly in Maharashtra and Andhra, do not reach the poorest women. The income level required before assistance is given to a woman is Rs.500 in urban areas and Rs.200 in rural areas - this excludes the poorest women in any community.

¹ Sundar, P. The Case For a Gujarat Women's Development Corporation. Ford Foundation, 1979.

Methods
of Financial
Allocation &
Implementation
Machinery

For central programmes, central government departments make block grants to the corresponding state department; the grant is then divided by sub-programmes, and following that by districts. The states follow the same procedures: the grant goes from state departments to district departments to each block or group of blocks.

Rural
Women's
Organisations

The Department of Rural Development and the Central Social Welfare Board are the two main agencies that have a permanent network of extension personnel at the block and village level. This infrastructure is used by all departments to implement the women's component of their programmes. These two agencies together maintain almost 50,000 rural women's clubs or Mahila Mandals, sponsored by the states, all over India. Three or four women staff each Mahila Mandal to conduct the regular activities of craft training, creche, and balwadi (a nursery for pre-school children) services.

Considering the critical need of economic participation by women and of women's organisations at the grass-roots level, the Working Group on the Development of Village Level Organisations for Rural Women was set up by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1977. The objectives of rural women's organisations, as stated by the working group, was that new programme should focus on drawing

a majority of rural women into the mainstream of development and enable them to function as instruments of social change.

The Working Group further recommended that a single type of organisation like Mahila Mandals cannot meet all the needs of the various groups of women in a community. Thus the need to encourage several types of women's grass-roots organisations like cooperatives and trade unions. See Tables 16 and 17 for cooperatives and trade unions in general and Table 18 for women's cooperatives.

Table 16 - Growth of Cooperatives

	<u>1960-</u> <u>61</u>	<u>1970-</u> <u>71</u>	<u>1975-</u> <u>76</u>	<u>1977-</u> <u>78</u>	<u>1978-</u> <u>79</u>	<u>1979-</u> <u>80</u>	<u>1980-</u> <u>81</u>
No. of societies (Lakhs)	3.3	3.2	3.1	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0
Membership of So- cieties (Lakhs)	342	591	848	931	1,014	1,010	1,062
Share Capital (Rs. Crores)	222	851	1,529	1,812	N.A	1,987	2,088
Working Capital (Rs. Crores)	1,312	6,810	12,432	16,691	18,904	19,058	20,021

A study of the data in the above table shows that between 1960-61 and 1980-81 - a period of 20 years - the membership of primary societies increased by more than three times, the share capital of all types of co-operatives increased by more than nine times and the working capital by more than fifteen times.

Table 17. - Trade Unions

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Regd. Unions</u>	<u>Membership* (In Lakhs)</u>	<u>Average Wage per factory Worker (Rs.)</u>
1973	23,503	43.77	3,364
1974	25,056	42.19	3,828
1975	25,460	45.69	4,301
1976	25,665	46.97	4,560

Note: * Only about 20 percent of industrial workers are members of trade unions.

Table 18 - Number of Cooperative Societies Exclusively for Women in 1978-79. This information not Available in Statistical Profiles prior to 1981.

<u>Women's</u> <u>Indust-</u> <u>rial Co-</u> <u>operatives</u>	<u>Women's</u> <u>Consum-</u> <u>er Co-</u> <u>operatives</u>	<u>Women's</u> <u>thrift &</u> <u>Saving Co-</u> <u>operatives</u>	<u>Multiple</u> <u>purpose</u> <u>Coopera-</u> <u>tive</u>	<u>Others</u>
1,182	220	288	44	5

1 Handbook on Social Welfare Statistics, 1981. P.449.

Non-Government Organisations

Initiatives and responses of non-government organisations to the challenge of the decade deserve notice.

Non-government activity in India has received an impetus with the Decade both through the support of policy and programmes at the National Level as well as through the initiative of voluntary women's organisations.

Over the decade, there has been a variety in the growth of non-government women's organisations in India, all varying widely in their ideology, size, focus, and financial status. Including village level institutions (set up by government through a methodology of instituting a government-funded project in a rural area), there are approximately 50,000 women's organisations

in India.¹

A categorisation of these organisations is possible according to the size and nature of their coverage, the focus of their programmes and objectives and even the methodology which they adopt for ~~reaching~~ women. During the 1950's organisations which fought for social reform along the freedom fighters established national networks with branches at state and district level, and focussed on the emancipation of women in the field of education, health, and social reform through social legislation. Through extensive training programmes, they created links with rural village women's groups for extension welfare projects.

Women's wings of political parties became the platform not only for political participation by women but also for large scale agitations on social issues.

Political participation of women was also carried out through student bodies, trade unions, kisan sabhas,

1 (i) Director of Voluntary Agencies - CSWB.

(ii) National workshop on Role of voluntary organisation in Rural Development - July 5-6, '82 organised by NIRD, Hyderabad.

and professional organisations.¹

The decade has also seen the growth of "intermediary organisations".

These compound research, training, and consultancy - feeding the women's movement, the academic areas of curriculum and text books, as well as the government at the policy, programme and implementation level. They bridge the usual divide between research and action.

These are usually funded by the Indian Council for Social Science Research, the various sectoral Ministries as well as development and UN agencies for specific activities like documentation, seminars, and consultancy to projects. Their role has been close to women's organisations but different. They have attracted the attention of those concerned with the subject sufficiently to be referred to in the report of Women & Development working group

1 Mhatre, Sharaya, "Women's Movements and Political Participation". Paper presented at Second - (Thus the sphere of action varies from the macro-specific to the small local specific). National Conference on Women's studies.

set up to prepare the Chapter for the Seventh Five Year Plan. This type of intermediary organisation-mediating between policy makers, researchers, women's organisations and grass-root activism, is now being spread through the Universities - as Women Studies Centres as well as a women's project within the National Service Scheme which is a requirement of students.¹

At the grass-root level, there are agencies engaged in organising rural women, and also engaged in developmental activity with the poor. This generally has the same focus as government programmes such as agriculture, animal and dairy development, rural industries, social services. Community works include relief and rehabilitation work.

These agencies have professionalised voluntarism but have adopted and experimented with different strategies for achieving development objectives.

With the objectives of women's development redefined during the Decade, the focus of voluntary

1 Report of the Working Group on Women and Development for the Seventh Plan, Ministry of Social Welfare.

effort and the focus of government effort has been enlarged from a purely welfare approach to women's need to a recognition of the need not only to integrate women in development but also to redefine women's needs from a feminist and participatory perspective. The growth and contribution of voluntary agencies during the decade has been ⁱⁿ a new direction and ⁱⁿ new activities apart from the traditionally identified social welfare activities.

NGOs Initi-
atives at
the Policy
Level

The non-government organisations have over the Decade provided support to women's development through forums for articulation of the needs of poor women and the recognition and integration of these in macro-level planning.

For instance, the whole issue and debate on self-employment and on the integration of the unorganised sector of which over 60 percent are women, was generated by the growth and activities of organisations like SEWA, The Self Employed Women's Association. SEWA is a trade union for poor unorganised women workers who supply essential goods and services to city dwellers. Women activists and voluntary workers have focussed on the rights of this category of women workers, hitherto classified as non-workers due to errors in data collection

methods. The growth of such trade unions of the self-employed have received recognition and support from government, departments, especially the Ministry of Social Welfare and the Ministry of Labour (Section C). The SEWA methodology, namely: survey, identification of occupational clusters of women and identification of their priorities has been made the basis of the new programme for the Development of Women & Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA). This programme is implemented in India by the Ministry of Rural Development with financial support by UNICEF. At the action level the SEWA methodology has been replicated by other non-government organisations. There are now 7 SEWAS in India forming a unified body - Sewa Bharat.

Similarly the realisation of the ~~impact~~ on women of environmental denudation and the need for people oriented national conservation policy was recognised with the efforts of the Dasholi Gram Swarajya Sangh (DGSS). Coinciding with the Decade, 1974 was the beginning of the Chipko Movement ('hug' the trees so as to save them), initiated by this organisation, a voluntary group dedicated to styles of hill development which would safeguard local interests. In response to the identification of development priorities for the hill people, the Government of India set up a Commission to investigate the

issues in hill development. The Commission declared the entire catchment area as protected and recommended the involvement of government in massive afforestation programmes. Financial aid to the DGSS has been channelled through appropriate state government departments and voluntary agencies coopted on an Advisory Committee of the Planning Commission on Hill Development.

In 1980, public action by women's groups on the rape issue resulted in a great deal of feminist activity in India. The anti-rape movement became the first major issue on the action front around which women began to get together and protest collectively in an organised way at several places in the country. The Forum Against Rape was founded in Bombay and became a major feminist organisation. The starting point was the Mathura Rape Case in which a young girl was raped by policemen, who were subsequently acquitted in the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court's decision brought women's organisations to debate the issue publically and call for a change in the country's rape laws. As a result of lobbying by women's organisations the Criminal Law Amendment Bill was enacted, which shifts the burden of proving consent on the accused and also make the punishment for rape more stringent. The Forum Against

Rape subsequently became the Forum Against the Repression of Women.

Similar action has been taken by women's organisations on the issue of the **Portrayal** of Women in the Media. A Committee of voluntary workers was formed in 1979 to safeguard, articulate and protest, and mobilise public opinion against the media's vested interest in the portrayal of women.

On the research level, the growing awareness of the lack of accurate data on women and the consequent obstacles in integrating women into development led research organisations to create associations and forums for the advancement of women's studies. The Economists Interested in Women's Issues Groups (EIWIG) formed in 1981-82, provides a network for strengthening non-government effort in research and articulation on behalf of women in the field of economics and statistics. The Group organises seminars to strengthen the understanding of women's economic roles.

EIWIG emerged out of a wider formation the Indian Association of Women's Studies initiated at a National Conference on Women's Studies held at Bombay in 1981 and registered in 1983, with membership drawn

from faculties of universities, professionals, and women activists. The association has already organised two national level seminars on women's studies, and has been an important focus for changing curriculum, identifying resource persons, and sponsoring national level research projects.

The national network of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust has called for the eradication of female illiteracy in India. A National Committee of voluntary organisations with the promised support of the Ministry of Education has been formed with the idea of strengthening governments efforts in this direction using all available resources and methodologies.

Interaction
Between Go-
vernment &
non-govern-
ment orga-
nisations

Through the Decade, coinciding with the Fifth and Sixth Five Year Plans, there has been continuing emphasis on the part of government that given the extent of poverty, and the magnitude of the task of development, both government and non-government organisations must complement each other. This interaction is reflected on three levels - policy, programmes, and the micro level.

interaction
at Policy
level

In October 1983, various working groups on women and development were set up to make recommendations for integrating women in the Seventh Five Year Plan (for 1985-90). The following advisory committees were set up, each having members from non-government organisations and government bodies working in the field of development:

- 1 Advisory Committee on the new rural development programme for women - Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA).
- 2 The National Advisory Committee on Women's Employment with its two sub-committees - The sub-committee on statistics on women workers, and the sub-committee on un-organised labour.
- 3 The working group on Women and Development for the Seventh Plan, with its two sub-committees on awareness building, and district planning.
- 4 The working group on Adult Education for the Seventh Plan.

In
at
gr.

The Committee on Employment has recommended that already existing programmes like the National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and the Minimum Need Programme could be developed to absorb a larger number of unemployed women. The working group on Women and Development also stresses the need for social security and health insurance programme specifically for women.

Sewa was represented on this committee, and this has brought greater recognition of the needs of self-employed women in the unorganised sector.¹

The process used by the Ministry of Labour in setting up the Committee on employment greatly facilitated interaction between the civil servant incharge of the cell and the Advisory Committee. The Committee was chaired by the Minister and in addition had a Women Officer in the cell to act as a secretary.

Interaction
at the Pro-
gramme Level

The Voluntary Action Bureau, set up by the Central Social Welfare Board in 1932, to investigate reported cases of dowry violence, and atrocities against women and children was an experiment in collaboration

1 Budgetary Recommendations of the Working Group on Women & Development for the Seventh Plan

between the Board and Voluntary Organisations. An Advisory Committee made up of representatives of both government and voluntary agencies was set up to guide the activities of the bureau.

Apart from attending to actual cases, the Committee was to promote coordination between the CSWB and various voluntary agencies, and to educate and mobilise public opinion against social crimes.

The Development of women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA) programme, initiated in 1982, is another such experiment in coordination between government and voluntary agencies. DWCRA was conceived as a Joint Venture at the planning stage itself, as identification of women's needs and participation and the block plans for women were entrusted to six women's voluntary agencies, including research institutes working in urban and rural areas. These organisations were also to help in the implementation of the plans. This programme was begun as a sub-scheme of the Integrated Rural Development Programme. The objective of DWCRA is to help rural women and children benefit from development programmes already in existence. Women's organisations have been coopted to prepare block level plans for the first time to

base
provide a data/for the programme. It was hoped that in the process of conducting surveys and group meetings for the plan, these organisations would establish rapport with the community. Training of functionaries was also to be done by the voluntary agencies.

Interaction
at the Micro
Level

Several initiatives were taken by government during the Decade to build forums for discussion on women's issues, and strengthen interaction at the micro-level. The Committee for Implementation of Legal Aid Schemes (CILAS), set up in 1982-83, which serves the purpose of assisting activist groups in public litigation and safeguarding peoples interests is a particularly relevant example. The members of the group are officials of the government who work in close contact with non-government social action groups.

A second such forum is the Peoples Action for Development (PADI), through which voluntary agencies express their views to the government. The President of the governing council is the Secretary of the MICD. PADI also channelises funds to voluntary agencies and in turn promotes efforts for implementing development programmes.

Mobile Creches for Working Mothers Children is another voluntary organisation which has aimed specifically at reaching women workers in construction activity with support services like creches nutrition, health and adult education.

To facilitate voluntary agencies implementing development programmes at the micro-level, the Ministry of Social Welfare and the Central Social Welfare Board give grants-in-aid to voluntary organisations.

Thus we see that cooption by government voluntary effort in women's development is occurring at every level - both institutionally and informally. However, obstacles to this process of interaction do exist, and are delineated in the following section.

SECTION IV

THE ROLE OF INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS - OBSTACLES & PROSPECTS

The decade has certainly had a visible impact across the board on a wide range of institutions and agencies in terms at least of making them aware that there is a women's component or a woman issue.

The range would include:

- a Political parties where the women's wing has been given far greater importance in terms of allocations for meetings and other activities since 1975. These politically affiliated groups have independently taken out their own processions and organised mass meetings, on issues such as prices of basic necessities and resistance to violence. They have joined forces with non-political women's organisations and research institutions at national, regional and local levels on national issues such as dowry,¹ action against atrocities, on

1 Demonstration by Voluntary Organisations, Delhi, August 1982.

economic policies such as resisting technological change which displaced women¹. In other words, political parties have strengthened their own women's wing and are aware that there is a women's voice/vote which might be linked to women's needs;

- b National research & development organisations whether dealing with social areas such as education and population control or economic areas such as rural development and nutrition for separate programme areas dealing with women; and
- c Ground level development effort such as district level planning, credit for poverty households which are also providing a women's component.

Thus it can be suggested whether it is at the policy level, programme level, research area or training area, national institutions and autonomous bodies as well as those linked to government now are at least linked to a women's interest.

1 Demonstrations of Voluntary Organisations on Women's Day, March 8th, 1983.

Commission on
Women

Yet the issue remains whether the institutional supports which have so far been provided are adequate. One of the strong suggestions being made is to have a separate Commission on Women and a separate executive authority for women¹. Such an idea was tried out for another group of disadvantaged people namely, what in India is called the scheduled caste and tribes.

Scheduled
Caste
Commission

For the scheduled caste and tribal population there is both a commission which is mainly an evaluating and reporting body with no budget for expenditure.

At another level there is a component plan and at a third level, a sub-plan within the national plan specially oriented to development in areas which are intensely populated by these categories.

The review of 30 years of experience of this 3 pronged approach has not been satisfactory. The Commissioner, namely the body which observes, evaluates and reports has found that the process of development namely the methodology is such that even with these

1 Second Conference on Women's Studies, Trivandrum, April 1984, organised by Indian Association of Women's Studies.

arrangements there has been no difference in the inequity faced by these groups.¹ This analysis pinpoints the weakness of the system of both designing the programme as well as disbursing the funds and development impulses towards these disadvantaged less visible groups.²

"The suggestion of the Commission that the Ministries and the state governments should be advised to make a separate provision in each sector indicating the financial and physical targets that they visualise for the scheduled castes as has been done in the tribal sub plan, though well intentioned is not likely to yield the expected results. The implementation will continue to be in the hands of those who have not shown any great concern for the welfare of the scheduled castes."

1 Twenty-sixth Report of the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (1978-79).

2 "Emancipation of Scheduled Castes and Tribes: Some Suggestions"- EPW, February 28, 1981, Pages 329, 330.

This concern is similar to the concern expressed by women that in order to participate and benefit from development it is not only institutional arrangements such as having a women's organisation in a village which would also get a share of the development budget but a change in the process; development design, development aim and development content.

,NREP,
- Im-
on
1

Already mentioned major government programmes like the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS), the National Rural Employment Scheme (NREP), and the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme (MEGS), with the potential to benefit the poor and women have not had the expected impact on the population in general, or women in particular.

The National Rural Employment Programme became a regular part of the Sixth Five Year Plan from April 1981. Under this programme generation of additional employment to the extent of 300-400 million man-days per year for the unemployed and underemployed in the rural areas is envisaged.¹ The programme generated 1,157

1 Jain, L.C. Grass without roots -- Rural Development Under Government Auspices, 1983.

million mandays employment in the 3 year period. Some crucial constraints in implementation have been: the supply of foodgrains as part of the wages; difficulties of local resource mobilisation; works implemented through the NREP are often not coordinated and integrated with the requirements of the families identified for assistance under the integrated Rural Development Programme.

Works selected under NREP are not being decided, as was expected, through popular participation and consultation with Village Panchayats and Gram Sabhas. The tendency is to go in for building construction with high material components counter to the basic objectives of the programme, and with a low female participation rate.

Child care facilities, a priority need for women, were responded to with the Integrated Child Development Services Programme - begun in 1974-75.

The biggest problems faced in the implementation of the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) schemes are those of coordination between the department/agencies involved in the delivery of the package. These are education, Public Health, Block, CARE, and UNICEF. Often two block areas are included in one project and

the BDC has no hand in the selection of the Anganwady workers. The Health Department feels that as most of the programmes in the schemes, viz. health check-ups, immunisation, and referral services are in their area, they should have control over the scheme.

Cooperation and support from the people is lacking, there is no substantial participation at the village level. Anganwadis are often situated in such locations that one or other section of the village community will not be able to participate. If Anganwadis are situated in the scheduled caste areas then mothers of other castes do not participate in the programmes, and vice versa. Such communal feelings which seriously affect the implementation of a programme can only be removed if the cooperation of the village leaders is obtained. Where moves have been made to form district and project level Coordination Committees they are ineffective because functionaries like the BDO and the DC take little interest in its affairs.

Lastly, the "beneficiaries" are not well informed of the benefits to be derived from the various programmes.

The programme evaluation organisation of the Planning Commission points out several deficiencies in the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme¹. The fundamental premise of the scheme is that works undertaken should provide gainful and productive employment, gainful to the individual and productive for the economy, for unskilled persons in rural areas who are prepared to do manual work, but cannot find such jobs. The scheme is meant to continue for several years, and has its own administrative machinery, research and development unit. A total expenditure of Rs.216 crores had been incurred on the scheme since its inception (1972-73) upto February, 1979. This has resulted in the generation of 56.27 crore person days of employment. The average wages earned were 18 percent higher on EGS works than on other works. A particularly striking feature is that women are dominant in the labour to the extent of 57 percent in 52 out of 87 selected works in progress.

In most completed works, however, the necessary complementary investment has not been made. The areas where this is lacking is well construction, land levelling

1 Joint Evaluation Report on Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme. Programme Evaluation Organisation, Planning Commission, GOI. June 1980.

application of fertilisers and other essential inputs. This has resulted in the sub-optimal use of the potential created. No specific agency seems to have been assigned responsibility for the follow-up. Furthermore, the physical condition of the works have deteriorated with time due to the lack of maintenance which was the responsibility of departments executing the works or the Zila Parishads.

The scheme, though it employed a large percentage of women, has not taken any note of this fact either in conception, design, implementation or personnel, nor even in evaluation of impact.¹ The only item relevant to women workers' participation in the scheme is that creches should be provided. However, creches are rarely established and where they are, they are no more than a flimsy shack with close to no facilities. Women are also inhibited from participating because of the male/female labour mix requirement for construction work - women often cannot mobilise men to join their gang. Yet, more males register than report for work, while more females report than register. There has been no investigation of this pattern. It is probable that men register and then send women to work on the sites.

1 JSST. Impact on Women Workers: Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme. Sponsored by ILO, 1979.

A system must be devised by which a community's self-identification in terms of strength and weakness should precede the next step where the community articulates the development that it prefers which then is translated into a response in terms of money and technical and human services.

"Ultimately a reform of such magnitude and high purpose can progress significantly only with the most active involvement of the people themselves ... (particularly the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes). Anything that will enhance the capacity of the latter to fight their own battles against discrimination, poverty, assault ... must be backed by the Commission".¹

Integration
of Women
into Plan-
ing

This was brought out very clearly in an exercise for looking at development utilisation amongst poverty households in response to the Sixth Plan endeavours.² The main findings of this study have been summarised below:

- 1 Emancipation of Scheduled Castes & Tribes: Some Suggestions - EPW, February 28, 1981, Pages 329, 330.
- 2 Integrating Women into a State Five Year Plan - ISSI, October 1984, Sponsored by Ministry of Social Welfare.

- 1 Where additional employment opportunities are available they are attributable to programmes and projects which ^{being} gender neutral tend to be better utilised by men. Men have used training programmes better, having better access to the functionaries and also being less bound to the house. Their title to property is usually adequate to make them eligible for loans and grants under IRDP and such other programmes, whereas women have often to provide co-guarantors. Because men predominate in panchayats, cooperative societies, zila parishads, development councils etc. their awareness of opportunities and possible benefits is usually much greater than those of women. The latter usually get to know about only those schemes which the men of the household care to pass on to them. Except when there are active mahila mandals or other non-governmental agencies devoted to the welfare of women, or when special effort is made by functionaries such as ANM and LHV, beneficiary awareness of schemes specifically meant for women is very little. In consequence, the extent of benefit derived by women as wage earners

under the EA, NREP, or by women as self employed workers under IRDP etc., is quite incommensurate with their need.

- 2 The government machinery has proliferated and spread out to villages in many forms, but this has not been reflected in any corresponding increase in its reach of the poor, more especially of poor women. Even allowing for the many obstacles that local functionaries may have there is little doubt that they have tended generally to approach their tasks mechanistically, in terms of set procedures and targets which may not always be relevant to the individual beneficiary. Local caste and power groups often limit their interest and activity. Coupled with the disarray or absence of basic factual information on household assets, incomes, etc., at the village level, actual beneficiaries of government programmes have many times turned out to be not the neediest or the most eligible on objective grounds, but those who were economically better-off and socially or politically better connected.

- 3 In general, women beneficiaries in both the areas found it easier to deal with women functionaries, such as ANM, LHV and Anganwadis workers and agricultural extension workers when available. Efforts by women to organise cooperative societies of their own, as by fishermen in the Udipi area, found the going hard, due partly to the cumbersome procedures but mostly to lack of official and technical support. It was the commonly expressed view in both the areas that with more women functionaries at all levels of government departments, they would find it much easier to deal with the administrative system and would be better able to utilise opportunities for economic and social improvement.
- 4 Mahila Mandals, where they existed, were not very impressive. They were, for the most part, confined to upper caste women, often reflecting the power structure in the village. Apart from providing some opportunity for women to learn tailoring, embroidery or such craft, they had little impact on the overall work situation for women. The Mahila Mandals were set up as delivery mechanisms for services and this became

an end in itself. They have not really empowered village women to participate effectively in development, i.e. decide financial allocations, and priorities as women. The Mahila mandals are criticised for being elite oriented, but enlarging membership to include Harijans and other women from the poorest sections of a community would not necessarily solve the problem, but may create tensions in the community when vested interests are threatened. Furthermore, such a change would be marginal, and would not bring women into the mainstream of political and economic life. If in setting up these institutions the objective was only to deliver programmes, they have been effective upto a point, especially in remote border areas.

Mahila mandals, as constituted now, are delivery instruments for services to women and children, and these services are broadly determined by central sponsors. They are not set up to achieve the goal to integrate women in community life and decision making. Objectives need to be minimised to facilitate the efficient functioning of such institutions. Objectives that can be achieved by non-official political

movements should not be lumped with those best suited to official organisations.

- 5 Planning as now conceived and practised benefits women only incidentally and residually rather than as equal claimants with men. Their special requirements and problems are virtually bypassed by the planning process.

Looking at the institutional support available for Women's Development the following obstacles to effective delivery of support and strengthening of women's articulation were identified.

Women's
Bureau

The efficient functioning of the Women's Bureau has been hampered for several reasons. Firstly there is no corresponding cell in other ministries which would have a stake in the development of women's programmes, except in the Ministry of Labour which has a women's cell. It is necessary to have an effective interministerial co-ordination committee to ensure that due importance is given to women's programmes in different sectors.¹

1. Report of Working Group on Women and Development for the Seventh Plan, Ministry of Social Welfare.

Also absent is the necessary linkage between the ministry and the state level implementation machinery. The Bureau does not have enough feedback and data from the states on the various programmes being implemented, nor from voluntary agencies.

The Bureau has initiated new programmes and tried to implement these parallel to the CSWB's efforts. This has resulted in some confusion and over-lapping. It would be better for the ministry to restrict itself to the role of a clearing house on women's documentation, to coordination of research and analysis, financial support, policy planning and liaison with voluntary agencies. The Bureau could also be involved in monitoring and periodic evaluation.¹

The experience of other countries such as Sri Lanka, which had set up a Women's Bureau in 1978 to integrate women in development, has been similar to that of India.²

1 Report of Working Group on Women and Development for the Seventh Plan, Ministry of Social Welfare.

2 Tolkkonen, Pitva: A case study of the Women's Bureau of Sri Lanka, presented at the DAC Correspondents Meeting, Paris 1983.

The Bureau had an imaginatively designed programme to reach and integrate women into planning, and had institutionalised links with other ministries as well as women's organisations. However, the facilitators and functionaries of the programmes were the same personnel who had received their training and orientation in conventional bureaucratic or social service institutions, and hence were not oriented towards a new perspective on the whole issue.

Training Institutions

An evaluation of the functioning of the National and Regional Vocational Training Institute¹ revealed that about 52 percent of the ex-trainees in a sample size of 35 percent of total ex-trainees had been unable to find suitable jobs on the strength of the training received by them. Those that had found jobs found the training beneficial. Regarding self-employment only 7 percent reported themselves as self-employed.

At the National Vocational Training Institute of Delhi, out of all the courses covered, dress making and embroidery were the most popular choices. However,

1 Study of Utilisation and Wastage of Training Programme of the National and Regional Vocational Training Institutes for Women - Unpublished Report of Directorate General of Employment & Training, Ministry of Labour.

tragically only 10 percent of the sample of the trainees were employed. In contrast, the trainers from the Regional Training Institutes at Bangalore and Bombay opted mainly for course in electronics and secretarial practice and employment was almost 100%.

In the National Institute, some basic changes are necessary both in the selection of students and in the course offered. Although the minimum qualification is a high school certificate, many trainees are graduates and post graduates. Thus at the time of seeking employment the trainees who are less educated are at a distinct disadvantage even if they have excelled at the technical level in the dress making/embroidery courses. This is especially so in schools when they apply for teaching jobs, after completing the POT course (Principles of Teaching).

Secondly, the job market in Delhi is not favourable to the absorption of this particular trade, and there is a total mismatch between the choice of the course and the employment available.

The garment trade in Delhi is controlled by the private sector and is totally male dominated. Unfavourable working conditions and social institutions

discourage the girls from seeking employment in such places. Conversely the employers are not aware of the existence of the NVTI and the availability of the trainees.

The trainees are also not in a position to start self-employment ventures due to lack of mental orientation, encouragement from the NVTI, guidance and support in the form of credit and infrastructure. Their own home environment provides no scope in terms of space to start self employment ventures. The mental attitude of some of the trainees is also not career oriented as they drift into the courses as a stop gap arrangement between education and marriage.

The Regional Institutes function much better as they have anticipated many of the problems which are indicated above. The women opt mainly for electronics and secretarial practice both of which have an excellent absorption potential in the job market. There is also a dynamic interaction between the Institutes and the large number of public sector undertakings which dominate the two cities. The Institutes also undertake placement of the trainees. In order to make the training more utilitarian, it is necessary to adopt the following strategies:

- a Change the curriculum to suit the job market, with frequent interaction and involvement of employers in both private and public sector industry.
- b Provide voluntary guidance to the trainees at the time of selection of courses.
- c Limit drastically the number of trainees in conventional courses like dress making and embroidery.
- d Orient schools towards employing school certified trainees or restrict the course to only these.
- e Provide post training linkages in the form of employmentplacement or avenues of self-employment.
- f Set-up production centres at the NVTI itself especially for the dress making/embroidery trainees with strong links with the market.

Development
Programmes
as a Nucle-
us for Grass
root Women's
Institutions

Programme should be an entry point to empowerment, and constituted with sensitivity toward social relationships, and traditions in each local situation so as not to create conflict within the community.

Some strategies for empowerment would be to encourage women's groups to organise and strengthen them by providing support services first to free them for participation. These support services may be income generating, or social welfare programmes like maternity and childcare.

The empowerment of a traditionally subordinate group like women is often more effectively achieved by political parties rather than development programmes. This was recognised by the government during a recent conference on unorganised labour.¹ Such recognition by the official development machinery is an important step toward changes.

Specific objectives, an organisational approach which is class and occupation based except on sex

1 Conference on Unorganised Labour, New Delhi, Jan.1984 convened by Ministry of Labour & Rehabilitation.

based issues, mobilisation using income or welfare incentives as appropriate to the local situation, and government infrastructure to provide basic needs like fuel, water, and health centres are strategies that may be used to improve grass root organisations and Mahila Mandals.

Consciousness raising and attitudinal changes within the community should be in the purview of non-official women's organisations. In this connection the sub-group on Adult and Non-formal Education for Women in the Seventh Plan¹ consultations recommended that 20 percent of all development funds be reserved for propaganda and awareness building. Women are unaware of what they can rightfully claim.

Strategies

A plethora of structures for women's development have caused a great deal of overlapping and duplication. Government machinery **should play** the role of 'planning' and infrastructure support, allowing grass-roots and voluntary organisations to grow and be implementation instruments at the local level. This

1 Working Group on Adult Education for the Seventh Five Year Plan, set up by Planning Commission, September 1983.

would help reach development to the poorest, thus far only those above the poverty line have been the major beneficiaries. Access to resources should be provided at the closest level, i.e. in the village itself.¹

The 7th Plan

Looking to the future, the Approach Paper to the Seventh Five Year Plan recognises that "Women, who constitute half of the work force in rural areas, have to be given much greater recognition than hitherto and equipped with and trained for skills to operate their own and household incomes".

The Plan stresses that rural development programmes must be implemented in an integrated manner using a decentralised framework with participation at the grass-roots level through Panchayats and Zila Parishads. The approach to the Seventh Plan is an added impetus to concepts and efforts initiated by the Sixth Plan for the development of women. The basic approach in the Seventh Plan for Women's Development is to be one of attitudinal change of women towards themselves and of society in general. "For propagating these

1 Discussions with Voluntary Agencies, Karmika, All India Women's Conference, National Federation of Indian Women, Delhi State Social Welfare Advisory Board, Mahila Dakshata Samiti, Association of Voluntary Agencies in Rural Development, September 1984.

concepts and creating the right types of awareness, important instruments that may be used are radio, television, educational institutions, Mahila Mandals and Voluntary Agencies"¹⁽ⁱ⁾ The Approach Paper emphasises the role of voluntary agencies in the area of social welfare - "voluntary organisations will have to be encouraged and fully utilised in taking the programmes to the masses. The grant-in-aid rules would be simplified so as to enable deserving voluntary agencies to obtain help from Ministries".¹⁽ⁱⁱ⁾

Voluntary Agencies

It is proposed to have a separate chapter in the Seventh Plan document on the role of voluntary agencies in development and give them due recognition. It may be necessary now to demarcate specifically the kind of roles and functions that non-government organisations can perform in implementing the objectives of the Decade meaningfully and find strategies to support and strengthen these organisations. There is scope within the Indian political system, bulwarked by the long tradition of social welfare and voluntarism

1 (i) - Approach Paper to the Seventh Plan, Pg. 32.
 (ii) - Pg. 32.

for a variety of styles, approaches and alternatives to reach poor women with anti-poverty programmes.¹

By virtue of their close contact at the grass roots and micro level functioning, voluntary agencies are in a better position to develop human resources and create a framework for their participation. Women are not only to be reached by the welfare model but as part of other subsets such as farmers, landless labour, bonded labour, artisans. Voluntary agencies are eminently suited to experiment with the most effective strategies for reaching them, not being limited by the inflexibility of a bureaucratic structure and its rules and regulations.

The government is ready to build on the expertise and experience of the NGO's and facilitate their use in areas they are best equipped to handle. In turn, voluntary agencies can function as the monitors of government programmes and feedback information from the field to the government. Coordination between government and voluntary agencies is considerably hampered at the procedural level. To change this situation the administrative structure needs to be further **streamlined** and this may be achieved by delegating chosen voluntary agencies

1 Roy Bunker, Voluntarism and the Seventh Plan, Indian Express, August 1984.

to disburse financial aid to others at the district and block level. They can also provide a new kind of orientation to government functionaries by undertaking training programmes for bureaucrats and familiarising them with women's perspectives on their needs for development. This is already being done informally. Government could also help to upgrade the skills of voluntary agency personnel, especially in areas such as financial management and project design.

Lastly, government and voluntary organisations need to cooperate in stressing the need in the future for an accurate and upto-date picture of the various problems of women based on community wide surveys. Such surveys are virtually non-existent. The surveys will help to better identify the target groups, the information and experience gathered can be incorporated into local planning, regional planning, state planning and national planning.

The issue now in the Indian context is one of methodology: the integration of women into a development process by a participatory delivery of programmes and on the other side, the strengthening of women's

organisations, articulation and their capacity to absorb development inputs and become a part of the process. For this, the next few years it is hoped will see the growth of a systematic decentralisation process and a streamlining of linkages of government delivery and implementation by NGO's, which will speed up the process of women's development.

SECTION VREVIEW OF THE INDIAN EXPERIENCE FOR GLOBAL GENERALISATIONFuture
Strate-
gies

The thrust of strategies for the future would be in terms of methodology of development. And the most significant contribution of women to development would be to introduce their own methodology of handling society - in its economic, social and political roles.

India's experience also provides the richest harvest for methodology because of its democratic framework and development philosophy. Every type of methodology - socialist, capitalist, the small-large; centralised-decentralised; rural based-urban based; women specific, class specific, caste specific projects, participatory, centrally sponsored, community based, agency based, - all have been tried and documented.

Thus in scanning not only the women's experience of development but the Indian experience of development there is a microcosm of methodological experience. This paper attempts merely to expose this experience and take the view that the future has to continue to be as tolerant and multiple and as experimental as in the past.

From Women's
Development
to Women's
Movement

The message at the beginning of the Decade, which was the banner for the Mexico Conference in 1975 was "Integrating Women into Development" and this became the guideline for national plans, for projects by the UN specialised agencies, national governments and many women's organisations and development agencies. Ester Boserup, the eminent economist wrote a pamphlet - giving the guidelines to be used by those who are working for getting women into the mainstream of development, - which was circulated by UNDP at Mexico.

Reviewing the Decade it would appear that what is needed is a vigorous women's movement in order to shape and give content to development apart from receiving it. A movement whose aspiration is not only for equality with men, but for a just and a peaceful society where all forms of oppression, domination and exploitation, forms of violence are under control and not abeyance.

For the women's movement to play this role - namely to have autonomy vigorous debate; for it to be participatory, consultative, self-conscious and ethical, it is necessary for it that the diversity continues, that autonomous women's organisations come together and

fall apart depending on the issue, commonality of interest and so on.

Political
framework

For the existence of such a network of women's organisations to flourish, an essential condition seems to be a democratic framework of the kind that is prevalent even today in India. Namely an independent judiciary, freedom of association, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, a secular state tolerant of many faiths, elected legislative bodies tolerant of many ideologies. In fact the 3 pillars of the Indian polity namely, secularism, socialism, democracy turn out to be the greatest institutional safeguard for women's advancement.

Tolerance is a characteristic which even if often described as being one of the reasons for women's subordination, is a positive value in most situations. Intolerance has been one of the greatest sources of violence and oppression.

Hence a world in which women feel safe and feel satisfied being built on the principle of tolerance and flexibility and readjustment, and mediation is exactly what the straight forward democratic state offers.

Democratic Framework

Thus, one generalisation that emerges from the review of the Indian experience is that the democratic framework is a necessary institutional support for women's development. Another that emerges is that a strong women's movement is also a necessary institutional support for not only safeguarding and strengthening women's integration in development but for influencing development to be a friend, a helpful hand to minority or subordinate or relatively less visible and less "developed" groups within a society.

This raises the critical question of the role of the gender based formations or women's organisations - the word gender based formation covers a broader category of women's groups, it could include women workers organisations like trade unions and cooperatives as well as women welfare organisations as well as Bhajan Mandalis and such gender based sub-groups of large organisations like the women's wing of political parties, the women's wing of religious organisation, etc.

Role of Gender Based Organisation

The role which most of them began to play and which many national machineries began to encourage them to play was one of being delivery points for development.

They become the carriers of the message of family planning, provision of many social inputs as well as economic inputs such as famous income generating activities. Most of these programmes as can be seen from the schemes listed in the Central Social Welfare Board for the women's development corporation or even the projects of women's bureau of the Social Welfare Ministry, the rural development women cell and so on, tend to use the women's groups as the local institution for delivery.

However, the decade's experience has shown that what needs to be strengthened is the opinion formation of women and vehicles or routes for their expression and forums where this expression can be heard, where it can be used to influence and change policy, design and implementation of development. Thus the role of women's groups and these formations would be to build both the inner consciousness and solidarity of gender based formations as well as the outer "force" or articulation and reach of formations.

It will be noticed that the review paper prepared by the Women's Bureau for the Seventh Plan also emphasises this point namely awareness raising and

awareness building both amongst women's groups of development and amongst development agencies about women.^{1,2}

Another expression of this current view which is the result of the decade's experience is that the women's movement is identifying priorities such as literacy for women, crisis centres, shelters, health, water and fuel as vital - a critical mass, in fact more critical than employment.

Full Circle

It is interesting to notice that in the Decade opinion and perspective on women and development has come "full circle" starting with the immense pressure on the importance of work, the need to provide employment, the need to be part of development - to the importance of consciousness raising, of empowering the collective articulation of women's opinion. The full circle is particularly relevant in the Indian context. The concern and action of the national women's movement namely the - 1947, pre-independence was to emphasise women's education, health and homes for crisis.

1 Approach Paper to the Seventh Plan (1986-90), Government of India, Planning Commission.

2 Integrating Women into State Planning - A Case Study, Karnataka, ISST. Sponsored by Ministry of Welfare, 1984.

In the next phase taking a cue from the idiom and fashion of the 70s, women also were caught up in development fever. in terms of physical and material development especially economic development/and ~~within~~ ^{that} especially employment. The doubt about the role of development as a bringer of autonomy and equality which is pervading the development ethos all over the third world is also pervading those who are concerned with women and development in India. Hence the new thrust is returning to the fundamental bases of the old articulation namely, education, health, "shelters", and most important voters registration and campaigns to mobilise the women's vote on concerns for women in a representative elected government.

It is interesting to notice that this new perspective, finds an echo in the dynamics of the women's movement in the North countries. That women need to build on their own identity, based on their economic and social roles and then exert their collective strength on national issues such as nuclear disarmament; food and forest conservation, against violence and pornography, etc.

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support.

Providing a democratic framework has already been mentioned. More specifically in relation to the second need identified namely the women's movement what can be said is that the state would have to support women's groups without necessarily demanding from them development output. The current pressure that a NGO or a government outpost justifies its existence by achieving targets either of literacy or contraceptives or employment or child immunisation has to be changed for a philosophy where funding and other support is given for more or for only the building of women's groups.

This of course is an extremely difficult concept especially for the use of public funds which are always tied up with expenditure and related output. How does one find out whether funds have been misutilised when there is no physical achievement to measure. Ways and means may have to be found to provide the facilitation for the development of such women's organisations by permitting them to function without physical outputs and yet have a monitoring and accountability role.

This kind of vision matches with the perspective of other development activities not necessarily concerned only with women. This kind of method is used for political and cultural consciousness raising, but not for development. Yet development has often been seriously affected by these other forces, and women's roles and status influenced both positively and negatively.

It is necessary then to see how far a methodology for development can learn from other methods.

Role of Women's Movement

The Indian experience also provides an important example of class specific development because of the size and thrust of what are called poverty alleviation programmes. It is also in tune with one aspect of the women's movement which is to bridge the class and caste gap not only by the identity given by gender but also the additional ethical value namely that a gender based formation in a highly stratified unequal society can justify its existence only by co-opting as its priority the concerns of the most disadvantaged or oppressed namely the poor and amongst them stigmatised communities as for example in India Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Thus the role of the women's movement would be to:

- a identify its priority concerns as those of the economically and socially most oppressed;
- b make its primary role the building of organisations of women - diverse pluralistic based on a wide range of issues and concerns from culture to occupation;
- c to help these organisations to function as sources of empowerment of women's collective consciousness to encourage as identification, to encourage changed new perception of self-worth, namely better self-perception of their values; and
- d to develop forms by which the opinions and needs of women influence social and economic change.

This is the crucial institutional support that is required for women's development. A second layer for this women's movement is the identification of its philosophical underpinnings. Here it appears what seems most effective are:

- i a pledge to the democratic method and institutions; and
- ii a pledge to give first priority to the needs of the poor which might very often clash with the class, caste and other interests of the leadership.

An ethical women's movement, supported by a democratic framework, with government facilitating women's organisations and articulation is the critical need for women's development.

The message for the Decade starting in 1985, could be "Building from Women's Experience".

Annexure IOutline: Central Social Welfare Board

The function of the Central Social Welfare Board was generally to assist the improvement and development of social welfare activities, and in particular:

- a to survey the needs and requirements of social welfare organisations;
- b to evaluate the programmes and projects of aided agencies;
- c to coordinate assistance extended to social welfare activities by various Ministries of the Central and State Governments;
- d to promote the setting up of voluntary organisations where no such organisations exist; and
- e to extend financial aid, when necessary, to voluntary organisations on terms to be prescribed by the Board.

Annexure IIProgrammes: Central Social Welfare Board

- 1 General Grants-in-Aid to Voluntary Organisations.
- 2 Welfare Extension Projects (WEP).
- 3 Mahila Mandals.
- 4 Condensed Courses of Education for Adult Women.
- 5 Socio-Economic Programme.
- 6 Holiday Camps.
- 7 Welfare Extension Projects (Urban)
- 8 Working Women's Hostels.
- 9 Special Child Welfare Schemes.
- 10 Creches.
- 11 Nutrition Programme.
- 12 Training of Rural Women in Public Cooperation.

Annexure IIICommittee on the Status of Women in India - Focus

The Committee on the Status of Women examined the following points:¹

- 1 The Constitutional, Legal, and Administrative provisions that have a bearing on the special status of women, their education and employment.
- 2 The impact of these provisions during the last two decades on the status of women in the country, particularly in the rural sector and suggest more effective programmes.
- 3 The development of education among women and the factors responsible for slow progress in some areas, and suggest remedial measures.
- 4 The problems of working women, including discrimination in employment and remuneration.

1 National Machinery for Women's Development in India
Women's Welfare & Development Bureau, Department of
Social Welfare.

Annexure III (contd)

- 5 The status of women as housewives and mothers in the changing social pattern, and their problems in the spheres of further education and employment.
- 6 The implications of population policies and family planning programmes on the status of women.

Annexure IVPlan Support to Agriculture & Allied Activities

Programmes for women under different plan sectors:

1 Social Welfare

- a Functional literacy
- b Socio-economic programme.
- c Condensed courses of education for employment and vocational training.
- d Hostels for working women.
- e Family and child welfare projects.
- f Grants-in-aid to voluntary organisations.
- g Welfare extension projects in rural/urban/border areas.
- h Integrated Child development services - covering pregnant and nursing mothers.

2 Rural Development

- a Applied nutrition programme.
- b Development of Women & Child in Rural Areas.

3 Employment

- a Employment exchanges/vocational guidance.
- b University Employment Information & Guidance Bureaus.

Annexure IV (contd)

- c Apprenticeship training schemes.

- 4 Minimum Needs Programme

- a Elementary education
- b Adult education
- c Rural health
- d Rural water supply
- e Rural roads
- f Rural electrification
- g Nutrition programme
- h Environmental improvement and urban slums.

- 5 Programmes for Special Groups of Women

- a Destitute
- b Aged
- c Scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

Annexure VObjectives of Vocational Training Programmes/Courses

The objectives of the Vocational Training programmes were:

- i Diversify existing training courses for women to suit changing market needs.
- ii Modify and improve course content to make skills job oriented.
- iii Improve the quality of training by improvements in training methods.

The areas in which training course have been started by the institutes are:

- a Dress making
- b Embroidery & Needle Craft
- c Secretarial Practice
- d Hair & Skin Care
- e Instrumentation
- f Electronics
- g TV repairing & Servicing.

Advanced courses in dress making, secretarial practice and embroidery were the first to be introduced in the NVTI, New Delhi in the year 1977. In the following year principles of teaching (POT) was added to the curriculum.

Annexure V (contd)

In 1977 basic courses in Dress making, Secretarial practice, Embroidery were introduced at RVTIs, and advanced courses were added to the training programme after completion of the third year.

In 1980, it was recognised that training in engineering trades would provide the women an opportunity of employment in emerging technologies. As a consequence NVTI introduced a course in advanced electronics. Further diversification took place in 1981 with the introduction of a Hair & Skin care course which provided girls with an opportunity to acquire advanced skills.

In further recognition to the fact that women have a natural ability for high precision jobs, a course in Radio and TV mechanics was introduced. This was extended in 1981 when an advanced course in Electronics Measuring Instruments was started.

ANNEXURE 6AWomen's Development Project - Rajasthan(1983)

The status of women in Rajasthan is similar to that of Indian women in general. However, it is further aggravated by the hostile physical environment and the strongly traditional social environment.

The female literacy, sex ratio and work participation rates in Rajasthan are much lower than the national averages, and while the decade has recorded an improvement, they have remained consistently lower. (See Tables). The female literacy rate in Rajasthan was 8.46 for women as compared to 28.7 for males. Corresponding national figures for 1971 are 18.44 and 39.51. In 1981, it rose marginally to 11.42 for women and 36.30 for males, national averages being 24.82 and 46.89.

The sex ratio was 911 per 1,000 in 1971 and the corresponding national figure was 930. In 1981, it was 919 compared to the national average of 935 (Census data 1971, 1981).

The work participation rate was 8.34 and 52.13 in 1971, and 9.32 and 51.62 in 1981; corresponding national figures are 14.15 and 52.75 for 1971 and 19.76 and 52.65 for 1981.

Annexure 6A (contd)

The dimension of the problem is further aggravated for particular sections of the population. The figures for rural women and SC and ST women are much lower than state average. Rural literacy was 4.03 for women (1971) and 5.46 in 1981. The enrollment of girls in primary and middle schools is also the lowest in India, at 19.58 and 18.96.

The break-up of female ^{workers} in various categories is as follows:

Cultivators	1,029,667	(66.65%)
Agricultural labour- ers	241,672	(15.64%)
Household industry workers	48,345	(3.13%)
Others	225,277	(14.58%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>1,544,970</u>	<u>(100.00%)</u>

Thus over 82 percent of female workers are engaged in agricultural occupations without ownership rights or access to training.

Annexure 6A (contd)The Policy
Frame

In the absence of an administrative and organisational structure for women's development, the Government of Rajasthan initiated actions for spelling out a policy frame for women's development. The draft policy frame was discussed with concerned officials of the state government and the planning ~~commission~~ as well as non-officials and was finally approved by the state government towards the end of 1983.

Building on the past experiences of integrating women into development, the state government decided to set up an innovative institutional structure called the Women's Development Project (WDP) to operationalise the policy frame. The various parameters of the project evolved after consultations with the Ministry of Social Welfare, Government of India, a large number of women working in the rural areas and the concerned officials in the state government. The document has been published by the Department of Rural Development and Panchayati Raj of the Government of Rajasthan in May 1984.¹

The approach of the policy frame shifts the focus of women's development from a welfare orientation

1 Women's Development Project, Rajasthan, Department of Rural Development and Panchayati Raj, Government of Rajasthan, May 1984.

Annexure 6A (contd)

to one of equality at all levels. The WDP has spelt out the following three programmes:

- 1 Education and training including adult education, national female education of girls, skill training programmes, training programmes for self employment.
- 2 Health, nutrition and family planning including creation of an expanding of family health care, nutrition and family planning and organisation of actual programmes through this end.
- 3 Employment and economic development including training for employment, creation of production plans, provision of credit, and marketing.

The WDP visualises the creation of a special institutional machinery to cooperate with and strengthen already existing agencies and also set up diverse and flexible new structures, to enable women to both receive government schemes as well as to organise and strengthen themselves towards a more active participation in the development process. The WDP aims to **supplement already**

Annexure 6A (contd)

existing programmes with new activities undertaken by it to bring greater benefit to rural women.

Broadly outlined the objectives of the WDP are to provide a support centre for a viable population size which will strengthen women through organisations at the village level and channelise the existing programmes to focus on women from poverty groups. All government and non-government agencies would be fully associated in the implementation of WDP and periodic review would be undertaken of all the various schemes relating to development of women in operation in the state.

The basic unit for implementation for WDP is the women's Development centre (or Mahila Vikas Kendra - MVK - in Hindi). MVK is visualised as village level centre for organisation of various programmes for women's development. The person incharge of a MVK is a local woman who would do this work on a part-time basis on a payment of Rs.200/- per month (as honorarium). A MVK is intended to have a small building of its own. It is visualised as a place for training of women, their meetings and a centre where they can discuss with various government functionaries about the programmes which affect them.

Annexure 6A (contd.)

The administrative apparatus under MVK envisages a supervisor over 10 MVKs. In each district there is a District Women's Development Agency (DWDA) a registered society with a Management Committee, predominantly of women. There is a Project Director and a Project Officer for each DWDA along with the essential minimum secretarial staff. A vehicle has also been provided to each DWDA for mobility. The Chairman of DWDA is the District Collector, who is responsible for all development activity in the District.

In each district, there is also an Information Development & Resource Agency (IDARA). A typical IDARA is established as part of a voluntary agency/^{engaged} in educational programmes. Each IDARA would have two committed women workers who would provide media, learning and training support to the Programme. Training at all levels has been given special importance in the programme. All training programmes are residential and participatory and based on the experiences of the trainee.

At the state level a Directorate has been established for implementing of WDP. Although the office of the Director is small, it has appropriate links with the various schemes of Rural Development

Annexure 6A (contd)

and Social Welfare. There is also a state IDARA which is responsible for training of senior level personnel and for production of complex media materials. The work of evaluation has been assigned to the Women's Status Unit of the Institute of Development Studies, Jaipur. It is being stressed that evaluation should be built into the programme at all stages, involving all people.

The state government will initiate the programme of the WDP initially for 6 districts. One MVK will be established for one Gram Panchayat (4 villages on an average with the population of Approx. 5,000).

The financial assistance for WDP has been assured by UNICEF. For one of the districts funds would be provided from the tribal development programme. For the remaining five districts in a typical year the expenditure of Rs.2.50 million would be incurred on the MVKs, Rs.1.75 million on the state and district administrative organisation and Rs.0.75 million on resource development and evaluation. This accounts only for the expenditure on maintenance of structures and a small amount on programmes. The entire responsibility for provision of funds for programmes rests with the state

Annexure 6A (contd)

government. An amount of approximately Rs.10 million would be availed by WDP in each district from the various schemes of the state and Central Government.

Review Implementation of the programme has just started with training programmes of Pracheta's* and Sathins** These are being conducted by voluntary agencies and activists working with rural women.

The WDP aims at overcoming some of the weakness of institutional links which usually act as obstacles to the proper implementation of programmes for women.

Some of the innovative features of the Project are:

- 1 The process: the evolution of the programme has been a participatory effort right from the start: a continuous round of meetings, discussions and several drafts incorporate views of a wide cross section of people.

* Pracheta: A Women of Learning & Commitment(The Supervisor)

** Sathin : A companion (The aminorator for MVK)

Annexure 6A (contd)

- 2 Selection of Sathin and Pracheta : suitable persons carefully identified.
- 3 The training: at all levels: Sathin, Pracheta, Orientation of officials is innovative conducted by voluntary agencies and women suitable to the task; - refresher training has also been given importance.
- 4 Flexibility: in selection of Sathin and Pracheta and in freedom of operation for both. The ability to work with the community was the main criteria for both Sathin and Pracheta. The accountability aspect of government programmes has also been by-passed.
- 5 Time given for survey and building rapport with the community.
- 6 Structures for coordination and linkages.
- 7 Importance given to resource support, such as IDARA.
- 8 Stress on non-formal education and preparation of suitable materials.

Annexure 6A (contd)

9 Continuous monitoring.

10 Finance - funds go to MVK directly through
DWDA.

Annexure 6BIntegrating Women into State Planning - A Case Study,
Karnataka

The Sixth Plan (1978-83) reflects an awareness of the need to incorporate women's development into national plans and programmes. (Chapter 27) In order to identify a methodology by which women could be brought into the mainstream of planned development, the Research Division of the Ministry of Social Welfare commissioned a study* on "Integrating Women's Interests into a State Five Year Plan". It was felt that the study of the building up of a plan at the state level might provide basic information on how this goal could be operationalised.

Scope

Karnataka state was selected for the study as it already had a good planning department and the government machinery was receptive to the idea of such a study being conducted. It was decided to first examine the planning process and priorities at the state level. At the field level it was decided to undertake intensive household surveys to assess the utilisation

* Carried out by ISST, 1980-81

Annexure 6B (contd)

of development programmes/schemes by poverty households and specifically by women and children.

Asset holding, principally land was chosen as the basis for identification of such households, those without any land or land holding less than 2.5 acres being considered as weaker sections.

Methodology

Two districts, Gulbarga and South Kanara were selected for the survey, being a less developed and a "forward" district. In all, 1,033 households were visited and 2,300 women were interviewed with a questionnaire. During the field survey approximately 25 anti-poverty schemes were listed and their utilisation by poverty households was examined.

The questionnaire was also designed to capture the economic status of the household and the women, facilities available at work sites, control over income and the status of women within the household.

Discussions with functionaries and women from poor households were held at all levels: village, block, district and state. Tentative reports on findings were prepared from time to time and presented at Taluka and

Annexure 6B (contd)

district level conferences from data collections sites. Feedback from these conferences was incorporated into the final report. Two taluka level conferences were held at Udupi and Gulbarga, and two districts conferences at Mangalore, S Kanara, and Gulbarga district.

**Utilisation
of Develop-
ment Scheme**

The development schemes covered in the two districts were categorised into four broad areas:

- 1 Employment & economic development
- 2 Education & training for skills
- 3 Health & family welfare
- 4 Women's welfare

**Summary of
Observation
based on
situation
analysis**

Integrating the interests and concerns of women into a development plan requires the careful assessment of women's situation both as income earners and as domestic workers. It also requires an understanding of the interface between these two aspects as it affects women's double burden of work, ability and flexibility in the job market, mobility and mortality; work participation of women depends on support system such as creches, water, fuel and fodder.

Annexure 6B (contd)

In respect of utilisation of schemes it would appear that the extend of this utilisation is in reality much less than what is presumed. This is because schemes are given to heads of households and not to "persons". Women therefore get automatically excluded. At the very basic level, concepts of measurement and records of achievement or change relating to the human factor have to go beyond 'person' to 'men' and 'women'. Without such a breakdown, it is virtually impossible to see if the gender-neutral policies and programmes are in reality so. It is only when the differential effects of these on men and women beneficiaries are known that the extent of variation between them can be observed and the underlying reasons examined for any remedial action that may be necessary.

The basic assumption has been that the benefits of additional employment and income howsoever provided will accrue as much to women as to men. And quite frequently, the underlying thought has been that, since women are engaged mostly in household duties, they would naturally benefit from any additional income earned by the men of the household. Because so large a part of women's work in India consists of household chores of

Annexure 6B (contd)

one kind or another, it also tends to be assumed that their need for gainful employment outside the home is less important than that of men.

In consequence, much of the planning for women in India, has until recently been peripheral. They have been viewed as wives and mothers with certain specific requirements as consumers. As regards productive employment, their role has been conceived mostly as providing **unrequited** labour on family farms, or casual or part-time labour in local works or traditional home industries. Specific plan allocations for the benefit of women have consequently been for maternity benefits, general education, Mahila Mandals and Yuvathi Mandals, part-time employment in the slack season for agriculture etc.

Utilisation of social welfare schemes specifically meant for women have even poorer utilisation than other schemes.

Most villages ^{which} do not have Mahila Mandals have not been able to utilise most of the social welfare schemes.

Annexure 6B (contd)

Even benefits of schemes routed through Mahila Mandals are received by better off women. Women from weaker sections hesitate to join Mahila Mandals because they feel it is meant only for the rich and educated.

When the functionary is a woman, the schemes stand a better chance of utilisation.

In general, women beneficiaries in both the areas found it easier to deal with women functionaries such as ANM, LHV and Angawadi workers and agricultural extension workers when available. Efforts by women to organise cooperative societies of their own, as by fish-
~~CTW~~ ~~mon~~ in the Udupi area, found the going hard, due partly to the cumbersome procedures but mostly to lack of official and technical support. It was the commonly expressed view in both the areas that with more women functionaries at all levels of government departments, they would find it much easier to deal with the administrative system and would be better able to utilise opportunities for economic and social improvement.

Annexure VII

Consolidated Table 1

Growth of Local Institutions From 1970-1980

Local Institutions/ Programmes	1970's					1980's				
	Total No. of Institutions General Only	Total No. of Members	Total Male Members	Total Female Members	% of Females to Total Members	Total No. of Institutions General Only	Total No. of Members	Total Male Members	Total Female Members	% of Females to Total Members
Mahila Mandals ¹	58274	1646965		1646965						
Panchayats ²	212105	45415								
Cooperatives										
Trade Unions ³	28436					35750				
Adult Education ⁴ Centres						148164	4261480	2531550	1729930	
Voluntary Agencies Working for Women										
Voluntary Agencies Working for Rural Development										
Yuvaka Mandals										
Yuvati Mandals										

- Sources: 1 : Women in India: A Statistical Profile, Government of India, Department of Social Welfare, 1978.
 2 : Handbook on Social Welfare Statistics, Government of India, Ministry of Social Welfare, 1976.
 3 : Statistical Profile on Women Labour, Government of India.
 4 : Handbook On Social Welfare Statistics, Government of India, Ministry of Social Welfare, 1981.

Annexure VII

Growth of Cooperatives - Occupation-wise

Consolidated Table 2

Occupations	1970's					1980's				
	Total No. of Cooperatives	Total No. of Members	Total Male Members	Total Female Members	% of Female to Total Members	Total No. of Cooperatives	Total No. of Members	Total Male Members	Total Female Members	% of Female to Total Members
	General Only					General Only				
1 Fish Cooperatives	4000	4.27 lakhs								
2 Dairy Cooperatives	30447	27 Lakhs								
3 Handloom Cooperatives	14251									
4 Handloom Cooperatives (incl. industries)	24804	1084332								
5 Multipurpose Cooperatives	23919	4128739								

Source: Handbook on Social Welfare Statistics, 1981. Government of India, Ministry of Social Welfare.

Annexure 7

Growth of Child Welfare CentresConsolidated Table 3

Centres	1970's					1980's				
	Total No. of Centres	Total No. of Children Covered	Total No. of Male Children	Total No. of Female Children	% of Female Children to Total	Total No. of Centres	Total No. of Children Covered	Total No. of Male Children	Total No. of Female Children	% of Female Children to Total
1 Angawadi										
2 Balwadi*	4085	175838				5501	231368			
3 Creches/Nursery										

Source: * Handbook on Social Welfare Statistic, 1981. Government of India, Ministry of Social Welfare.

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