

Final Draft.

CHAPTER IV

WORKING DRAFT

WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

by

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Preeta Law

of 7 - add d) after c)
to say that the limit of 50 women
workers operating for creche facilities
in the Factories Act was reduced to
30 (pl check this figure) in 1975.

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Chapter IV : Employment

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CHAPTER IV : EMPLOYMENT

Introduction

One of the major thrusts in Mexico in 1975 at the beginning of the Decade was on women's employment and this was seen as the critical entry point for women's integration into development. This expression came from the assembled women's knowledge that women needed income for survival, it also came from the knowledge that women in any case were working - for survival.

It is now recognised that all over the world including in the "North" or affluent countries women and children amongst the poor are almost always engaged in a gainful, productive income bringing activity. They cannot afford to be otherwise - their existence depends on this daily labour¹

The work however was not only the most arduous least paid, undervalued and so on² but even these opportunities were reduced because of the type of development investments³ and their choice of technology, of the form of organisation of work, including formalisation of land and other property rights, formalisation of "informal" work and payment arrangements.

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1. International Labour Organisation, Bulletin Women at Work, No.2, 1983 Pg. 12
 2. Resource Paper on Women in Developing Countries & Monetary & Fiscal Matters. United Nations Secretariat, Vienna, 1982.
 3. Resource Paper on Women and Industrialisation. United Nations Secretariat, Vienna, September 1982.

In the LDC's, (for less developed countries) the old continents of Latin America, Africa and Asia, women were engaged in production and distribution, but in hardship. This employment was vulnerable, performed under arduous conditions, and needed attention. Women from these LDCs stressed the point that not only should those existing opportunities be protected, but new opportunities must be created in almost as greater numbers for women as for men. They also challenged the stereo type of women's work, showing how in these LDCs men and women often performed similar roles varying only across certain cultural diversities.

For example, women tilled the land in Africa, transplanted seedlings in India - broke stone, welded metal, dug roads, did wholesale trading and so on. Domestic activity was an addition to all this work. In the thrust for opening new employment opportunities often called "women's income generating activities", in the thrust to evaluate domestic work, many women from these old continents were concerned that the focus may shift away from these mainstream women workers.

Thus for women in these third world countries (or LDCs), the need was to improve the working conditions and wages, to safeguard against disemployment, to bring in amenities like water, fuel and child care.

Evaluation of women's work, (ranging often into 14-18 hours a day) spreading from house bound domestic duties like cooking, cleaning and child care - the 3Cs - to productive work was also crucial as in many of these countries women

were not only paid lower wages, but perceived as less worthy of being fed, trained, heard.¹ The solution to this unfortunate gap between reality and social perceptions, it was felt could only be attacked at the level of attitude. Attitudinal changes however would first need to be based on an understanding of the real value of women's labour.²

Thus, emphasis was placed on statistical collections on women's labour, re-valuation of this work, and filling in these new values into the conceptual framework of national product.

How far have these initiatives of 1975 been translated into action? In a field like employment, the effects of changes would take sometime to appear. Further in a situation as in India where the backlog of unemployed is huge - an estimated 20 million persons of whom according to official statistics 30-40% are women seeking work³, it is necessary to see the employment potential in a wider frame.

In this chapter an attempt will be made to describe and assess the efforts of the Decade 1975 to 1985 under the following headings:

Section I will consider the policy and programme interventions of the decade and analyse facts (given in Annexure I) of women's employment and changes therein. Section II will review the obstacles and issues emerging from the decade and Section III discuss future strategies.

- ✓ 1. Kynch, J and Sen, Amartya. "Indian Women: Well-being and Survival: " In Journal of Economics, No.7, 1983
- ✓ 2. Jain, D and Banerjee Nirmala(ed) The Tyranny of the Household, Vikas 1984 forthcoming publication
- ✓ 3. Steering Group on Employment and Labour, Planning Commission for the Seventh Plan. September 1984

SECTION IPOLICY AND PROGRAMME INTERVENTIONS

The Constitution of India provides several safeguards for women workers. It guarantees equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the state¹ and forbids discrimination in respect of any employment or office under the state on the grounds of sex besides other social pre-conditions². It also includes stipulations that women workers be saved from exploitation and given just and humane conditions of work³; that their educational and economic interests, as part of the weaker sections of the people be taken care of⁴; and it empowers the state to make any special provision for women and children.⁵

the labour laws right on the start so as Besides these, *protective measures have been embodied* several legal measures have also been provided to ensure that the constitutional rights of women are enforced. For example, the Factories Act of 1948, the Plantation Labour Act of 1951 and the Mines Act of 1952 provide for welfare and protection of women in these sectors of industry. The Employees State Insurance Act of 1948 strengthened by the Maternity Benefit Act of 1961 ensures financial help for medical facilities during pregnancy for women workers. Section 48 of the factories act also provides

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- 1 Article 16 (1)
 - 2 Article 16 (2)
 - 3 Article 39 and 42 of the Directive Principle of State Policy
 - 4 Article 46
 - 5 Article 15 (3)

for creches to be maintained for children below six years in every factory employing more than 50 women.

Until 1974 very little work had been done to monitor the effectiveness of the policy and legal measures provided for women workers. The Committee on the Status of Women in India (CSWI) provided the first comprehensive insight into the actual conditions of working women and women in need of paid employment. After a detailed study, the Committee put up several recommendations to the Government of India. For women workers, this included:

- 1 Policy resolution to see that women are not debarred from any occupations without clearly specifying the reason for such a refusal.
- 2 Creation of a women's cell in the Ministry of Labour at the centre as well as in all the States to consider and solve the problems of women workers.
- 3 Extension of Maternity Benefits to all types of women workers including agricultural workers, the self employed and home based workers. This also included a suggestion that Maternity Benefits should be given periodically rather than in a lump sum.
- 4 The limit of 50 women workers in a factory for creche facilities should be provided for casual and contract labour as well, as far as possible such facilities should be near the residence of workers.

- 5 Working time for women should be extended upto 10 p.m. with adequate transport and security arrangements.
- 6 Article 39(d) on equal remuneration needs legislative enactment to give legal sanction to policy; and
- 7 Training for employment for women needed strengthening; specially Apprentice training and vocational training based on need. Self-employment should be promoted and training-cum-production centres for women were needed.

Besides these several other recommendations were also made by the Committee including part time employment for women, employment information and assistance to women, provision of special leave without pay, more effective enforcement of laws for women and unionisation in Agriculture and Industry.

In 1975 an Empowered Committee of the Government of India on the recommendation of the Committee on the Status of women in India was set up chaired by the Minister of Labour and consisting of officers from all concerned ministries. This Committee deliberated over the recommendations and in 1976 gave its opinions on accepting these recommendations. As a result of this exercise:

In 1976 itself a women's cell was formed in the Ministry of Labour which has since been working on the problems of women workers. X

Ref. refer to status paper of L.P. of women's cell

- b The Equal Remuneration Act was also passed in the Parliament the same year. This Act provided for equal wages for equal work. The Act also stipulated that a Committee be formed to advise in the matter of employment of women. This Committee was however set up only in the year 1983.

- c A third recommendation of the Committee on Status of Women in India, namely on working hours was also accepted by the Empowered Committee.

On training of women for employment the Directorate General of Employment & Training in the Ministry of Labour conducted a nation-wide survey with the assistance of the International Labour Organisations and the Swedish International Development Agency to identify the vocational training needs of women in India.

However, all other recommendations were deferred for various reasons - either because it was felt that the suggested changes were 'not necessary' or because it was felt that existing facilities for workers in general were adequate for women workers.

Two major issues for changes suggested by the CSWI were Maternity Benefits for women workers in the Agricultural sector as well as to self-employment and/or home based occupations and creches to factories having 20 women workers were not accepted by the Empowered Committee.

Simultaneously an exercise in formulating a Plan of Action for women was taken up by the Department of Social Welfare in consultation with the ministries. The document or 'blue print of action points' presented a situational analysis of women workers in wage employment and self-employment and identified their problems.

The action plan for women in wage employment stipulated that besides the implementation of the Equal Remuneration Act:

- a The central and state government departments will determine the direction and the method by which the participation of women could be increased in different occupations.
- b Village industries and (women) intensive industries which provide employment to women shall be promoted in the economic development plans. Increased participation of women in promotion and management of such enterprises shall be stepped up.
- c The maximum age of entering service for women in government and public sector should be raised to 35 years of age.
- d Each establishment, public and private should ensure that there is no discrimination against women, identify jobs with part-time work possibility, give preference to women for temporary and daily wage employment and set up creches, family planning education programmes and career counselling centres.

- e Creches and child care centres will have to be provided by the state through voluntary agencies and state agencies for agriculture labourers and women working on small establishments.
- f Improvement in employment exchange services for women was needed.
- g The need for better data on employment in the unorganised sector should be fulfilled.
- h The advisory committee envisaged by the Equal Remuneration Act will advise and oversee the specific action taken on the plans listed above.

A review of the progress of this Action Plan was done in March 1977.

For the Self-Employed, the Action Plan included - identification of occupation for the self-employed, publicity about the facilities available for self-employment, development of special training/motivational programmes for women, special assistance for credit facilities etc., support to voluntary agencies promoting self-employment, testing pilot projects for encouraging self-employment, training services organised for women, credit, and, develop specific plans of action to encourage women's participation in self-employment activities.

For the Sixth Five Year Plan a Working Group was constituted by the Planning Commission on the employment of women. It was the first such body to be instituted by the Central Government. The Group was convened by the Directorate General of Employment Training in the Central Ministry of Labour. The Group comprised of 18 members including officials, academics, private researchers and organisers.

The terms of reference of the group implied a review of both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of women's employment. Correspondingly it formed five sub-groups. The sub-groups covered:

- 1 Existing programmes for women
- 2 Statistics on employment
- 3 Development of self-employment and entrepreneurship
- 4 Skill development
- 5 Cadre, development and grass roots women's organisation.

For the first time, the draft Sixth Five Year Plan (1978-83) recognised the special features of women's employment and income opportunities for women to be greatly accelerated. To achieve this there is need for expansion and diversification of education and training opportunities for women. For increasing employment in rural areas, the plan recommended a conscious increase in the share of benefits to women in the rural economic programmes like SFDA, Operation Flood II, IRDP, NREP etc.

The plan document¹ also referred to the suggestion of the working group in women's employment for the Sixth Plan that women should be full and equal participants in the entire spectrum of economic development.

For the self-employed and home-based workers this document recommended a credit policy for such women workers.

The Sixth Five Year Plan 1980-85²: instead of separating the issue of women and employment, addressed the two issues in one chapter on women and development. For women's employment the document recommended that areas and sectors where women's employment is low or on the decline, would be identified and corrective measures initiated to promote additional avenues of employment. Other recommendations were on the lines of Draft Sixth Five Year Plan.

A special chapter on the SELF-EMPLOYED was a feature of this plan. Since women are the majority of these workers this was an important step. Also the task force to draw up this chapter sprung from meetings of self-employed workers.³

1. Draft Sixth Plan 1978-83, Planning Commission.

2. Sixth Five Year Plan 1980-85, Planning Commission.

3. (i) SEWA, Shibir, November 24-25, 1983, New Delhi.

(ii) Self-Employed Women's Association, SEWA Marches on Ahmedabad, SEWA 1981.

As an outcome of the special emphasis laid in the Sixth Plan on the developmental activities for women a new scheme entitled 'Science and Technology for Women' has been initiated by the Department of Science and Technology.

For women workers the scheme included:

- 1 Provision of gainful employment to women specially to those in rural areas;
- 2 Reducation of the element of drudgery in their lives;
- 3 Protecting women from occupational hazards.

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 Tamil Nadu have set up Directorates of Women's Welfare. Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Punjab have Women's Economic Development Corporations.

Women's Cells and Bureaus

The Women's Bureau was set up by the Ministry of Social Welfare in response to the felt needs of the Decade.

The Department of Rural Development had a special women's programme officer who had to maintain almost 50,000 rural women's clubs or Mahila Mandals sponsored by the States. Considering the critical need of economic participation by women in women's organisations a working group on the Development of Village Level Organisation was set up by the Ministry of Agriculture.

This group designed a scheme which was initiated in 1982 as the Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA). This scheme was a joint venture to organise women around occupations, to be used as an entry point to reach development programmes to poor women. The programme has begun as a sub-scheme of the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) and its objective is to help rural women and children benefit from development programmes already in existence.

Another development in 1978 was the setting up of the Inter-Commodity Board representing all the sectors which provided mass scale employment such as Handlooms, Handicrafts, Khadi & Village Industries, Coir, Silk etc. as well as the Central Social Welfare Board. The objective of the Board was to safeguard the interests of the workers, especially women and give a linkage to women's projects with the economic development Boards.

The Women's Cell in the Department of Labour which was set up in 1975 has been addressing itself to various problems relating to employment of women workers. Studies were initiated e.g. in respect of migratory workers of Kerala engaged in Fish Processing in Gujarat.

The Women's Cell also encouraged non-government organisations to formulate income generating schemes for women workers. Financial assistance was given towards a project formulated by the All India Women's Conference for providing employment to slum women by production of card-board boxed, file boards etc.

The Women's Cell is responsible for monitoring the administration of the Equal Remuneration Act. A meeting was convened to exchange views on problems relating to women workers and the prevention of discrimination in employment.

The Central Advisory Committee set up under the Equal Remuneration Act was reconstituted in 1983 by the Ministry of Labour with representatives of grass root organisation, women's research organisations, trade unions and different government ministries.

In its first deliberations the Advisory Committee decided to focus its attention on statistics on women workers and women in the unorganised labour particularly women in handloom, powerloom and construction industries, by setting up two sub-committees.

The recommendations of both the sub-committees were endorsed by the Central Advisory Committee. Creche and Maternity benefit facilities have the focus of both Women's Bureau, Ministry of Social Welfare and Women's Cell of the Ministry of Labour.

The Women's Cell of the Directorate General of Employment and Training conducted with the help of ILO and SIDA a nation-wide survey of women's needs for vocational training. On the basis of this survey three vocational training institutes were set up in Delhi, Bangalore and Bombay giving training in electronics, secretarial practice, dress making and embroidery.

Improving the Data Base on Women

To help improve the data base on women workers a steering committee was formed by the Planning Commission (1982). The Steering Committee recommended use of the time allocation method to gather data on women and children's work in the rural areas more accurately.

The committee commissioned the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) to apply the time allocation method on a sub-sample of the National Sample Survey 38th Round on employment and unemployment which was on the ground in 1983. This according to the group would help to assess whether the profile on women workers and employment patterns that emerged by the usual household survey can be improved upon.

Women in the Unorganised Sector

Some of the problems of women in unorganised labour were discussed at the National Seminar on Rural Unorganised Labour held in New Delhi (January 1984) organised by the Ministry of Labour.

One of the sessions of this seminar was the role of women's organisations in organising women labour. Issues that were taken up included the:

1. problem of displacement of women from work due to technological innovations and inadequacy of organizations;

- 2 the need to organize women around occupational tasks;
- 3 need for a delivery system for the displacement of the laws;
- 4 the need for extending the Employment Guarantee Scheme.

SEWA: One of the Successful Non-Government Efforts for the Unorganised.

An attempt that has been successful in organizing self-employed women is that made by SEWA, Ahmedabad, which has covered urban self-employed women and to a certain extent rural women workers. Founded in 1972 SEWA endeavours to organize poor working women to uplift their socio economic conditions with the joint action of struggle and development strategies.

The methodology evolved by SEWA is to survey occupational clusters, identify wage rates as well as other economic and social problems and needs. This information is used both to associate the workers into united formation as well as to educate the public on the condition of the workers. It is also used as a arrangements and policies for these workers.

SEWA, Ahmedabad develops arrangements with banks. Other development services emanating from government such as training schemes, housing schemes as well as with professional associations like medical association management and design institution, international agencies to provide

social security cover in the ununionised non-employer employee sector. They have also provided health cover and durability of employment.

The techniques used by SEWA to strengthen the employment has been to develop an alternative production and marketing system as a form of developing the wage negotiation clout of these workers.

It is against this kind of class of workers and this type of methodology of association that the SEWA's in other parts of India have mushroomed.

For the preparation of the Seventh Five Year Plan a working group on women and development was set up by the Ministry of Social Welfare (1983) to formulate a strategy and plan priorities for the welfare and development of women. Members of the Committee included Government officials from various Ministries, such as Social Welfare, Education, Science and Technology. Members from Women's research institutes and members of women's organizations as well as organization like SEWA etc.

A need was later felt to constitute a special subgroup on the employment position of women which emphasised the

- i) need for strengthening and developing the National Rural Employment Programme in order to absorb a larger number of unemployed women;

- ii) need for building social inputs into the development programmes such as the accessibility of water and fuel and provision of nutrition;
- iii) strengthening the Minimum Needs Programme;
- iv) training women for employment in the service sector;
- v) providing social security coverage such as the provision of child care, maternity benefits, health and life insurance;
- vi) the need for organising the unorganised women work force;
- vii) the need for facilitating credit and access of banking facilities for the self-employed women.
- viii) the need for creating Maternity Relief Fund.

The start given by the Sixth Five Year Plan to a special focus on women's employment is expected to be pursued more vigorously in the Seventh Plan, 1986-90. The Steering Group on Employment Strategy for the Seventh Five Year Plan which includes two women has set up a special subgroup for "Self-employment and Policy Package including women's Employment." A non-official workshop of the self-employed workers is scheduled for December 1984 to formulate a charter to be submitted to the Planning Commission for inclusion in the Seventh Plan.

The Approach Paper for the Seventh Five Year Plan emphasises the need for women, to acquire confidence in themselves and their capability and develop a sense of responsibility towards the overall betterment of the society and suggests "an integrated multi-disciplinary' developmental approach covering health, family planning, education etc.

However, no specific recommendations are made regarding women's employment. At the Advisory Committee a scheme was designed for organising unorganised female workers into various forms of associations which would focus on either strengthening existing employment or providing/creating of employment.

Thus in the last decade the discussion and recommendations could broadly be classified under seven general categories:

- 1 Equal remuneration and the fixation of minimum wages.
- 2 Creche and Maternity benefit facilities;
- 3 Training and education to improve and expand the number of occupations in which women are engaged;
- 4 Improvement in data base;
- 5 Special problems and needs of women self-employed workers;
- 6 Displacement of women workers due to technology; and
- 7 The organization of women workers.

CHANGES IN FEMALE EMPLOYMENT:
70's to 80's

(1) The Data Base

It has always been difficult to pin point the statistical profile of women. This is not only an Indian problem - but a concern and drawback in statistical measurement and analysis all over the world¹.

Trend analysis of Indian data in employment suffers both from definitional changes as well as the deeper problem of netting non-monetised as well as other forms of invisible work.

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- 1 a ESCAP. Report of the Seminar on Household Surveys, Bangkok, 15-26 September, 1980.
 - b Women in the Labour Force in Latin America. NPE J: Rio de Janeiro, 1978.
 - c First and Second Data User's Conference, Census of Indi. 1981 Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1978.
 - d Mitre, A et al The Status of Women, Household and Non-Household Economic Activity, Indian Council of Social Science Research, Allied, New Delhi, 1979
 - e Bose, A, "A Demographic Profile", in Indian Women edited by Devaki Jain, Publications Divisions, Ministry of Information, GOI, 1975
 - f National Conference on Women's Studies, SNDT University, Bombay, 1981.
 - g Report of the Expert Group on Improving Statistics and Indicators on the Situation of Women, United Nations Statistical Officer, New York, 1984.

The decennial population census gives some indicative information of the trend as it is between 1971 and 1981.

In addition there is data from the National Sample Survey, but this is limited to the 1970's as the most well used employment/unemployment rounds are the 27th Round, dated 1972 and the 32nd Round, data, 1977. This data can give characteristics of the labour force and some insights into measurement methodologies, but not the drama of change.

The Labour Bureau and other sectoral data sets provide some further supplementary data. These are presented in three sections - (i) employment, (ii) unemployment, & (iii) work preference.

(i) Employment (See Tables 1 to 20):

Given these qualifications, what the data reveals is contained in the following statements.

Between 1971 and 1981:

- a The overall work participation rate for males had declined by one point from 52.61 percent in 1971 to 51.62 percent in 1981. The work participation rate for females has increased from 12.06 percent in 1971 to 13.99 percent in 1981. The increase in work participation rate among females is shared by all the age groups except the age group 60 and above.
- b Main Workers: In the primary sector, the proportion of male main workers has declined but the proportion has increased in the secondary

and the tertiary sectors. Among female main workers the proportion engaged in the primary sector has declined also, while those engaged in secondary has gone up.

- c A sectoral shift is taking place with males moving away from the primary sector into the secondary and tertiary sectors. Among females also a shift away from the primary sector to the secondary sector and marginally to the tertiary sector is noticed though the shift in their case is of much smaller magnitude.
- d Marginal Workers: Both in rural and urban areas more females were reported as marginal workers. While among females, marginal workers form a substantial proportion in all the age groups, among males the proportion of marginal workers tapers off rapidly above age 25. 57.82 percent of male marginal workers were below age 25, the corresponding proportion for female marginal workers being 35.94 percent only.
- e The female work participation rate in urban areas has not increased much between 1971 and 1981 specially when compared with rural areas. Among males the work participation shows a slight increase in 1981 compared to 1971 when main workers and marginal workers are taken together. This trend is similar to the one noticed in rural areas also.

f The proportion of persons engaged in various occupations differs among males and females. In the case of females, 15.74 percent are engaged in professional, technical or related work while in the case of males the corresponding percentage is only 8.64 percent. This difference is mostly due to the large number of females working as nurses and teachers. Similarly a greater proportion of females (13.17 percent) are working as service workers compared to males (8.54 percent). Relatively greater proportions of male workers are working in administrative, executive and managerial work, clerical and related work and sales work, compared to females. In Urban areas: 45.67 percent of male workers and 37.74 percent of female workers are working as labourers, transport, equipment, operators, etc., i.e., occupational divisions 7, 8, 9. The proportion of females engaged as service occupational workers is much higher compared to the similar proportion for males in urban areas. In contrast, the proportion of male workers engaged in sales is much higher than the corresponding proportion among females. What is more surprising at first sight is the fact that 22.46 percent of the female workers in the urban areas are working in professional, technical and related work. While among males only 7.63 percent are working in this occupational division. This difference too is mostly due to females working as nurses and teachers.

g Age: 87.36 percent of the total work force is in the age group, 15-59; 7.06 percent in the age group 60 and above; and 5.55 percent in the age group 0-14. Among males 87.60 percent are in the age group 15-59; 7.90 percent in the age group 60 and above; & 4.47 percent are in the age group 0-14. Among females 86.67 percent are in the age group 15-59. Further, unlike males, a larger proportion of female workers is in the age group 0-14 and a similar proportion of female workers are in the age group 60 and above. 8.65 percent of the female workers are in the age group 0-14, and 4.65 percent of the female workers are in the age group 60 and above. In livestock, forestry, fishing and hunting etc., 13.90 percent of the male workers and 15.36 percent of the female workers are in the age group 0-14. Similarly, cultivators, agricultural labourers, and household industry account for a lot of children in the age group 0-14. Among females the proportion of children in the age group 0-14 is much higher compared to males.

h Self-employed and village and small industries workers: The bulk of the labour force is in the unorganised sector with a preponderance of self-employment since the absorptive capacity of the organised sector is extremely low. Only about 12 percent of the increase in labour force is absorbed in the organised sector.

- i The self-employed are engaged mainly in agriculture and the village and small industries (VSI) sector which consists broadly of (i) traditional industries viz. handlooms, khadi and village industries, sericulture, handicrafts and coir (ii) modern Small Scale Industries including tiny units and powerlooms. The traditional industries are largely run by self-employed persons with or without the assistance of unpaid family members. It has been estimated that in the year 1979-80, this sector has offered employment opportunities to about 23.58 million persons (both part time and full time).
- j The provisional results of the 32nd Round of the National Sample Survey indicate that the majority of the work force (58.1 percent) were self-employed: the non-agriculture activities accounted for 14.9 percent of the self-employed. Industry group-wise distribution of self-employed workers is presented in Table 21.
- k Shifts but within the 70's: The NSS 27th and 32nd Rounds reveal a discernible increase in work participation rate (WPR) among urban women and only a marginal increase among rural women. Urban WPR for women showed increase particularly in the 30-59 age group.
- l Percentage of women employees in the private sector has been higher than that in the public sector. However, the growth of employment in the private sector has been sluggish. The

average annual growth rate of employment of women during 1971-82 is 5.7 percent in the public and 2.0 percent in the private sector. The total employment in the entire organised sector has been growing at the annual rate of 2.8 percent and women's employment at 3.8 percent.

- m Sectoral shares public and private sector: During the period 1977 to 1982, the public sector accounted for 74 percent and 70 percent of the total increase in women's employment. The bulk of the increase was in the service sector. Manufacturing, transport and communication recorded only a fair amount of increase. But "there was a reduction in women's employment in the agriculture and allied sectors" and a marginal fall in mining and quarrying.
- n Women's share was 1.22 lakhs in the total increase of 7.44 lakhs in private sector employment. Plantations and Mining registered a decline in women's employment while men's employment increased during this reference period (1977 to 1982).
- o Sectoral shares; unemployment: Table 15 brings out growth in employment (including women) in selected organised sections during 1970-79.
- p Marginal work and domestic duties: Though the majority (56.1% of women (rural 53.5% and urban 66.1%) in the working age group (15-59) were mainly engaged in domestic duties and some related marginal work, 93 per cent ascribed involvement with domestic duties to pressing need and only 2.8 per cent to "non availability of work"

However, NSS 32nd Round brought out that despite this constraint women make it a point to contribute to the family income through marginally gainful activities.

- q Relative earnings: According to NSS, the average earning of a regular women worker improved between 1972-73 and 1977-78 from 53% that of a male worker to 83% in rural and from 46% to 62% in urban areas; but there is a "wide spread feeling that women continue to be discriminated" and the "gains are confined to a small section of women".
- r Employment aspects in selected organised industries: The Labour Bureau's study on employment of women (1970-77) in cotton, Jute, silk textiles, mica and food processing industries revealed the adverse impact of rationalisation, automation, modernisation on women's employment. The study had also shown that the expenditure on creche and other welfare facilities for women in these industries varied from Rs.1.39 to Rs.7.12 per woman employee per month.
- s Working living conditions in mines: During 1976-77, the Labour Bureau conducted a study of working and living conditions of women workers in mines. It found that:

- (a) There was not any appreciable change in the occupational pattern of women employed in mines between the years 1971 and 1976. Most of the women workers continued to be employed on unskilled jobs and they were to shift from the unskilled job to another. The prospects of women graduating from unskilled or semi-skilled to supervisory jobs were practically non-existent.
- (b) A majority of women workers in mines other than coal and managanese were either temporary or casual. Taking all mines together 56% of the women workers were holding a non-permanent status as against 21% in the case of men workers.
- (c) In most of the occupations studied, the average wage rate of men and women, were either identical or the differentials in the wage rates were only marginal. In a few occupations, however, wage rates of women workers for identical work were found to be significantly lower than their male counterparts, even after the promulgation of the Equal Remuneration Act.
- (d) A large number of the sampled units were not complying with the statutory provisions regarding provisions of separate toilet facilities for women workers. Employers in mines are not statutorily required to provide washing facilities for the workers.

(ii) Unemployment

Based on the participation rates provided by NSS 32nd Round, the Sixth Plan indicated All-India Labour Force Projections as follows:

Age Group	1980 (March)	1985 (March) (Million)	Labour	Annual Increase (Percent)
			Net addi- tion 1980-85	
5 +	268.05	302.29	34.24	2.43
15 +	251.41	285.07	33.66	2.55
15 - 59	236.95	268.22	31.27	2.51

Assuming that the rates of unemployment observed in the 32nd Round would not have changed, the estimates of unemployment in 1980 according to usual, weekly and daily status for different age groups were worked out:

Concept	Unemployment in March 1980 (Million)		
	(5 +)	(15 +)	(15 - 59)
Usual status	12.02	11.42	11.31
Weekly status	12.18	11.54	11.36
Daily status	20.74	19.77	19.17

According to the official population projections, the 1981 population was placed at 672 million. The 1981 population census indicated that the population was higher by about 13 million. In other words, the 1981 population census has shown that the rate of growth of population (2.2%) is higher than that assumed in the Sixth Plan document (2.1%). This would necessitate revision of estimates of labour force and backlog of unemployed. Figures of unemployment as per 1981 Census have not yet been released by the Registrar General. In the Mid-term Appraisal, it is stated that the re-estimation of population projections

on the basis of the latest Census has not been undertaken since detailed tables on fertility and mortality on the 1981 Census are not yet available.

Some statistics on the unemployment and under-employment among women are contained in the results of the NSS 27th Round (1972-73) survey. Though, the 32nd Round (1977-78) survey results are now available, these cannot be utilised to obtain a reliable idea on the changes in the unemployment situation during the five year interval because of changes in the definition of usual status and in the classification of activities. However, the rates of unemployment (expressed as percentages of population aged 5 and above) according to the different concepts estimated on the basis of the two survey Rounds are given in Table 18.

The Sixth Plan document has highlighted the severe unemployment condition prevailing among labour households and the educated young population. About 26% of the population was living in labour households which account for 55% of the daily status unemployment in 1977-78. The young educated labour force constituting about 11% of the corresponding total labour force in the age group 15-29 suffered nearly one-third of the chronic unemployment in that age group.

Employment exchange statistics: The total size of the Live Register figure has been increasing steadily from 9.3 million at the end of 1983. The educated component (matric and above) has also increased from 4.8 million to above ten million, during the same period. Around 6 million people of whom nearly half are educated are

registering with the Employment Exchanges each year. The placement situation has not, however, shown any significant improvement during this period. It has been less than 5 lakhs each year, one-third of whom are educated persons. Placements expressed as percentage of registrations works out around 8% for all categoring and 6% for educated categories.

(iii) Work Preference

NSS 32nd Round also ascertained the work preference of of women usually engaged in household duties and connected marginal activities. Among such rural females (aged 5 and above) 23.1% expressed their willingness to accept certain specified gainful activities (dairy, poultry, spinning and weaving, tailoring, manufacture of wooden/cane/leather products etc.) at their household site. In the case of the urban females, this percentage was slightly lower (19.8). Nearly 94% of all these females who were willing to accept such gainful activities wanted to carry out these activities regularly either on a full-time or on a part-time basis, the other opting to carry out them only occasionally. Nearly three-fourth of them would like to take up activities on a a part-time basis.

Among the "never married" females willing to accept the above mentioned activities regularly, about 40% would like to have them on a full-time basis, whereas this percentage was just around 21% in case of "currently married" women. Such response pattern was more or less common between rural and urban women.

It is interesting to note that a majority of them reported possession of the necessary skill but little finance to carry out the activities indicated above. Those lacking in skill asked for training facilities and access to finance. (See Table 20)

(2) Secondary Data Review

The foregoing review has looked at trends in womens employment, across sectors, occupations, age, location - namely urban/rural - and also in comparison to men and children. Detailed micro studies do not have the advantage of being able to provide the bases for trend analysis. However, they provide insights and enough evidence to make some observation on trends and the situation in women's employment.

Studies not only done in India¹ but in other parts of the world², as well as special analysis done of the 32nd round of the NSSO³ as well as data from the agro-economic research

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1. Jain, D. & Chand, Malini - Report on a Time Allocation Study - Its Methodological Implications. Paper prepared for the Technical Seminar on Women's work and Employment; convened by ISST, New Delhi, 1982.
 2. Hart, G. Time Allocation Study, Java
Dixon, R. Measuring the Sexual Division of Labour in Third World Agriculture, June 1983, unpublished.
Parathasarthi, G. Rural Poverty and Female Headed Households - Need for Quantitative Analysis. Paper prepared for the Technical Seminar on Women's Work and Employment; convened by ISST, New Delhi, 1982
 3. Special Tabulations of the 32nd Round NSSO.

cent reveal that female work participation rates vary directly with increases in poverty. The greater the poverty, the higher the female participation rate.

Other studies and the evidence provided by women's appearance in large numbers often in proportionately large numbers than men on public works sites¹ reveals the pressure on women to take up any employment offer whatever the arduousness and whatever the wage.

This is also supported by the figures on inter-state migration (1981 census) as well as micro studies based on interviews with women workers away from home.²

Further in the statistics on unemployment, the percentage of women seeking work of the female labour force is greater than the percentage of men in the same category³. All this evidence seems to indicate that amongst the poor, especially the resourceless there is great pressure to find

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1. ISST - Impact on Women Workers, Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme - sponsored by ILO, 1979.
 - 2.i. ISST - Employment of Women From Kerala in the Fish Processing Units of Gujarat - sponsored by the Ministry of Labour 1984.
 - ii. Banerjee, N. - Survey of Unorganised Women in Calcutta, 1975-76
 3. Government of India, Planning Commission - Draft Sixth Five Year Plan, 1978-83.

survival work. This is a slightly different from that which emerges from the secondary data analysis. However, it is possible that there is a need to analyse the data in greater detail across classes, regions and sub-regional clusters, and production and distributional sectors.

It is possible that while the overall trend is slightly upwards and there is an upwards trend amongst the educated classes, amongst the poorest there is a decline in employment.

This could be due to various policy measures such as redistribution of land which reduces the need for hired labour, technological change in agriculture including the introduction of cash crops and mechanisation, the decline in numbers in non-farm activities in rural areas such as the hand-based activities. There are some studies which use data from secondary and primary sources and give a national perspective.

A recent study has noted that there was a rise in the incidence of agricultural labourers in the rural female population in atleast 91 districts of India during 1961-71¹. Indeed, a disturbing trend in women's participation in agriculture during the last decade is the progressive shift from the cultivator to the labourer status. The rise in the ranks of women agricultural labourers - from less than one

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1. Sen, Gita - "Inter-regional Aspects of the incidence of Women Agricultural Labourers" (district level) Employment and Earnings" - Paper presented at Workshop on Women and Poverty, ICSSR Held at Calcutta, March 1983.

third of the female work force in 1951 to more than half in 1971 points to shrinking employment opportunities in family farms and growing pressure on women to resort to wage labour often under exploitative conditions.¹

Two studies of women workers in free trade zones² reveal that women are the dominant percentage of the workers in these zones.

Virtually all workers in the Kandla Free Trade Zone (KFTZ) are employed on a temporary contract or daily wage basis. This means employers are not obliged to provide other non-wage benefits to their workers. All employees agree that workers are fired as and when the former wish.

Female employment in the KFTZ is relatively higher than the national average of female participation in the labour force. Women workers are concentrated in a few industries which require skills that women are presumed to naturally possess. Women are employed in Readymade Garments, Embroidery, Cosmetics, Brush Manufacturing and Electronics Industries in the KFTZ - and always at a level where no prior technical skills are required. A result of such differentiation between tasks allotted to men and women is that women workers are

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1. ISST - Statistics on Women, Children, and Aged in Agriculture in India - sponsored by FAO, November, 1983.
 2. i. Trikha, S.K. A study of Women's Employment in Kandla Free Trade Zone Report submitted to ICSSR, 1984
 - ii. Sharma, R.N. and Chandan Sengupta Women's Employment at Seepz Bombay. Report prepared for Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations. 1984.

invariably paid lower wages. Furthermore, women are employed as seasonal part-time workers in export industries - because of the uncertainties of the export market men are reluctant to take up jobs in these industries.

Women labourers are employed with the help of Women's Welfare bodies and panchayats in the villages. Without these intermediary bodies parents would not permit their daughters to seek employment at such a distance from their villages, thus there would be no response to direct recruitment. From the employers' point of view, a second advantage to this method of recruitment is that the women workers cannot attempt any kind of collective bargaining as the village panchayats etc. would be involved. Lastly, this method helps circumvent laws on child labour.

Case studies done of women workers in milk production¹ underline the physical burden faced by women workers and the lack of attention paid to their needs for easier access to water and fuel, and child care and health facilities.

The burning problem of overwork for underfed women, seems to be responsible for the mortality of females revealed in the demographic profile.²

1. Jain, D. Women's Quest for Power - Five Case Studies. Vikas, New Delhi, 1980
2. ISST. Patterns of Female Work - Implications for Statistical Design, Economic Classification And Social Priorities Presented at National Conference on Women's Studies, (SNDT University) Bombay 1981.

Studies done of bidi workers, stone breakers, cart-pullers and so on,¹ as well as a study specifically of occupational hazards made by the Department of Science and Technology². reveal the indurious nature of women's work. The variations within the household in economic and social roles between men and women, and its implications both to receiving and giving to development by them has been documented in many studies.

Thus facts related to women's employment reveal not the trends, but the special linkages between the work and infrastructure for women.

Discrimination in the Labour market: some micro studies reveal that there is a systematic difference in male and female earnings in agriculture and related activities. Studies reveal that any earnings of female agricultural labourers is lower than male agricultural labourers. Not only operations that fetch higher wages like ploughing are male preserves but also ones like transplanting in which women are of higher proportion of the work force bring lower

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1. Self Employed Women's Association, Profiles of the Self-Employed. Niliya, R. Bidi Workers - A Case Study, Mangalore.
 2. Jassery, S.N., Ahmed Iqbal, Vishwanathan, P.N., Industrial Toxicology Research Centre (Lucknow), and Purohit Manju, and Arun, National Institute of Occupational Health (Ahmedabad), Occupational and Environmental Health Problems of Indian Women. Sponsored by the Department of Science and Technology, April, 1984.

wages to women.¹

This is revealed in Small Scale Industries as well. Women are assigned unskilled work and are paid less even in educational operations. This is true in industries like bidi making, construction, the cashew, and coir industry².

Even in the organised sector studies reveal that professional and skilled workers report lower remuneration for equal work as being one of the main problems faced.

Another facet of discrimination is the conglomeration of factors that work towards crowding women in certain types of jobs. Females are much more concentrated in agricultural operations than males and that forced idleness is higher are phenomena borne out by numerous studies.

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1. (i) Bardhan, P.K. - "Wages and Unemployment in a Poor Agrarian Economy: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis" Journal of Political Economy, June 1979
 - (ii) Bardhan, K. - "Work as a Medium of Earning and Social Differentiation Rural Women of West Bengal" ADC-ICRISAT Conference on Adjustment Mechanism of Rural Labour Markets in Developing Countries, Hyderabad, 1979.
 - (iii) Parthasarathy, G & Rama Rao Darasathy - "Employment and Unemployment of Landless Labourers and Marginal Farmers", Mimeo, Sept. 1971.
 2. (i) Kannan, K.P. - "Employment Wages and Conditions of Work in the Cashew Processing Industry". Center for Development Studies, Trivandrum, Working Paper No.77 September, 1978
 - (ii) Mathews, M - "Women Workers in the Unorganised sector of the Coir Industry in India", ICSSR, Mimeo 1979
 - (iii) Sinha, G.P. & Ranade, S.N., - "Women Construction Workers" Women in a Developing Economy Series, ed by Vina Mazumdar and Kumud Sharma, 1978.

In the urban informal sector, some of the lowest paid occupations have a disproportionately high percentage of women in them. Even in the organised sector 90 percent of the women will be found in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs.

Scheduled caste women have a higher work participation rate (WPR) than other caste women. And the WPR is different in different regions.

It is also revealed that the WPR of females vary much more than MPR due to the marginalisation of the female work force and the strong discouraged worker effect in the slack season.

SECTION II
ISSUES AND OBSTACLES

Technological Change

One issue that has been at the forefront in India is the concern that opportunities for women in the labour market are declining and certainly not increasing. Marginal improvements in sectors like electronics have been more than negatively compensated by decline in other sectors. Yet from the data it is obvious that women are not only in need of employment but are going to any length to bring home a subsistence earning. Reviewing the situation it is found that the following implications emerge.¹

That the provision of small micro opportunities for women which are usually classified as income generating projects can only make a marginal dent on the strong and widespread need of women for gainful employment. Thus it is in mainstream agriculture, non-farm rural employment including construction and in the industry and services sector especially as self-employed that women have the basic opportunity for income earning.

In these sectors however changes in policy whether it is technology, or form of organisation or choice of a product, changes the capacity to absorb certain types of skills.

1 Thamarjakshi, R. Statistics Relative to Employment and Unemployment of Women. Paper for the Sub-Committee on Equal Remuneration Act.

Thus a strong recommendation that is usually made by those who are involved in this particular field is for a scrutiny of the existing situation of women in the employment picture and anticipation of possible negative consequences of a change and built-in safe-guards either to prevent dislocation or to reabsorb in another avenue. Governments have often felt that women's resistance to new technologies because they replace their "hands", is against the national interest to earn foreign exchange to promote production and thus overall employment through wider markets.

Here women have raised questions/macro arguments such as:

- Whose employment¹ - is it a competition between men and women or a better class of people benefitting over a less skilled class of people?

- a It does not bring to light the need of women for support services for house work;
- b It stigmatises them as doing less valuable work namely house bound work;
- c It is often on piece rate and uses children and the aged and thus adds to a form of family exploitation; and
- d It prevents women from engaging in the kind of socialisation which helps to raise consciousness provide self-confidence, participate in unionisation, gain knowledge of laws, opportunity, etc.

¹ Bhatt, Ela R. In response to Magsaysay Award, 1976.

On the other hand there are those who would argue:

- a that the reality for women workers is home-based work, in countries like India. Therefore, laws and other policy measures should be designed to provide support services;¹
- b that home-based work pressurises women less as they can choose, arrange their time between child care, house work and income earning.² This presumes that there is no fundamental change of attitudes and also that there is no complete cover in terms of social services; and
- c a third argument often raised for home-based work is that there is autonomy, if arrangements are made to ensure control over resources and control over payment determination. Factories and trade unions have begun to distress workers in terms of domination of another kind. Women interviewed in factories have complained of harsh treatment and the difficulties in squeezing in their interest in child rearing or health into the factory hours. Women have often found that trade unions tend to become undemocratic and controlled by personalities unsympathetic to their needs.

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1. Bhatt, Ela. Note to the National Advisory Committee on Labour
 2. Jain, D. Women in the Tea Plantations. A case study of the Nilgiri, Wynad Area. ISST

Primary & Secondary Workers

A third issue has been the question of employment queues. It is presumed that men are the bread winners and are the primary earners for the family. This gets reflected in statistics also when workers are identified through main activity and subsidiary activity, through primary and supplementary and other such classifications. The fact that women are often totally responsible for domestic work from which they have not found an escape creates a presumption that they are primary domestic workers and secondarily economic or income earners.¹

In approaching a household, therefore, there is a tendency to approach the men for providing credit or training or even an opportunity for employment. Thus in the Indian planning documents there is the concept of household and the approach that at least one person in the household should be able to have employment.

However, detailed statistical collection² reveals that women are often sole supporters and primary bread winners. Further that women's income often is spent on basic survival such as food whereas men's income is diffused between survival goods and less critical goods if not luxuries.

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1. Sen, Gita. Domestic Activity in 32nd Round of the National Sample Survey (Columbia) Conference, August, 1984
 2. Jain D, The Household Trap, Report on a Field Survey of Female Activity Patterns. Vikas, 1984 Forthcoming Publication.

This has led to a debate on whether it is wise to take the approach of one per household and whether to take household as a unit for employment at all. The argument is that provision of employment for a women especially within a poor household should not be linked with the concept of one per household.

A fourth issue is - female headed households

Census data usually gives the percentage of female headed households as around 10 percent, and the primary cause for their occurrence as widowhood.

However disaggregation of this data by region, class and other characteristics reveal that:

- a) there are more female headed households amongst the poorest (upto 35 percent) ^{1,2} and the reasons are not only widowhood but male migration and abandonment;
- b) that male out-migration is an increasingly important cause; and ³
- c) that even though these households including those which have matrilineal cultural roots have female heads, decision making is

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1. Swaminathan, M.S. - Women in Rural Development, J.P. Naik Lecture, 1982, organised by the Center for Women's Development Studies, New Delhi.
 2. Parathasarthy, G. - Rural Poverty and Female Headed Households - Need for Quantitative Analysis. Paper for the Technical Seminar on Women's Work and Employment, convened by ISST, N. Delhi, 1982.
 3. Jain, D. - Women's Quest for Power, Chapter on SEWA Vikas, New Delhi, 1980.

strongly in men's hands ¹

There is thus no great difference between utilisation of development benefits between male and female headed households².

However, when women are sole supporters, or are alone in a household, the destitution is acute.

In all the Integrated Rural Development Programmes in the 1980's, there has been a directive to specially reach these households. Further some States (e.g. Karnataka) have a pension scheme for single woman above the age of 40, below the poverty line and living alone.

Tribal Women

A fifth issue is the special feature of tribal women. Studies and action programmes with tribal women³, Krishna Dutt Vikas reveal their special problems linked to culture.

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1. ISST - Female Headed Households and Rural Poverty sponsored by ILO, Geneva, 1984.
 2. ISST - Integrating Women's Interest into a State Five Year Plan: Karnataka - sponsored by the Ministry of Social Welfare, Govt. of India, October, 1984.
 3. i. Dutt, K - Women's Work and Employment Belongs to Special Categories (Scheduled Castes/Tribes) Vikas,
 ii. ISST - Inter State Tasar Project: Report on a Field Survey, Caudhrapur District, Maharashtra - sponsored by the Swiss Development Corporation, 1982
 iii. ISST - An Assessment of Women's Roles: The Karnataka Sericulture Development Project - sponsored by Ford Foundation, 1982.

They usually hold forest based occupations, and deforestation and forest use by industrialists, as well as forest preservation by Acts have all added to their economic stress.

All these policies deny them access to forest produce.

Yet the forest is their bread and they are the conservers^{1,2}.

The Forest bill has to be changed to discriminate in favour of these gentle users of the forest. Further forestry can provide a massive source of employment to women - Nursery cultivation, fuel and fodder, stimulating cattle rearing, can be vibrant avenues.

Waste utilisation starting from garbage to fish waste are other untapped sources of employment for women.

A sixth is the difference between male and female labour.

One of the reasons for the inadequate attention to women's employment is that the difference in characteristics between male and female labour has not been noted either in statistics or in policy or programmes.

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1. Misra A. The Chipko Movement, Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1978
 2. Chand, M and Bezboruah Rekha, ISST, Employment opportunities for Women in Forestry. Prepared for Seminar on the Role of Women in Community Forestry, Dehradun, December, 1980.

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the transparency and accountability of the organization. The document then outlines the specific procedures for recording transactions, including the use of standardized forms and the requirement for double-checking entries.

The second part of the document addresses the issue of data security. It highlights the need to protect sensitive information from unauthorized access and disclosure. To this end, the document recommends implementing robust security measures, such as encryption and access controls, to safeguard the organization's data.

The third part of the document focuses on the importance of regular audits. It states that audits are a critical component of the organization's internal control system, as they help to identify and correct errors and prevent fraud. The document provides guidance on how to conduct effective audits, including the selection of audit personnel and the use of audit checklists.

The final part of the document discusses the role of management in ensuring the success of the organization's internal control system. It stresses that management must provide clear direction and support for the internal control efforts, and must ensure that all employees are aware of their responsibilities in this regard.

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Why this lack of perception? Obviously it is not intended to harass or negatively affect the women. This lack of perception that women are a separate category of labour is common to most poverty eradication programmes, not only in India, but elsewhere too. It is based on the assumption that labour, especially from the unskilled destitute classes, can be treated as homogeneous for analysis planning. It is more common to classify labour as under-employed, unemployed, below poverty line, seasonally unemployed etc. Within these categories it is not considered necessary to underline the difference based on sex.

It is usually assumed that if work is offered, males and females will respond and absorb the work as needed.

However, all the evidence not only in the preceding paragraphs, but from other research on workers, reveals that there are many reasons why female labour want to be distinguished and distinctively handled apart from male labour.

What are these characteristics? When ought the differences ^{to be noted by} ~~to impinge on~~ policy be, and when is it not necessary to take note of the difference. This is an extremely difficult but important exercise which every employment programme should take into consideration before it designs the programme, especially its implementation.

The main differences between male and female labour that have been observed can be listed as follows:

- 1 The biological difference between men and women requires that women not only have to give birth to the child but also nurture it in its early

days of life. This behaviour has led to their having the added responsibility of home and child care even when the children are beyond the infancy stage.

- 2 Apart from the responsibility, they also undergo physical strain with child birth and child care which tells on their physical capacity to do sustained hard work, although they do it.
- 3 Various cultural and traditional factors have led to the clear demarcation of economic roles between men and women. For example in rice agriculture it is common to find only women transplanting rice. Weeding, vegetable plucking bundling of harvest produce are all usually given to women. In non-agriculture, especially on construction sites, Women are often made to carry earth while men dig. In other aspects of construction, men do the skilled jobs of brick laying while women mix the mortar and so it goes on. The more traditional a society the more clearly demarcated these rules.

Hence, the labour market is not neutral between men and women. Males are absorbed for certain jobs while females only for others. Even in the case of seasons, the agricultural seasons do not have the same affect on male and female labour absorption. Ploughing season may absorb men while harvesting may require women.

The variations in labour absorption do not end here. Certain crops have different female labour inputs at different times than other crops. Sugar cane and its cycles

may use a different level and ratio of female labour than rice and its cycles, or wheat and its cycles. All these differences have been identified by various kinds of research which are going on.

The women interviewed on the employment guarantee sites, whether in Maharashtra or in Karnataka, report that their unemployment is not limited to the lean agricultural seasons, it is all the year around.

When the sites are opened, they have some access to work but when the sites are closed they are without work. In other words, they are not absorbed by the normal agricultural activity which is supposed to be at its peak in certain seasons.

Many other serious reasons have begun to emerge as to why female labour has to be considered distinctly from male labour. It has increasingly been found that the nutrition and health levels of households are directly dependent on the access women in the household have to cash or foodgrain. Thus wages and payment systems which do not deliver this cash or ration to the women could tend to divert the reward for work away from the households basic needs. Gangs dominated by men, wages paid in cash to male heads of family would exaggerate the problem of intra-household inequality in the distribution of health and nutrition between males and females.

Men drinking liquor can lead to acute indebtedness. Distances of ration shops from home could mean that women cannot visit them personally and therefore money is sent with the man for buying food. This money can get dissipated into alcohol consumption by the male.

Another aspect of the difference between male and female labour is that women's work is evaluated according to traditional perception. Most employees in traditional occupations like agriculture will perceive the output of women or their contribution as much lower than men and thereby, even if there are rules such as the Equal Remuneration Act, they will not abide by it as they see the contribution of women as being less in value than that of men.

Due to decades of the prevalence of certain attitudes, female labour often responds differently from male labour to not only offers of employment but also to various other institutional arrangements. When females perceive their work as being less valuable than males they could also not insist on the exercise of their right both to have work as well as to earn equal reward.

The intra household status of women, namely that within the family they are considered as being in some way second class, is carried to the relationships on the work site where men who are playing the role of foremen etc., would continue to use them for tedious, hard jobs whilst paying them lesser amounts.

These are some of the implications which should be borne in mind when assuming that there is no difference between male and female labour in designing employment programmes.¹

1. ISSF - Women Workers on Employment Guarantee Schemes.
sponsored by ILO, Geneva 1981.

SECTION IIIFUTURE STRATEGIESImplications for policy

(i) From Micro-Data:

From the view point of policy and also programme support, women's employment can be categorised in terms of

- a) existing employment in traditional industries/occupations
- b) new employment avenues

There is considerable evidence that women's employment in existing occupations has been affected seriously by technological laissez-faire. Growth of a competing mechanised sector with huge resources and influence at its command has grown contrary to public policy, within the same industries in which women are employed in large numbers such as handlooms and training, woollen, cotton industries. This mechanised sector has snatched away both raw-materials, and market from women producers who are unorganised and resourceless.

The emerging situation has led the government to adopt a New 10-Point Technology Policy to set right the prevalent laissez-faire. The Policy announced by the Prime Minister on 3rd January 1983 promises to protect the employment of women and the weaker sections engaged in the traditional industry:

Provide maximum employment to women and weaker sections;

Use traditional skills and capabilities making them commercially competitive;

Ensure the correct mix between mass production technologies and production by masses;

Ensure maximum development with minimum capital outlay.

It is a measure of government's seriousness in implementing this policy that a Technology Policy Implementation Cell (TPIC) is established in the Cabinet Secretariat. The problems facing the country on the employment front and the need for adoption of appropriate technology which optimises employment, have been aptly summed up the Cell:

As at the end of 1983-84, there was an estimated backlog of about 20 million un-employed persons in the country; atleast 5 to 6 million people were being added on to the employment market each year; and the organised (including (S.S.I) sector of industry was hardly in a position to absorb about 1.0 - 1.2 million persons a year. From these basic figures, it could be seen that the unemployment situation in the country is, indeed, grave and calls for immediate attention of our planners and policy-makers. The main choices available to us for alleviating this situation appear to be -

(a) to plan for a substantial increase in employment in the primary sector viz. agriculture and rural development, as the bulk of the unemployment persons reside in our rural areas; (b) to increase employment opportunities in the tertiary sector, e.g., services, trade and banking, etc., where the additional investment required to create new work-places is comparatively low, and (c) to encourage the use of employment-intensive technologies in all or, at least, selected sectors of the economy, specially in the case of agro-based small scale, handlooms, handi-crafts and cottage industries..

There are apparent conflicts/trade-offs among the objectives of maximisation of growth-rate, output and employment in a developing country. Now that the Approach to the 7th Five Year Plan clearly emphasises the maximisation of employment as a dominant goal of the Plan, it is clear thatgreater employment opportunities (both direct and indirect) for a given investment ought to be preferred, unless there are exceptional circumstances warranting a departure from this rule. And here, the choice may not merely be between an indigenous technology on the other, but it could also be between several competing imported technologies or indigenous technologies themselves. The question of choice could also pertain to futuristic technologies, i.e. those which could be developed or acquired by the country from outside for the future.

Given the freedom of choice and necessary capital, most entrepreneurs would prefer to deploy costlier machines than employ more workers (i.e., prefer capital-intensive processes to more labour-intensive ones), not only for reasons of profitability (in a distorted factor-price situation) but also because (i) machine management appears to be inherently simpler than men management and (ii) the problem of labour management seem to grow more and more acute with the increase in the number of workers employed under one roof. This tendency would need to be countered, if the utilisation of 'appropriate' technologies is to be promoted seriously. For this purpose, the Govt. will need to re-orient its credit, licensing, wage and labour management policies suitably, so that they not only prefer the establishment of smaller industrial units or units based on 'appropriate' technologies but also keep the demands for premature wage increases effectively under check.

The Steering Group on Employment Strategy in the Seventh Plan has spelt out other measures necessary to encourage employment and labour-intensive techniques (which are of significance to women's employment):

In order to protect and encourage employment in labour-intensive techniques and methods of production there is need to pursue the concept of Common Production Programmes as suggested by Karve Committee. One or more of the following elements might form part of such a Programme.

- (1) reservation of spheres of production;
- (2) non-expansion of the capacity of a large scale industry;
- (3) imposition of access on a large-scale industry;
- (4) arrangements for the supply of raw-materials; and
- (5) coordination for research, training etc.

Government also seems to be aware of the inadequacy if not failure, of the institutional arrangements for the implementation of various public policies supporting employment in existing traditional industries:

Although the policy directions were clear, adequate financial provisions were made for the development of this sector and a broad based organisational framework was created, the failure to achieve the objectives should be traced to the failures in implementation, and absence of arrangements for feed back information, critical review, timely application of corrective measures when required.

Institutional arrangements for organising production and distribution have failed to provide a substitute to the exploitative middle-men. The success of the decentralised production depends on efficient institutional arrangements for supply of essential inputs, cheap credit including consumption credit, constant upgradation of both techniques of production and skills, consumer oriented responsive marketing strategies and above all more personalised service.

The present working of the institutional framework for rural industrialisation will have to be critically reviewed to see to what extent the Government's policy has been conceptualised and operationalised.¹

The potential with regard to new employment opportunities is not so limited as is generally believed. Of course, one reason why the potential for creating additional jobs is considered to be limited is due to the inability of the organised industry to register any significant increases in employment in the previous decade. As table 15 shows employment in the organised sector during the decade 1972 to 1982 increased nominally by 55 lakhs (employing scarcely one out of every ten new entrants to the labour during this period. And here too, community and social services which include educational and health institutions provided substantial employment. The manufacturing activity in the public and private sector combined, absorbed only 14 lakhs additional persons (or a quarter of the total of 55 lakhs) during the decade despite substantial investment during the successive plans. The limits of the organised sector in providing any significant relief to the economy on the employment front is thus recognised on all hands.

However the potential in sectors other than the organised sector is not so restrictive. The Steering Group on Employment Strategy for the Seventh Plan has identified some of the potential areas:

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1. **Infrastructural Support for Rural Industrialisation.** Their Function, Existing Machinery and Coordination Mechanisms, Gaps in Policy Orientation and Suggestions For the Future, G. Venkataraman, Joint Secretary, Department of Industrial Development, Ministry of Industry, New Delhi, October, 1984.

- a) Development of agriculture in dry farming areas through soil and moisture conservation, afforestation, land shaping and adoption of crop technologies appropriate for rain fed areas.
- b) Expansion of traditional labour intensive industry through protection and promotional resources.
- c) Extraction of larger employment from the organised industry through vigorous scrutiny of the technology/employment alternatives by the industrial licencing authority.

The actualisation of these employment opportunities specially (a) and (b) above would also help to put purchasing power in the hands of larger numbers than at present and that in turn will stimulate demand for goods and services other than the elementary requirement of food grains.

It is in the same perspective that the simultaneous and cumulative pursuit of programmes such as IRDP, NREP, Minimum Needs Programme Special Area Programmes (like Hill Area and desert area development), special sectional programmes (Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes), development of agricultural output and productivity in dry farming areas which are the hearland of India's multidimensional poverty (lack of literacy, poor health high incidence of unemployment as brought out by Gits Sen in Women and Poverty) assume great significance. If purchasing power is generated in the hands of the poor through work and in dispersed manner in vast areas unquestionable conditions would have been created for strengthening employment and income for the weaker sections in general including women.

(ii) Implications for Policy of interventions

Between 1972-73 and 1977-78 there was a discernible increase in the work participation rate among the urban females.¹ The rates for rural females also showed a marginal increase. In the case of rural females where there was a slight increase in the work participation rate, this was again largely due to increase in the rate of casual labour category. In the case of males too, the casual labour participation rates indicated clear increase in both rural and urban areas - the increase in rural areas was nearly offset by reduced rates in the workers self-employed in agriculture and regular salaried/wage employee in agriculture and the increase in the casual labour rate in urban areas was roughly compensated by the decrease in the rate of regular salaried/wage employees in non-agricultural sectors.

A comparison of 1971 and 1981 censuses suggests "a marked increase in the 'Main Wpr' among rural females". The "rate among urban females has also shown a rise" while that of rural males has indicated a decline. The slight increase in the percentage of the population in the main working age group (15-59) in 1981 as compared to 1971 partly explains the rise in the participation rate in the case of females. Table 17 presents the sexwise work participation rates as per Census 1971 and 1981 according to broad age groups.

1. See Table 5.

Among the various special employment programmes, Maharashtra's extensive and sustained Employment Guarantee Scheme (MEGS) has provided rare employment opportunities to vast sections of the rural population. Its impact has been recorded and reported by various studies.^{1,2}

MEGS may well be one of the factors for comparatively lower extent of unemployment among rural women and men in Maharashtra than in Andhra and Tamil Nadu. (See Table 26)

A similar shrinking seems to be taking place in the non-farm sector in rural areas due to technology changes, competition from machine made goods, changes in consumers' tastes, pressures by export competition, distortion of domestic consumption pattern, shortage of raw-material etc. Women appearing in large numbers on public work sites which concentrate on road building and tank disilting and such other earth work, and in the figures of long distance, inter state migration for employment (1981 Census) reveals that the pace of absorption in agriculture does not match the pace of growth rate of women workers seeking work.

However, construction which has been quite lively and which could be even livelier offers a potential as does the provision of infrastructure services. For example, one of the aims of the Five Year Plans is to provide social

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1. Programme Evaluation Organisation, Yojna Bhawan.
(The Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme)
 2. ISST, Women Workers on Employment Guarantee Sites
Sponsored by ILO, Geneva 1981.

infrastructure in the form of schools, hospitals, recreation centres. This requires building. This is what is called the Minimum Needs or basic needs provision programme and is a very critical input into women's well being even in its output.¹ Thus women can benefit from the inputs of the programme in terms of labour and in terms of the output of this programme in terms of labour and in terms of the output of this programme in terms of health and educational services.

Expansion of schooling and primary health centres, extending to intensification of child care services which can further go into provision of nutritious meals provides enormous scope for female employment on a mass scale.²

Primary schools usually employ almost 50 percent female teachers. Nurses, extension workers taking care of Creche and pre-school nurseries are women. Further, as shown in the example of the free mid-day meal programme in the state of Tamilnadu, more than 164 thousand women have been employed to manage the cooking and feeding of children which gets recycled into relief for women from the responsibility of cooking the mid-day meal, apart from the expense. It has also been found that free food prevents the unequal nutritional status between males and females in India.³ Such discrimination in favour of the males is usually associated with scarce resource households.

1. Labour Ministry, Government of India, Recommendation of the National Advisory Committee on Equal Remuneration Act, April, 1984
2. Chief Ministers Nutritious Meal Programme for Children in Tamil Nadu - '82. Note Prepared by Special Officer for the Programme.
3. Sen, AK and Sengupta, Sunil. Malnutrition of Rural Children and the Sex Bias. In Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 18 (Nos. 19, 20 and 21) May 1983.

Thus the potential for employment of women in terms of number lies in this area of the social infrastructure and provision of basic amenities. For the other layers of women, namely, educated, professionalised, the figures indicate an improvement in terms of absorption.

(iii) Action and Visions

Employment Avenues

Scanning the employment scene in India especially the numbers that need attention whether it is to safeguard employment or to provide a better wage, it becomes apparent that the main avenues for women's employment in the future as in the past will continue to be in this order:

- 1 Agriculture
- 2 Non-farm employment in rural areas
 (handloom, handicrafts, agro-processing, services)
- 3 Construction (of buildings, roads, irrigation work)

This will be the source of income for the masses.

Intensification of agriculture whether through expanding or cultivating or providing inputs such as water to increase the number of crops per year and so on can provide an opportunity to women workers. However, it has been found that the expansion of opportunities depends on whether activities are mechanised, crops are changed, - a linked point.

Training

Obviously if women have to be part of mainstream of future development not only would there have to be very large investment in their training but the training would have to be far more innovative and diverse in its characteristic.

For example, those women who are migrating long distances in order to capitalise on earning opportunities need to be trained in opportunities for work which are nearer "home" if that is their preference. This would mean that demand pull sectors of production would have to be identified and training organised. In Kerala¹ for example there was a suggestion that since banana chips are now in great demand in gulf countries, young girls who are travelling into areas where they are neither familiar with the language nor have any family support such as Bengal and Gujarat, could be trained in these processes.

At another level women in rural areas participating in agriculture such as the growing of crops cannot only be trained in new technologies as for example in mulberry cultivation; but also in related activities such as fertiliser feeding into the fields, spraying of pesticides,

1. ISST - Employment of Women From Kerala in the Fish Processing Units of Gujarat - sponsored by the Ministry of Labour 1984.

treatment of seeds, repair of pumpsets and so on¹. The usual training is in food processing. However, agro industry has a much greater potential for vigorous employment than food preservation and food processing.

Training of farm women in prevention of grain loss and food processing, is useful but is not necessarily an income earning opportunity.

In the non-farm sector there are many new demands in the rural areas in the field of extension. This provides another area for training. Rural industry is dominated by women in the cottage based sector. Yet the training institutions do not have the facilities to absorb women nor is it part of the overall design of rural industrialisation.

The vocational training institutes whether at the regional and the national level or the local level namely the technical institute still tend to concentrate their curriculum for women in areas such as cutting and sowing, secretariat services and beauty care.

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- 1 (i) ISST - An Assessment of Women's Roles: The Karnataka Sericulture Development Project - sponsored by Ford Foundation, 1982
 - 9ii) ISST - Statistics on Women, Children and Aged in Agriculture in India - sponsored by FAO November, 1983.
 - (iii) ISST - Women's Employment As related to Rural Areas India - Paper presented at United Nations Mid Decade Conference on Women, Copenhagen, July 1980.

Organisations working with poorest women have pointed out how the majority classes of rural and urban women prefer to be trained in more demand oriented skills including watch repair and maintenance, plumbing, light engineering.¹

An evaluation of the functioning of the National and Regional Vocational Training Institutes for Women 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 employment on the strength of the training received by them.² Those who had secured jobs found the training beneficial. Only 7 percent reported themselves as self-employed. In the National Institute, some basic changes are needed in the selection of students and in the courses offered. There is a mismatch between courses offered and employment available.

The trainees are also not in a position to start self employment ventures due to a lack of mental orientation, encouragement from the institutes, and guidance and support in the form of infrastructure and credit.

During the Decade a programme to set up projects aiming at income generating employment on a sustained basis

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1. (i) Banerjee, N.- Survey of Unorganised Women in Calcutta, 1975-76
 (ii) Self-Employed Women's Association, SEWA Marches on Ahmedabad, SEWA, 1981
 (iii) Jain D. - Evaluation of the Socio-Economic Programme for the Central Social Welfare Board - sponsored by the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare.
 2. ISST - Utilisation and Wastage of Training - Regional and National Vocational Training Institutes for Women - sponsored by the Ministry of Labour, Government of India, October, 1984.

for women has been started by the Ministry of Social Welfare with assistance from the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD)¹. The following criteria have been identified by the donor agency:

- (i) The project must require substantial financial input.
- (ii) Implementation of the project will be the responsibility of the recipient government or a non-government organisation acceptable to the government.
- (iii) The project must have rural poor women as one important target group.
- (iv) The project must be replicable.

Given this criteria the Ministry of Social Welfare aims to establish, in collaboration with industrial units, a scheme which will combine proper linkages of raw materials, quality control, proper supervision, and an assured market for non-traditional activities. Collaborating units are expected to submit training proposals which have a high employment potential and low investment. The Ministry gives preference to ancillary units which will provide employment/income to women in non-traditional fields with a short training period. The ancillary units thus supported can be an independent unit of the core industry having its own status of a corporation, cooperative or a registered society.²

1. Guidelines for Assistance to Projects under NORAD.
Government of India, Ministry of Social Welfare.
2. Guidelines for Assistance to Projects under NORAD.
Government of India, Ministry of Social Welfare.

It is too early to make an assessment of the ancilliary units assisted under NORAD. Grants to the various industries began to be released towards the end of 1983, thus most ancilliary units have not completed the one year training period. Some industries to which grants have been released are - Leather Industries Development Corporation of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar State Pharmaceuticals and Chemicals Development Corporation Ltd., Gujarat Communication and Electronics Ltd., IPITRON Times Ltd., Bhubaneswar (Digital Watch Project), and the Haryana State Electronics Corporation Ltd.

Total grants sanctioned up to October 1984 are Rs. 1,63,82,530, reaching approximately 2663 trainees.

Credit Facilities for Women

Studies done on access to credit facilities for low-income women all bring out one central problem faced by them - that they have no security to offer.¹

The problems faced in extending credit to women are socio-economic. Attitudes to women do not allow for them to take up independent economic ventures, or consider them incapable of managing funds. Further, women are largely unaware of existing credit facilities, or physically unable to reach banks particularly in rural areas. Where there are banking institutions, women, again especially in rural areas, are reluctant to approach them because they are unfamiliar with their policies and cumbersome procedures. Another obstacle, which policy makers are now trying to change, is

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1. (i) Credit for Self-Employment of Women, P. Sunder, Sponsored by Ford Foundation, May 1983.
 - (ii) Working Women's Forum - A Case Study, V. Srinivasan, Ford Foundation.

the tendency of banks to finance large enterprises rather than small ones. This is a disadvantage to women as they tend to be involved in small enterprises.

Existing development programmes that provide credit to women for self-employment are the Integrated Rural Development Programme and Ministry of Social Welfare Programmes. The Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) is specially focussed on the target group comprising, agricultural labourers and rural artisans, whose economic advancement is essential for rural development. IRDP loans are given through leading local banks, and 1/3 of each loan given to the individual is subsidised. During the period 1980-83, 9.9 million families were subsidised and loans amounting to Rs.2,121 crores sanctioned. Except for approximately 30 per cent, the beneficiaries were all below the poverty line. Women beneficiaries were 7 per cent of the total in 20 states and union territories for which statistics are available¹.

Schemes that come under IRDP are agriculture, animal husbandry, horticulture, fisheries, sericulture, cooperation, and small industries. IRDP consists of both credit linked and non-credit linked subsidy schemes. The method of identification is survey of income and land-holding of each home in a chosen cluster of villages. Families earning below Rs.3,600 per month are identified as potential beneficiaries. There are usually 600 beneficiaries from each cluster, and one extension officer is in charge of each cluster. To reach credit to women under IRDP, loans of up to Rs.5,000 do not

1. Jain L.C. Grass Without Roots - Rural Development Under Government Auspices, ICSSR, 1983.

require a guarantor. Women beneficiaries are, however, still few. In two districts in Karnataka the following ratio was recorded of male and female beneficiaries¹:

IRDP BENEFICIARIES

<u>UDUPI</u>	M-44
	F-11
<u>GULBARGA</u>	M-143
	F-7

The Ministry of Social Welfare also provides credit to individual women through the Mahila Mandals. They give loans to buy sewing machines, milch animals, begin a poultry unit, kitchen garden etc.

There are also non-government organisations that see credit facilities as the primary need for women, especially for women in the unorganised sector. The working women's forum (Madras) is target-group oriented. Its activities aim toward the development of self-employed and landless women through such methods as making institutional credit and subsidies reach the target group¹. In 1974 the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA), Ahmedabad started the Mahila Bank, which is a kind of intermediary organisation between the women members of SEWA and the nationalised banks. It submits loan applications to the bank and pays out the money to the women.

1. Srinivasan, V. Working Women's Forum - A Case Study, Ford F. 1974.

Organisation

Most of the studies as well as the opinions of women and others working on the issue of women's employment both national and international have pinpointed the importance of organising women workers. It has also been found that trade unions have not taken as much interest in the unionisation of women workers; and when they have it is usually still dominated by men.

Yet those who have successfully organised women workers such as SEWA, Working Women's Forum¹ and other institutions have found that this has not only strengthened, increased women's incomes through wage struggles² as well as the provision of backward and forward linkages, but also provided forums for opinion formation. These forums have been effective on many issues such as:

- (a) resistance against changes in technology which would create loss of employment;
- (b) appeals to improving legal services to safeguard women's rights².
- (c) reduction of occupational and health hazards (SEWA).

Thus organisations of women workers built around occupational and other entry points, is a critical need.

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1. Working Women's Forum, Madras.
 2. Jain, D. "Satyagraha in Manek Chowk, " In Voluntary Action

The women's movement which ideally could be an aggregation of innumerable women workers organisations, taking up issues relevant to employment and expanding their interest into the larger issues of economic and social policy is the vision towards which both the women's movement and the development thrust of women have to aspire.

Implication for Policy

The importance of providing infrastructure in the form of child care services, access to social inputs becomes apparent once the role of the household is recognised as a releaser and inhibitor of female labour supply. This is not of equal importance to men. It is more of a survival line, a critical mass for women than men. Here too the concept of the household, the family hides the devastation taking place within the household. The household contains within it characteristics that provide much of the impetus or inhibition towards female labour participation or to the emergence of the female into the labour force. Those policies which unlock the household would automatically provide the key to female entry into the labour market.

While demand pull expressed in employment opportunities, training, raising of awareness are vital factor, they are not in themselves sufficient to bring about the kind of responses from female labour that we notice amongst the male labour. Yet poverty presses them into uncounted productive work, free-collection of goods, for themselves or for wage employment, irregular, underpaid, physically strenuous. The fact that households with zero or no resources put their females into the labour market, whatever

the cost, whatever the type of work, makes it essential for policy makers to analyse the labour force participation or employment and unemployment, and the need for employment in class terms. The tendency for all statistics to be shown in the aggregate, with stratification being done either as educated/uneducated, rural/urban, agricultural labour/non-agricultural labour and self-employed fails to take notice of the critical issue viz the economic situation of the family and the individuals within it.

Poignantly or ironically if the labour force is analysed against the class stratification, it will be found that all the poor are working. The poor especially, poor families cannot survive unless they bring into themselves and their families some returns paid or unpaid each day. The pressure for survival is so great that this is the categorical imperative.

Given that it is an imperative that the poorest have to be engaged in economic activity leading to bread it would follow that they are also those most in need of regular and better remuneration. It is only when we take profiles of workers in poverty - men, women and children - it can be seen where unemployment is pinching, then what kind of employment generation will absorb this critical mass of unemployed and within this mass of working unemployed, women who are in the deepest crisis.

The majority classes of women, namely women from the working classes in Latin America, Africa, and Asia are actually in a crisis, for need of employment.

They are emerging in large numbers among seekers of work in labour force statistics, as an increasing proportion amongst agricultural labourers, as the majority of the hungry and unhealthy.

It is possible that various forms of modernisation and technological progress, formalisation of work, of property rights, of Community activities and so on are pressuring women out of "earlier occupations" into the explicit labour force.

The large public work programme, food for work programmes as well as the employment aspect of supply of the basic needs, are potential sources of employment for women and in fact global data shows that women are 50 and more percentages of workers reporting for the hard labour on these kinds of sites.

Yet policies and programmes are not designed to either accommodate women specifically in these programmes, or add the additional package of service required by women because of their reproductive and maternal roles.

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Statistical Abstract

on

Women's Employment

by

Devaki Jain

Annexure I for paper on Women's Employment

Sponsored by

Women's Bureau

Ministry of Social Welfare
Government of India
New Delhi

27 October, 1984

Table 1: Work participation rates for main workers by age and sex, 1971 and 1981 Censuses.

(In percentages)

Age Group	Total Rural Urban	Males		Females	
		1971	1981	1971	1981
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
All ages	Total	52.61	51.62	12.06	13.99
	Rural	53.62	52.62	13.35	16.00
	Urban	48.80	48.84	6.65	7.28
0 - 14	Total	6.65	5.46	2.63	2.95
	Rural	7.56	6.30	3.05	3.53
	Urban	2.75	2.46	0.82	0.88
15 - 19	Total	55.32	51.15	15.78	14.48
	Rural	62.31	58.19	18.80	22.77
	Urban	33.13	31.54	5.51	6.19
20 - 24	Total	81.43	76.91	18.12	20.32
	Rural	86.56	82.71	20.58	24.29
	Urban	67.49	63.35	9.54	9.25
25 - 29	Total	94.27	91.08	20.01	22.52
	Rural	95.45	92.79	22.16	26.14
	Urban	90.54	86.78	11.68	12.17
30 - 39	Total	97.12	96.22	21.70	25.31
	Rural	97.61	96.71	23.78	28.75
	Urban	95.45	94.93	13.11	15.14
40 - 49	Total	97.08	96.81	22.63	25.97
	Rural	97.61	96.71	23.78	28.75
	Urban	95.15	95.49	14.53	15.34
50 - 59	Total	94.03	92.43	19.64	21.56
	Rural	95.50	94.08	21.08	23.94
	Urban	87.85	86.86	12.71	12.42
60 +	Total	73.82	62.11	10.64	10.19
	Rural	77.52	67.59	11.49	11.29
	Urban	55.35	47.49	6.49	5.75

Note: The data for 1971 has been adjusted to exclude that relating to Assam for comparability with the 1981 Census data.

Source: Registrar General of India, Paper 2 of 1983.

Write up.
a) the percentage of female workers to total workers has increased in each of the three sectors, during the decade 1971-81, the overall increase being 2.6%
b) while the percentage of females in primary sector decreased by 1.4%, it increased by 1.2% and 0.2% in secondary and tertiary sectors respectively; and

c) the percentage increase in employment in secondary and tertiary sectors in case of female has been less than that of males. Since the employment opportunities in a developing country keep on shrinking in the Primary sector, efforts will have to be made to expand the share of employment of women in the secondary and tertiary sectors.

(Table 3.)

Table 2 : Growth rates (per cent) of population
and main workers by age, 1971-81

Age Group (1)	Males		Females	
	Population (2)	Workers (3)	Population (4)	Workers (5)
Total	24.46	22.12	24.94	44.99
0-14	17.67	-3.51	17.77	32.23
15-19	37.88	27.49	39.25	63.07
20-24	37.87	30.21	35.05	51.47
25-29	30.26	25.85	25.33	41.02
30-39	20.02	18.92	21.54	41.79
40-49	24.58	24.22	29.56	48.69
50-59	27.25	25.09	29.61	42.38
60+	33.59	15.30	36.22	30.47

Note: Figures exclude Assam.

Source: Census 1981, Part II Special

Table 3: Work participation rates according to usual status of NSS 27th Round (1972-73) and 32nd Round (1977-78) in the age-group 5 and above

Population Category	Usual Status Work Participation Rates (%)	
	27th Round	32nd Round
Rural Male	63.84	64.06
Rural Female	37.53	38.43
Urban Male	57.09	57.48
Urban Female	15.53	17.80

(The work participation rates under the 32nd Round include subsidiary workers)

Table 4 -- Crude work participation rates (Main workers) as per Censuses 1971 and 1981

Population Category	Crude Work Participation Rates (%)	
	1971	1981
Rural Male	53.62	52.21
Rural Female	13.44	16.49
Urban Male	48.82	48.18
Urban Female	6.68	7.57

Source: Census of India 1981, Series I (India), Paper 3.

Table 5 - Sex-Residence and age groupwise labour force participation rates, NSS 27th Round (1972-73) usual status and NSS 32nd Round (1977-78) usual (Principal/subsidiary) status.

Age group	Survey Year	Rural Male	Rural Female	Urban Male	Urban Female
(Percentages)					
6 - 14	1972-73	14.06	10.65	5.91	3.18
	1977-78	14.60	11.90	6.44	4.59
15 - 29	1972-73	86.92	49.73	72.13	19.41
	1977-78	87.89	51.45	74.54	25.67
30 - 44	1972-73	98.84	61.03	98.31	28.19
	1977-78	99.10	61.87	98.96	32.40
45 - 59	1972-73	96.17	52.08	93.20	26.50
	1977-78	96.34	53.76	93.97	29.12
60 +	1972-73	69.84	21.83	53.81	12.42
	1977-78	66.76	22.06	51.76	12.97
<hr/>					
All ages (5+)	1972-73	64.59	37.71	59.96	16.53
	1977-78	64.89	39.27	60.75	20.33

Table 6 - Proportion (Percent of main workers by broad age groups in the agricultural sector, 1971 and 1981

Age group	1971		1981	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5
All ages	69.68	82.61	65.60	81.23
0 - 14	87.14	86.73	84.41	86.08
15 - 59	67.52	82.06	63.47	80.61
60 +	81.01	84.34	79.48	84.17

Note : Figures exclude Assam.

Source: Census 1981, Part II special.

Table 7 - Distribution (percent) of main workers in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors, 1971 and 1981

Sector	Age group	1971		1981	
		Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6
Primary	All ages	70.22	83.01	65.22	81.59
	0 - 14	87.33	87.05	84.63	86.39
	15 - 59	68.11	82.48	64.15	80.99
	60 +	81.17	84.48	79.64	64.29
Secondary	All ages	11.48	7.66	13.91	8.94
	0 - 14	6.23	8.08	9.18	9.70
	15 - 59	12.20	7.74	14.59	8.90
	60 +	7.50	5.71	8.80	6.65
Tertiary	All ages	18.30	9.33	19.87	9.47
	0 - 14	6.44	4.87	6.19	3.91
	15 - 59	19.69	9.78	21.26	10.02
	60 +	11.33	9.81	11.56	9.06

Note: 1. Figures exclude Assam.
 2. The proportions in each age group are calculated on the basis of the respective worker population in that particular age group.

Source: Census of India, 1981, Part II Special.

Table 8 - Distribution (Percent) of marginal workers
by age, 1981

Age Group	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Male	Fe.	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
0 - 14	10.97	10.33	9.38	11.32	21.30	9.53	5.01	5.69	4.61
15 - 59	84.13	72.76	86.29	83.85	71.06	86.08	88.80	84.56	91.27
60 +	4.88	7.87	4.31	4.81	7.60	4.32	6.16	9.71	4.10

Note: Figures exclude Assam.

Source: Census 1981, Part II Special.

Table 9 - Distribution (percent) of main workers other than cultivators and agricultural labourers by sex and by occupational divisions, 1981

Occupation division 1	Total			Urban		
	Person 2	Males 3	Females 4	Persons 5	Males 6	Females 7
All divisions	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
0-1 Professional technical & related workers	9.52	8.64	15.74	9.16	7.53	22.46
2 Administrative, executive, and managerial workers	3.08	3.43	0.62	4.00	4.41	1.00
3 Clerical and related workers	10.01	10.70	5.17	12.56	12.88	9.74
4 Sales workers	13.70	14.60	7.32	15.48	16.40	7.57
5 Service Workers	9.11	8.54	13.17	9.51	9.65	17.00
6 Farmers, fishermen, hunters, etc.	6.40	6.05	8.84	1.93	1.88	2.30
7-8-9 Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers	45.50	45.35	46.49	44.85	45.67	37.74
10 Workers not classified by occupations	2.68	2.69	2.65	2.45	2.48	2.17

Note: Figures exclude Assam.

Source: Census 1981, Part II Special

Table 10 - Distribution (percent) of marginal workers by Sex and Industrial categories, 1981

Industrial Category	Males	Females
Total marginal workers	100.00	100.00
I Cultivators	41.66	47.91
II Agricultural labourers	33.29	41.43
III Livestock, forestry, fishing etc.	3.68	1.64
IV Mining and quarrying	0.25	0.06
V Manufacturing, processing, servicing and repairs:		
(a) Household industry	3.03	4.07
(b) Other than household industry	5.34	2.15
VI Trade and commerce	4.86	1.09
VII Construction	1.95	0.39
VIII Transport, storage and communications	1.71	0.06
IX Other services	4.23	1.25

Note: Figures exclude Assam.

Source: Census 1981, Part II Special.

Table 11 - Distribution of main workers among Males and Females by Industrial Category

Industrial Category	Distribution of Main Workers			
		Males	Females	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
Total Main Workers	145,379,304	177,543,402	31,017,129	44,973,167
I Cultivators	66,728,777	77,590,660	9,254,612	14,932,167
II Agricultural Labourers	31,312,950	34,731,845	15,775,200	20,767,857
III Livestock, Forestry, fishing etc.	3,258,677	4,160,168	592,621	832,483
IV Mining & quarrying	784,649	1,100,931	123,551	163,158
V Manufacturing Processing Servicing & Repairs	14,725,294	21,480,943	2,174,381	3,662,094
a. Household Industry	4,978,789	5,647,030	1,316,646	2,063,890
b. Other than household industry	9,746,505	15,833,913	857,735	1,598,204
VI Constructions	1,976,783	3,207,287	202,989	358,121
VII Trade & Commerce	9,256,160	13,012,490	553,246	916,504
VIII Transport, Storage and Communication	4,155,415	5,898,901	144,830	170,432
IX Other services	13,180,679	16,360,169	2,195,699	3,170,352

NOTE: Figures for 1971 and 1981 exclude Assam State.

Source: (1) Census of India 1971, Series I - India Part II-B(i) General Economic tables.

(ii) Census of India, 1981, Series I - India Part II Special Report and tables based on 5 per cent sample data. The totals may not tally exactly in some cases due to rounding during estimation for 1981 census.

Table 12 - Work participation rates by Broad Employment status of usual status workers (age group 5 and above) NSS 27th & 32nd Round Surveys (1972-73) and 1977-78)

Employment Status	Percentage of workers as per NSS		
	37th Round	32nd Round	Increase or Decrease
1	2	3	4
<u>RURAL MALE</u>			
1 Self-employed in Agriculture	35.11	33.71	- 1.40
2 Self-employed in non-Agriculture	6.96	6.50	- 0.46
3 Regular salaried/wage employee in Agriculture	4.21	3.06	- 1.15
4 Regular salaried/wage employee in non-agriculture	3.40	3.72	+ 0.23
5 Casual Labourers	14.07	17.08	+ 3.01
	63.84	64.06	+ 0.24
<u>RURAL FEMALE</u>			
1 Self-employed in Agriculture	20.53	21.06	+ 0.53
2 Self-employed in non-agriculture	3.67	2.83	- 0.84
3 Regular salaries/wage employee in Agriculture	0.79	0.42	- 0.37
4 Regular salaries/wage employee in non-Agriculture	0.74	0.67	- 0.07
5 Casual Labourer	11.80	13.49	+ 1.69
	37.53	38.48	+ 0.94
<u>URBAN MALE</u>			
1 Self-employed in Agriculture	2.93	3.66	+ 0.73
2 Self-employed in non-agriculture	19.48	19.55	+ 0.07
3 Regular salaried/wage employee in Agriculture	0.60	0.58	- 0.02
4 Regular salaried/wage employee, in Non-Agriculture	28.34	26.10	- 2.24
5 Casual Labourers	5.74	7.59	+ 1.85
	57.09	57.48	+ 0.39

contd.../..

Table 12 (contd..)

1	2	3	4
	<u>URBAN FEMALE</u>		
1 Self-employed in Agriculture	1.91	3.33	+ 1.42
2 Self-employed in non-agriculture	5.61	5.48	- 0.13
3 Regular salaried/wage employee in Agriculture	0.14	0.14	-
4 Regular salaried/wage employee in non-Agriculture	4.18	4.30	+ 0.12
5 Casual Labourers	3.69	4.56	+ 0.87
6 Total	15.53	17.80	+ 2.28

* The figures for 32nd Round include subsidiary workers.

Table 13 - Distribution of Workers by Employment Status
1977-78 Based on NSS 32nd Round (Weekly Status)

		Percentage				
<u>Employment Status</u>		<u>Rural Male</u>	<u>Rural Female</u>	<u>Urban Male</u>	<u>Urban Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
1	Bonded Labour	0.3	0.1 (NA)	% (NA)	% (NA)	0.2 (NA)
2	a Self-employed in agriculture	51.6 53.2	51.1 (55.3)	5.3 (4.5)	12.1 (11.1)	43.2 (45.4)
	b Self-employed in Non-agriculture	11.4 (11.6)	9.3 (12.0)	33.4 (32.9)	32.1 (37.9)	14.9 (15.6)
	c Self-employed Total	63.0 (64.8)	60.4 (67.3)	38.7 (37.4)	44.2 (49.0)	53.1 (61.0)
3	a Regular salaried/wage employees in Agriculture	4.3 (6.3)	1.4 (2.3)	8.9 (0.9)	0.9 (1.0)	3.0 (4.2)
	b Regular salaried/wage employees in Non-agriculture	6.8 (6.2)	2.5 (2.2)	48.6 52.3)	30.7 (29.6)	12.8 (12.6)
	c Regular salaried/wage employees Total	11.1 (12.5)	3.9 (4.5)	49.5 (53.2)	31.6 (30.6)	15.8 (16.8)
4	a Casual labour in Agriculture	20.5 (17.5)	31.2 (23.0)	2.6 (2.7)	10.2 (9.9)	20.1 16.6)
	b Casual labour in Non-agriculture	5.1 (5.2)	4.4 (5.2)	9.2 (6.7)	14.0 (10.5)	5.8 (5.6)
	c Casual labour Total	25.6 (22.7)	35.6 (28.2)	11.8 (9.4)	24.2 20.4)	25.9 (22.2)
	<u>Grand Total</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Note: The figures relate to age-group (15.59) - corresponding NSS 27th Round (1972-73) results are shown in brackets: comparable figures for all ages five and above for both Round are not available.

NA : Not available.
% : Negligible.

Table 14 - Employment in Villages & Small Industries

(in lakh persons)

	1973-74	1979-80	1984-85	1981 Total	(Women in the total)
Khadi	8.84	11.24	15.40		
Village Industries	9.27	18.21	35.10		
Handlooms	52.10	61.50	87.00	14.74	(22.5)
Sericulture	12.00	16.00	21.50		
Handicrafts	15.00	20.30	28.00		
Coir	5.00	5.59	8.00		
Total	102.21	132.84	195.00		
S.S.I.	39.65	64.60	89.00		
Powerlooms	10.00	11.00	14.00	2.83	(9.5)
Total	49.65	75.60	103.00		

Source: Sixth Plan, 1980-85 for 1973-74, 1979-80 and 1984-85
Census 1981, Part II Special Report & Tables, Based
on 5 per cent Sample, for 1981

Table 15 - Employment in the Organised Sector,
1971 to 1982

Year ending March	Employment (in lakhs)					
	Public Sector			Private Sector*		
	Total	Women	%	Total	Women	%
1971	107.11	8.61	8.0	67.43	10.63	15.8
1972	112.09	9.11	8.1	67.69	11.05	16.3
1973	119.75	10.05	8.4	68.49	11.30	16.5
1974	124.86	10.77	8.6	67.94	11.11	16.4
1975	128.68	11.29	8.8	68.04	11.02	16.2
1976	123.63	12.20	9.1	68.44	11.77	17.2
1977	138.76	12.96	9.3	68.67	11.98	17.4
1978	144.41	14.12	9.8	70.43	12.44	17.7
1979	146.70	13.69	9.3	72.08	12.46	17.3
1980	150.78	14.47	9.6	72.27	12.55	17.4
1981	154.84	14.09	9.7	73.95	12.94	17.5
1982(P)	159.48	15.80	9.9	76.11	13.20	17.3
Growth Rate (%)	3.7	5.7	2.0	1.1	2.0	0.8

P - Provisional

Source: Ministry of Labour.

* Private sector includes all non-agricultural establishments employing 25 or more workers, Data in respect of establishment employing 10-24 workers collected on a voluntary basis are also included.

Table 16 - Employment (total/women) in selected organised sectors during 1978-79

S.No.	Sector Particulars		Employment in March			Growth Rates	
			(000)			(&) during	
1	2		1970	1975	1979	1970-1975	1975-1979
1(a)	Educational Service (Public Sector)	Total	1457.3	1975.9	2174.4	6.3	2.5
	% of	Women	270.0	414.0	469.6	8.2	2.2
		Women	19.14	20.95	21.58		
(b)	Educational Service (Private Sector)	Total	673.5	813.7	908.7	3.8	2.8
	% of	Women	167.1	202.9	247.4	4.0	4.6
		Women	24.81	24.94	26.79		
2(a)	Banking (Public Sector)	Total	197.0	319.6	465.8	10.2	9.9
	% of	Women	8.2	19.9	38.4	19.4	17.8
		Women	4.16	6.23	8.24		
(b)	Banking (Private Sector)	Total	82.0	107.6	137.3	5.6	6.3
	% of	Women	2.7	4.2	8.1	9.2	17.8
		Women	3.29	3.90	5.90		
3.	Post & Telegraph (Telecommunication (Public Sector))	Total	372.0	425.3	508.3	2.7	4.6
	% of	Women	16.0	23.3	31.1	7.8	7.5
		Women	4.30	5.48	6.12		
4.	Railways (Public Sector)	Total	1399.2	1432.1	1474.4	0.5	0.7
	% of	Women	21.0	19.8	23.2(-)	1.2	4.1
		Women	1.50	1.38	1.57		
5(a)	Electrical & Electronics (Public Sector)	Total	62.4	94.2	115.6	8.6	5.3
	% of	Women	2.4	6.3	7.8	21.3	5.5
		Women	3.85	6.69	6.75		
(b)	Electrical & Electronics (Private Sector)	Total	162.5	180.1	208.2	2.1	3.7
	% of	Women	7.6	11.4	16.1	8.5	9.0
		Women	4.68	6.33	7.73		
6(a)	Hotels & Restaurants (Public Sector)	Total	4.0	8.2	9.7	15.5	4.3
	% of	Women	0.2	0.6	0.6	24.6	
		Women	5.00	7.32	6.19		
(b)	Hotels & Restaurants (Public Sector)	Total	105.8	107.3	112.9	0.3	1.3
	% of	Women	1.5	2.2	3.0	7.0	8.0
		Women	1.42	2.05	2.66		

Source: Annual Employment Review, D.G.E. & T, Ministry of Labour

Table 17 - Analysis of daily status unemployment situation by household type based on N.S.S. 32nd Round (1977-78)

S.No.	Household Type	Percentage of population	Rate of unemployment (percentage)	Percentage share of unemployment
1.	Rural	79.6	7.70	76.8
	1 Self-employed households			
	(i) in agricultural occupations	40.9	2.68	13.5
	(ii) in Non-agricultural occupations	8.4	5.49	5.6
2.	Labour households			
	(i) agriculture	21.2	15.82	46.7
	(ii) others	5.2	12.73	8.2
	Total	26.4	15.27	54.9
3.	Other households	3.9	8.80	2.3
II.	Urban	20.4	10.34	23.2
	1. Self-employed in non-agricultural occupations	7.9	6.04	5.3
	2. Other households	12.5	13.14	17.9
	Grand Total (Rural & Urban)	100.00	8.18	100.0

Note: The figures relate to all ages : 5 and above.

Table 18 - Unemployment rates (percentages) - NSS 27th (1972-73) and 32nd (17-78) Rounds

Population Category	Survey Round	Concepts			
		U(P)S	U(P/S)S	WS	DS
Rural Male	32	1.41	0.83	2.23	2.33
	27	N.A	0.75	1.93	1.82
Rural Female	32	1.68	0.79	1.16	2.21
	27	N.A	0.12	1.90	3.44
Urban Male	32	3.90	3.28	4.25	5.56
	27	N.A	2.86	3.54	4.74
Urban Female	32	3.03	2.52	1.75	2.13
	27	N.A	1.00	1.44	1.93

Notes: U(P)S - Usual (principal) status based on the major time criterion in a reference period of one year adopted in the 32nd Round.

U(P/S)S - This corresponds to usual status unemployed persons who did not have even a subsidiary gainful activity (adopted in the 32nd Round). The usual status rates of the 27th Round are indicated against this concept even though the two may not be strictly comparable.

WS - Weekly Status { These results of the two Rounds
may not be comparable due to
changes in the activity
classification.

DS - Daily Status {

Table 19 - Women concentrated industries *

N I C Code No.	Description of Industry	Employment			(Thousand)		
		1971			1981		
		M	F	SR	M	F	SR
011	Coffee Plantation	69.1	50.4	729.4	116.4	85.6	735.4
121	Manganese Ore Mining	25.6	10.3	402.3	19.0	8.2	431.6
211	Manufacture of edible oils such as mustard oil etc.	14.1	18.9	1340.4	130.6	12.0	91.9
213	Coffee curing, roasting, grinding	6.7	3.1	462.7	6.1	2.3	377.0
226	Manufacture of bidi	572.7	399.7	697.9	714.0	882.4	1235.9
230	Cotton ginning, cleaning etc.	1.6	15.8	379.8	51.8	25.1	484.6
261	Manufacture of thread, twine etc.	66.0	28.1	425.8	85.8	38.1	444.1
262	Embroidery lace making etc.	53.7	9.2	171.3	115.5	20.7	231.2
961	Laundry services	667.8	281.5	421.5	533.16	282.96	530.7
960	Domestic services	664.5	400.4	602.6	560.7	496.1	884.8
969		443.7	70.0	157.8	361.6	44.7	123.6
010	Tea plantation	0.9	390.9	907.2	266.6	244.7	917.9
023	Rearing of pigs & other animals	21.5	4.3	200.0	46.9	8.7	185.5
024	Rearing of ducks, hens etc.	15.1	2.4	158.9	36.1	6.1	169.0
025	Rearing of bees etc.	2.9	0.2	69.0	6.7	0.86	128.4
204	Manufacture of grain mill products	339.3	34.0	100.1	511.1	64.99	127.2
235	Handloom weaving other than khadi	943.2	270.9	287.2	312.2	624.3	1999.7
441	Spinning weaving etc. in mills	22.0	1.6	72.7	31.4	2.4	76.4

contd.../...

Table 19 (contd.)

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N I C Code No.	Description of Industry	Employment (Thousand)					
		1971				1981	
		M	F	SR	M	F	SR
910	Sanitation & similar services	220.7	96.4	436.8	219.9	90.3	410.6
018	Production of ganja, chincbona etc.	2.2	1.3	590.9	7.1	3.7	521.1
201	Manufacture of daing products	57.3	4.7	82.0	80.2	6.1	76.1
225	Processing of tobacco leaf	19.5	35.0	1794.8	18.7	20.9	1117.6
229		6.7	1.3	194.0	7.4	2.6	351.4
317	Manufacture of matches	21.8	21.2	972.5	42.2	74.8	1772.5
026	Production of cocoons & raw silk	19.1	3.7	193.7	39.3	5.2	132.3
052	Production of fuel by exploitation of forests	20.3	8.6	423.6	32.96	20.1	609.8
054	Gathering of forest products lac etc.	2.5	1.0	400.0	11.3	4.8	424.8
242	Wool spinning etc. other than in mills	29.4	27.0	918.4	23.1	27.7	1199.1
325	Manufacture of mica products	3.8	2.1	552.6	6.3	1.4	222.2
053	Gathering of fodder from forests	2.5	1.0	400.0	1.7	1.5	882.4
202	Canning etc. of fruits & vegetables	5.7	1.3	228.1	4.0	1.6	400.0
268	Manufacture of coin products	86.4	122.6	1846.4	42.2	34.4	815.2
013	Tobacco plantation	1.7	0.8	470.6	4.8	0.96	200.0
233	Charkha spinning	57.3	90.4	1577.7	55.9	84.8	1517.0

* These industries have been identified as 'women preferred' by The Working Group on Employment of women set up by the Planning Commission, as cited by K.C. Seel, "Women in the Indian Labour Force".

Sources: GOI 1971 Part II-B(iii) (Economic Tables) and GOI 1981, Part II-Special Table B-12.

Table 20 - Percentage of women reporting possession
of skill to carry out the work acceptable
NSS 32nd Round.

S.No.	Type of work acceptable	Percentage possessing the	
		Rural	Urban
1.	Dairy	72.2	58.2
2.	Poultry	55.5	53.9
3.	Other Animal Husbandry	57.8	54.1
4.	Spinning & Weaving	38.1	43.0
5.	Manufacturing of Wood/cane products	38.0	26.8
6.	Tailoring	41.0	50.0
7.	Manufacturing of Leather goods	36.8	39.9
8.	Others	58.8	53.9
	All	56.0	53.0