

Women's Employment As Related To
Rural Areas

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Women's Employment as related to Rural Areas - INDIA

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Women's Employment
as related to rural areas

I. Introduction

1.1

It has become common place to say

1. that women need employment
2. that often the labour market is segregated on the basis of Age and Sex and that employment planners do not take note of this characteristic
3. that data on women's work is inadequate and misleading
4. that opportunities for women's employment decline with formal development
5. that many households are supported primarily by women's income
6. that female children substitute for female adults in many of their roles and so have less access to the social infrastructure especially education
7. that wages of female labour are lower than equivalent male labour.
8. that there are few labour unions of women that the large trade-based unions do not reflect women worker's needs/issues.

1.2

In this paper instead of corroborating these statements with macro data or pleading for more attention to these problems, it is proposed

to describe 4 situations where females from rural areas are to be employed and suggest how and where research can influence and intervene to reduce hardships, if not actually enhance the quality of their lives. In other words, this paper will not build up evidence and argument towards drafting policy or workshop resolutions. Instead it will attempt to suggest the means by which people like us can have some impact on decision makers and programme implementors.

1.3

The illustrations are:

- a) The Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme¹
- b) The UNDP project to modernise the woollen handloom industry in Jammu & Kashmir²
- c) The Amul Dairy Project, popularly known as Operation Flood³
- d) The Karnataka Sericulture Development Project⁴ funded by the World Bank.

Data on Women's Employment in Rural Areas, on rural programmes for women and so on for India are available now in several publications and research papers, whose list is given in Reference list 'A' Section.

1.4 The Institute of Social Studies has made studies of all these 4 projects with special reference to the category of women in rural areas who move towards these employment programmes, their condition, and the impact of the project on their lives. However, prior to entering this field of doing case studies the Institute had collected data from 127 rural households in 6 villages in India - 3 in a wet, rice cultivating area in West Bengal (Eastern India) and 3 in a dry millet cultivating area in Rajasthan (North-Western India). This time allocation study of men, women and children in rural households over 12 months, using observation for data collection revealed a host of information which prepared the ground for making the field studies.

Section 2

2. Field Investigation of Rural Households -
The Time Allocation Study (1976-1977).

Some of the most important findings of this time disposition study are:

- 2.1 The methodology used for identification of persons engaged in Gainful Activities- even using the conventional definition of productive work (namely not attempting to include or give a value of domestic work) tends to capture male workers but not female or child workers with the same accuracy (see Table 1) where data for the same villages or areas as collected by macro surveys and household surveys are compared with data collected from the time allocation study). The row which gives the participation rate for males, which is more or less the same whatever the methodology used. In the other rows (females, children) the fluctuations are obvious. The workers whose work is least visible are the children.
- 2.2 Going deeper and looking into the kind of work that children and women do which does not get counted it becomes apparent that it is not only

the kind of work but it is the respondent's perception of their work. A male who is ploughing his own field may call himself a cultivator; but his wife who may be weeding the field or cutting grass and feeding the cattle or his sons and daughters who may be grazing the cattle and/or minding the fields do not consider themselves cultivators or labourers. They report as non-workers. This is particularly so if the male head of household is the respondent.

2.3 The study also revealed that economic roles in rural areas are fairly clearly segregated by age and sex. Obviously such a statement must be qualified in the sense that the exception due to abnormal circumstances always exist. Women do not usually plough the fields but obviously where males have migrated to the cities in search of work women do plough the fields and so on. But leaving aside such factors by and large it was found that amongst the following operations women and men and children male and female allocated their time as follows: (Table 2)

2.4 It can be seen from the table for West Bengal (Table 2) that males predominates in-ploughing, sowing and harvesting and allied activities - although older women take an active part in food processing

TABLE -1

Work Participation Rates

Macro & Micro data

6

Total Population	SECONDARY DATA : THE STATES				PRIMARY DATA : THE SELECTED VILLAGE					
	Census 1961	Census 1971	NSS 27th Round (1972-73)	NSS 32nd Round (1977-78)	ISS Census	NSS/ISS 32nd Round (i)	(ii)	Time Disposition Study		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)		
<u>RAJASTHAN</u>	Persons	50 . 91	32 . 39	53.08		57 . 43	44 . 7	64 . 61	70 . 92	
	Males	60 . 13	53 . 62	56.67		62 . 17	58 . 0	61 . 32	70 . 25	
	Females	40 . 82	9 . 27	49.48		51 . 02	31 . 05	68 . 32	71 . 66	
<u>WEST BENGAL</u>	Persons	32 . 67	27 . 19	31.50		30 . 94	33 . 7	45 . 68	48 . 39	
	Males	53 . 46	48 . 47	50.55		56 . 20	59 . 01	59 . 01	69 . 06	
	Females	10 . 61	4 . 58	11.59		8 . 29	11 . 38	44 . 31	28 . 51	
	ADULTS (15-59)				(i)	(ii)				
<u>RAJASTHAN</u>	Persons	80 . 54	55 . 00		70.87	82.63	80 . 77	71 . 87	96 . 35	87 . 03
	Males	95 . 26	92 . 39	90.01	89.29	89.40	88 . 78	90 . 47	93 . 37	93 . 60
	Females	64 . 36	14 . 97	66.45	52.22	75.76	71 . 20	49 . 42	98 . 00	80 . 28
<u>WEST BENGAL</u>	Persons	55 . 87	48 . 38		51.95	72.28	50 . 80	50 . 46	70 . 56	62 . 29
	Males	89 . 92	84 . 21	81.08	86.60	86.77	90 . 90	90 . 65	90 . 65	92 . 82
	Females	18 . 58	8 . 40	16.64	15.54	57 . 0	9 . 86	12 . 21	61 . 68	34 . 04
	<u>CHILDREN (0-14)</u>									
<u>RAJASTHAN</u>	Children	14 . 86	5 . 9				28 . 25	14 . 3	33 . 7	56 . 03
	Males	15 . 59	8 . 42				29 . 18	14 . 0	20 . 0	45 . 0
	Females	14 . 06	3 . 13				26 . 67	14 . 5	47 . 9	69 . 23
<u>WEST BENGAL</u>	Children	3 . 7	3 . 03				3 . 89	10 . 75	17 . 2	44 . 66
	Males	5 . 8	5 . 33				6 . 92	18 . 36	18 . 36	59 . 90
	Females	1 . 5	0 . 68				1 . 12	2 . 27	22 . 72	29 . 82

activities - manual labour (from an early age) and selling goods. Women predominate in other non-agricultural activities, and household activities, and child care. Children take no part in the major ploughing, sowing and harvesting activities but from an early age help in looking after cattle/goats and, particularly the girls, in household activities.

- 2.5 In Rajasthan similar segregations are revealed (Table 2a). Males were not so predominant in agricultural activities, with women participating in harvesting and active in groundnut and vegetable picking, grass-cutting and weeding. Noticeably more boys than girls are given schooling, with only boys receiving schooling, after the age of 14.

Table - 2

Time Allocation revealing segregation of activities by age and sex
W. BENGAL

A G E	4 - 9		9 - 14		14 - 19		19 - 34		34 - 44		44 - 70	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
No. of samples	146	124	162	151	81	88	191	257	150	124	127	140
Ploughing Digging	-	-	0.05	0.09	0.56	-	0.67	0.08	0.69	-	0.58	-
Sowing	-	-	0.03	-	0.32	-	0.43	0.04	0.29	0.08	0.32	-
Harvesting	-	-	0.63	0.03	0.84	0.05	0.98	0.16	0.81	0.07	1.10	-
Cutting grass from fields	0.10	0.03	0.56	0.10	0.19	-	0.18	0.06	0.11	0.14	0.31	0.01
Weeding fields	-	-	0.03	-	0.39	-	0.36	0.02	0.46	-	0.26	-
*TOTAL AGRICULTURE	0.14	0.05	1.87	0.38	3.47	0.24	4.12	0.59	4.54	0.49	3.77	0.07
Husking winnowing Pabailing grain husking	-	-	-	0.09	0.14	0.14	0.28	0.17	0.19	0.43	0.24	0.27
Cattle/goat grazing	1.37	0.13	1.97	0.44	1.12	0.07	0.20	-	0.06	0.09	0.02	-
Cattle milking & feeding	0.08	-	0.52	0.12	0.68	-	0.10	0.02	0.08	0.03	0.05	0.03
*ALLIED	1.53	0.14	3.36	0.80	3.15	0.30	0.77	0.27	0.47	0.69	0.37	0.41
Producer of strawmats, patch- work quilts, cords etc.	0.08	0.11	-	0.52	-	1.06	0.01	0.50	-	0.23	0.09	0.22
Work as domestic servant	-	0.07	0.02	0.60	0.01	0.29	-	0.03	-	0.04	-	0.06
Selling goods (stationary arain, fish, vegetables, ewood etc.)	-	-	-	0.02	0.73	0.08	1.04	0.17	1.47	0.01	0.37	0.05
Mannal labour	-	-	0.06	-	0.19	-	0.46	0.14	0.70	-	0.32	-
Begging	0.12	-	0.17	0.80	-	-	-	0.33	0.40	0.47	0.64	1.24
*NON AGRICULTURAL	0.21	0.18	0.31	1.72	0.99	1.44	1.62	1.20	2.58	0.76	2.16	1.59
Cooking (grinding, cutting, chaping, lening)	0.01	0.05	0.01	0.70	0.10	2.30	0.09	3.67	0.68	4.48	0.06	2.33
Sweeping, washing clothes & utensils	-	0.06	0.04	0.57	0.03	1.05	0.03	1.45	-	1.27	-	0.52
Fetching water	-	0.05	0.06	0.27	0.07	0.59	0.01	0.39	-	0.29	-	0.18
HOUSEHOLDS ACTIVITIES	0.74	1.10	0.60	2.81	0.27	4.31	0.13	5.77	0.10	6.39	0.08	3.16
Schooling	1.25	1.30	1.12	0.83	-	0.06	0.09	-	-	-	-	-
Playing - Children	2.80	3.28	0.73	0.72	0.06	-	0.01	-	-	-	-	-
Time spent in child-care	0.12	0.26	0.02	0.17	0.02	0.14	0.02	0.42	-	0.12	0.03	0.55
* CHILD ACTIVITIES	4.19	4.92	1.90	1.81	0.08	0.25	0.11	0.42	-	0.19	0.04	0.62

*Totals include activities not here listed.

Table -2

Time Allocation revealing segregation of activities by age and sex
(average hours) RAJASTHAN

AGE	5 - 9		9 - 14		14 - 19		19 - 34		34 - 44		44 - 70	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Number in Sample	97	87	154	138	63	58	180	215	91	98	160	91
Ploughing Digging	-	-	0.05	-	0.57	-	0.75	-	0.87	-	0.79	-
Service	-	-	-	0.06	1.29	-	1.35	-	0.36	0.03	-	-
Irrigating fields	-	-	0.10	-	0.39	-	0.48	-	1.61	-	0.70	-
Harvesting	-	-	0.05	0.08	0.14	0.25	0.10	0.04	-	0.25	0.06	0.21
Groundnut picking	-	0.34	0.02	0.28	0.16	0.50	0.04	0.21	0.10	0.18	0.13	0.31
Vegetable picking	0.04	0.15	0.02	0.21	-	0.05	-	0.12	0.17	0.28	0.01	0.22
Cutting grass from fields	0.11	0.55	0.32	1.65	0.56	1.29	0.51	1.03	0.57	1.69	0.48	1.02
Weeding fields	-	-	0.12	0.42	-	0.54	0.06	0.66	0.69	0.71	0.63	0.83
*TOTAL AGRICULTURE	0.51	1.63	1.38	3.06	2.00	2.98	2.75	2.44	6.31	3.62	4.04	3.05
Husking, winnowing, par-boiling, grain Husking	-	0.01	0.04	0.07	-	0.14	0.02	0.08	0.23	0.34	0.12	0.11
Cattle/goat grazing	1.12	0.87	0.61	0.81	0.54	0.20	0.35	0.12	0.56	0.05	0.30	0.18
Cattle milking & feeding	0.02	0.11	0.13	0.13	0.33	0.22	0.22	0.23	0.43	0.42	0.55	0.55
Making cow-dung cakes	-	0.16	-	0.33	-	0.20	-	0.18	-	0.17	-	0.10
*ALLIED	1.15	1.28	0.94	1.60	1.28	1.09	0.63	1.13	1.38	1.38	1.21	1.43
Production of straw mats, cords etc.	-	-	-	0.02	-	0.02	-	0.02	-	0.03	-	0.09
Selling goods (stationary grain fairs etc.)	-	-	0.11	-	0.47	-	0.46	-	0.01	-	0.09	-
Manual labour	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.37	0.03	0.31	-	0.21	-
*NON AGRICULTURAL	-	-	0.16	0.04	1.76	0.04	2.70	0.10	1.00	0.04	0.37	0.09
Cooking (grinding cutting etc.)	-	0.26	0.04	0.74	-	2.00	0.03	2.34	0.10	2.79	0.08	1.60
Sweeping, washing clothes & utensils	0.01	0.45	0.03	0.56	-	0.93	0.01	1.09	0.02	1.02	0.12	0.53
Fetching water	-	0.16	0.03	0.36	-	0.62	-	0.52	0.01	0.41	0.03	0.23
Fetching fuel	-	0.01	-	0.07	-	0.04	-	0.08	-	0.09	-	0.09
HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES	0.01	0.89	0.10	1.75	-	3.66	0.05	4.05	0.14	4.33	0.25	2.47
Schooling	1.71	0.50	2.61	0.41	1.72	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Playing - children	2.55	1.43	1.14	0.24	0.39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Time spent in child care	0.15	1.71	0.40	1.23	0.20	0.31	0.07	1.13	0.17	0.69	0.15	0.91
*CHILD ACTIVITIES	4.42	3.77	4.15	1.97	2.33	0.34	0.08	1.17	0.18	0.63	0.15	0.92

* Totals include activities not have listed.

2.6 The sample of households selected for observation of time allocation was chosen to represent the different categories of classes based on ownership of assets. The sample also included the completely assetless namely those who not only do not own land, cattbel, tools of any kind but also do not own even their own homestead. The remaining sample was divided across other land and asset classes. Tabulating participation rates of these categories it emerges very clearly that women and children from the poorest sets not only participate more intensively in gainful activity than those from the other sets, but their rate of participation is even higher than the average rate for the whole population in the 3 villages.

It is also higher than the average male participation rate (Table 3). The analysis therefore clearly revealed that examining the behaviour of labour, assessing participation rates and drawing inferences from it can be most misleading unless the labour is classified according to asset classes. A female participation rate may look low in relation to male participation rate for a district, a trend in participation rate may show

decline over a time period, but if these rates had been examined specific to asset classes or categories based on certain social grouping like caste or occupation as in India, then the rates may show different characteristics.

The importance of this finding cannot be over emphasised as it clearly indicates the importance of analysing the behaviour of poverty groups far more specifically than is done in women's studies. Jumping to conclusions on the basis of aggregate figures cannot only conceal the reality of the poor but distract the attention of programme from the poor to the less poor.

2.7 Indian agriculture has always been associated with seasonality based on the usual cycle of planting and harvesting associated with dry and wet seasons. This has led employment economists to postulate seasonal variations in the absorption of Indian labour in agriculture. It is usually suggested that due to the heavy demands of labour in 'peaks' programmes have to be developed to mop up the unutilised time only during the lean season. The usual solutions are "allied activities" to agriculture, or

cottage industry. The time allocation study revealed that because of the traditional allocation of tasks based on sex and age the periods of intense activity noticed as 'peak' are basically peak for male labour only, or that the leans and peaks for males differs from females. At other times it is the case that females are more or less unemployed or under employed most of the year. The statistics from the official national household surveys corroborate this view.

- 2.8 It will be noticed from Table 3, that there are sharp differences in female participation rates even amongst the poorest between the two regions, West Bengal and Rajasthan. In Rajasthan females have a fairly high participation rate even compared to the national average 27.95 per cent in the 1961 census. So too female children. In West Bengal both female adults and children hardly seem to appear in gainful activities. On the other hand male children seem far more involved in gainful activity than female adults in sharp contrast with Rajasthan (See Table 4). Going deeper into the time allocation of the female and male children, it is found that more

female children than male children amongst the poor go to school in West Bengal than in Rajasthan.

Table: 3a

Work Participation rates of the general labour force male, and female labour force population by land classes in the surveyed villages of Rajasthan (Census of households October'76).

<u>Operated Land (in bighas)</u>	<u>Work Participation Rates</u>		
	<u>Male</u> 1	<u>Females</u> 2	<u>General</u> 3
Landless	67.0	74.1	70.5
0.1 - 2	69.9	47.4	58.5
2 - 5	67.0	67.4	67.1
5 - 10	67.5	57.6	63.1
10 - 15	56.5	53.9	61.3
15 - 20	50.9	52.1	51.1
- 20	63.7	52.0	59.6
Overall	62.7	52.4	55.8

Table: 3b

Work Participation rates of the general labour force population and male and female labour force population by land classes in the surveyed villages of West Bengal.

(Census of households December '76)

Operated land (in acres)	Work Participation Rates		
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>General</u>
Landless	70.8	3.6	33.0
Homestead only	79.2	4.5	40.2
0.1 - 1	69.3	2.5	36.7
1 - 2	59.7	2.1	26.9
2 - 3.5	56.5	6.0	30.2
3.5 - 5.0	56.9	4.6	29.3
5.0 - 7.5	48.9	1.8	23.3
7.5 - 10.0	38.1	4.3	20.4
10	50.0	0	25.0
Overall	63.5	3.2	33.4

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Table 4

Average Hours Spent by Children in various Activities in Rajasthan & West Bengal, Classified According to Land Ownership.

RAJASTHAN

Land (in bighas)	Male Children						Female Children						
	T	GA	CC	HP	S	T H	T	GA	CC	HP	S	T H	
Landless	3	1.83	.66	.33	2.83	5.65	Landles	5	1.4	.1	1.5	1.2	4.2
0.0 2.0	7	7.14	.0	.57	.92	8.63	0.0 2.0	3	2.5	.5	7.5	0	10.5
2.0 5.0	3	4.16	.0	0	3.33	7.49	2.0 5.0	2	0.75	3.5	.25	0	4.5
5.0 10.0	13	.03	.23	3.23	5.45	5.0	5.0 10.0	9	9.27	.61	1.77	0	11.65
10.0 15.0	10	5.45	.1	.35	3.45	9.35	10.0 10.0	7	4.35	2.07	1.92	0	8.34
15.0 20.0	6	5.5	.08	.08	1.16	6.82	15.0 20.0	9	3.16	1.44	2.66	0	7.26
20.0 8	4.43	1.31	0	0.81	6.55		20.0	2	6	0	0	0	6.0

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WEST BENGAL

Land (in acres)		Male Children					Female Children						
		T	GA	CC	HP	S	T H	T	GA	CC	HP	S	T H
Landless		17	6.43	0.31	0.78	-	7.52	12	4.13	.5	2.31	.36	7.3
Only Home- stead		10	9.0	1.61	1	1	12.16	9	8	1.06	3.37	1.37	13.8
0.6	1.5	15	4.37	0.23	0.57	1.84	7.01	12	2.54	.72	2.68	.36	6.3
1.5	4.5	6	1.4	-	1.8	3.9	7.1	8	2.12	-	7.2	1.62	10.9
4.5	10.0	8	4.91	-	-	.83	5.74	9	.75	.25	3.37	1.5	5.0
	10	4	-	-	-	2.33	2.33	10	4	-	2.37	2.25	4.0

T- Total Number of children
 GA - Gainful Activity
 CC - Child Care

HP - Home Production
 S - School Going Activity

This finding is matched by the figures from the national official surveys where West Bengal reports very low participation rate for women 9.43 in the 61 census. This is inspite of West Bengal being the rice growing area and the usual hypothesis that rice growing absorbs a greater proportion of female labour due to their role in transplanting. (See table 5 which indicates that this hypothesis is also not clearly validated by secondary data).

The inference that seems to emerge from this data, which is also affirmed by other social scientists, is that a dominant factor in West Bengal is the culture. In other words whatever the class or caste, women in West Bengal seem to be inhibited from participating in conventional gainful activities, though as one goes down the assetless the usual pattern of higher participation rates emerges. But at far lower levels than the national average or the level of Rajasthan.

The time allocation tables (tables 2 and 4) seem to suggest that as a result of this inhibition male children substitute for adult females and the girls are pushed to school. It is also possible to suggest that since the pressure on land in the wet

area namely West Bengal is much more than in Rajasthan (in Rajasthan even the poorest own some land as the land is dry and often impossible to cultivate), there is not much gainful work that the child of the landless can do. In Rajasthan the child of the landless can graze cattle or collect firewood etc. In West Bengal they can only hire themselves out and that too only in domestic work or begging. There seem very few options for the poor (see table 4).

Table 5

Participation Rates in Rice Intensive Districts

		<u>Participation Rates</u>		
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
State	Andhra Pradesh	51.87	62.22	41.32
District	W. Godavari	47.73	63.23	32.10
State	Assam	42.65	53.85	29.80
District	Cachar	34.74	53.75	13.81
State	Bihar	41.40	55.60	27.12
District	Shababad	36.80	53.32	20.12
State	Gujarat	41.07	53.47	27.89
District	Surat	44.37	53.24	35.17
State	Haryana	37.92	52.17	21.51
District	Karnal	34.16	52.95	12.09
State	J&K	42.79	57.84	25.64
District	Anantnag	43.86	58.99	26.26
State	Kerala	33.31	47.20	19.71
District	Allepey	33.70	45.64	22.68
State	Kerala	33.31	47.20	19.71
District	Palghat	38.80	51.47	27.14
State	Mahya Pradesh	52.30	60.21	43.99
District	Raipur	57.24	61.94	52.70
State	Karnataka	45.48	58.38	32.02
District	Mandya	47.45	61.42	33.00
State	Orissa	43.66	60.75	26.58
District	Sambalpur	52.32	64.71	39.87
State	Tamil Nadu	45.57	59.74	31.28
District	Thanjavur	42.00	59.40	23.88
State	West Bengal	33.73	54.94	9.02
District	Bardwan	33.16	53.98	9.43

Participation Rates in Rice Intensive Districts
(Census 1971)

		<u>Participation Rates</u>		
		Total	Male	Female
State	Andhra Pradesh	41.68	57.75	25.24
District	W. Godavari	38.05	57.08	18.94
State	Assam	28.63	48.90	6.15
District	Cachar	28.68	50.42	5.20
State	Bihar	31.96	52.40	10.58
District	Shahabad	29.86	48.62	10.23
State	Gujarat	31.58	51.17	10.65
District	Surat	37.41	54.21	19.67
State	Haryana	25.51	46.93	3.17
District	Karnal	27.44	48.86	2.49
State	J&K	30.01	52.19	4.86
District	Anantnag	31.30	54.52	4.09
State	Kerala	28.91	44.44	13.68
District	Allepey	26.92	40.65	13.65
State	Kerala	28.91	44.44	13.68
District	Palghat	35.72	48.78	23.39
State	Madhya Pradesh	37.30	53.83	19.77
District	Raipur	42.71	54.04	31.98
State	Karnataka	35.17	54.37	15.13
District	Madhya	33.20	56.16	9.32
State	Orissa	31.64	55.44	7.58
District	Sambalpur	35.83	60.59	10.56
State	Tamil Nadu	36.67	55.96	16.96
District	Thanjavur	33.94	55.44	12.32
State	West Bengal	28.46	48.69	5.66
District	Bardwan	28.37	48.89	5.36

Section 3 : Case I Impact on Woman Workers
Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme

The Context

3.1

At the very outset it is imperative to understand the basic ideology of the Employment Guarantee Scheme of Maharashtra. It is not merely a public workers Scheme, as is understood either in India or elsewhere. India has a long experience of 'relief' employment - food, famine, drought relief works. Also relief employment in geographical areas of acute poverty. Such employment programmes are usually developed in immediate response to a critical situation, put on the ground with existing administrative machinery with the perspective that they provide short-term relief.

3.2

The scheme in Maharashtra, however, is a planned employment programme meant to continue for several years, with its own administrative machinery, research and development unit and now a training and monitoring division. Yet it has an in-built 'short-term' horizon, but on a different premise than that of an emergency relief operation.

3.3

The premises are as follows:

- i) There is an acute unemployment and underemployment situation in rural Maharashtra and in India.
- ii) This is usually seasonal in nature in response to the nature of agricultural activities.
- iii) In the long run
 - a) Improved agricultural practices such as multiple cropping, cash cropping, intensive land improvement etc., development of activities allied to agriculture and
 - b) Growth of non-farm activities in rural areas in both industrial and tertiary sectors should absorb these unemployed in steady round-the-year employment.
- iv) While that possibility may be in the process of formation, a sound economic security should be provided to this pool of seasonally unemployed persons.

3.4

The Employment Guarantee Scheme of Maharashtra has yet another unusual component. It has in it a socio-political undertone namely to give the unemployed the constitutional right to demand work and its due reward, wage.

3.5

Given these two components, the scheme is

crash or relief programme. At the district and block level, there are officers as well as engineers specifically for the programme.

3.6 This aspect of the scheme has as many advantages as disadvantages and has made it a source of controversy.

3.7 This entire controversy that the scheme is neither durable nor temporary becomes superfluous when the scheme is assessed from the point of view of the women who have earned from it.

Women dominant in labour force

3.8 The most striking result of the survey is that, while the women have sought and absorbed the employment generated by the scheme in larger measure than usually given by the work participation rates, and perhaps are also the majority of the workers on the site, the programme has not taken any note of this fact either in conception, design, implementation or personnel, nor even in evaluation of impact.

The female participation rate for all Maharashtra and the selected districts i.e. Ahmednagar, Bhandara and Dhulia are given below:

<u>Table I</u>	<u>Census 1961</u>		<u>Census 1971</u>		<u>NSS - 27th Round '74</u>	
	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>
All India	57	28	12	33	69	37
All Maharashtra	57	38	19	36	64	53
Ahmednagar	58	46	51	20	-	-
Bhandara	61	59	56	41	-	-
Dhulia	56	42	52	21	-	-

The figures for women as a percentage of total labour on sites as given by the Planning Department of the Government of Maharashtra are given below:

<u>Table ii</u>	<u>Average Daily Attendance</u>	
	<u>33 months 1976-1978 %Age</u>	<u>21 months 1977-1978 % Age</u>
Ahmednagar	49	-
Bhandara	39	-
Dhulia	-	36

However, in Ahmednagar in 1976, this percentage went as high as 58% and never below 50%, in Bhandara upto 52% and never below 42% in 1976.

3.10

At the site, data was collected by our survey from the Muster Rolls and the site Supervisors. This yielded a percentage rate as high as 72-77% in Ahmednagar and 50% in Bhandara and 56% in Dhulia. (See table 2).

Respondents who were interviewed were asked to describe the size of their gang. Deriving an average from their individual response, the percentage revealed is 80% in Ahmednagar, 49% in Bhandara and 53% in Dhulia. (See table 3).

Table iii

Percentage share of women in total work force

	Census		EGS	EGS	EGS
	'61	'71	Dist. data Table 1	Dist. data Table 2	Gang data Table 3
All India	28	32	-	-	-
All Maharashtra	38	36	-	-	-
Ahmednagar	46	20	49	72	80
Bhandara	59	41	39	50	49
Dhulia	42	21	36	56	53

It will be observed that the local (site gang level) data reveals a higher share for women than the official data given at the State Headquarters, this is not surprising as Gangs often have more women than is recorded in the registration data.

3.11

There is a large gap between workers registered and workers reporting for work, both in Maharashtra and in Karnataka. However, not surprisingly, this gap is negative for males and positive for females, thus more males register than report for work, while more females report than register. There has been no investigation into this phenomena to see how far the fall of male workers has been compensated by female workers and also whether they are from the same household. In other words, whether men register but send their women to work on the sites, which is highly probable given the traditions, hierarchies and habits in Indian families.

3.13

Another aspect of this participation rate is that male/female labour mix as required for various construction work, which may actually inhibit wo-men who cannot mobilise men to join their gang. Hence, the women workers actually

reporting may not reflect the potential supply of workers, or to put it in another way, the participation rate would be higher if all women who sought work were absorbed irrespective of the share of men.

3.14 The only item relevant to workers' participation in the scheme is the rule that creches should be provided (see Volume I -- Chapter 3). Here table 28 as well as the Field Officers reports show that:

- a) Creches are rarely established, and where they are no more than a flimsy shack with one of the women workers playing the role of 'dai'.
- (b) There is no special staff to supervise the availability or quality of the creches.
- (c) Women want creches, but that is not their most urgent requirement. Regular income at all cost is their most pressing need. (See Table 18).
- (d) Since the sites are usually within 5 km of the village and since the women are -largely from the above 30 age group, the creche does not rank as their most essential need. They leave the children at home, or stay at home with them.

3.15 It is not meant to suggest here that creches are not an extremely important facility

for women, specially for those unemployed and without assets, or the pure hirer's cut. In fact it could be urged that if such facilities were provided, more women, especially from the intense reproduction age group of 15-30 in rural areas would probably report for work, thus satisfying their critical need for sustenance.

There is enough evidence, for example;

even in the sample, younger women from the landless classes work on the sites,

3.16 Hence the importance of child care facility on the site is not under-rated by us. However, there are other, perhaps in the context of the existing workers, even more, if not equally critical areas where the design and delivery of the scheme can be improved.

Ref.1 Women in rural households - A study of their time disposition 1977. (Institute of Social Studies, unpublished - in progress).

Choice of work and gang formation

3.17 As it stands now, the works chosen for labour absorption are by and large P.W.D. and Irrigation type works. Various types of water and the land conservation, as well as road works. These works are traditionally associated with 'light' heavy' work and consequently have predetermined rates of female and male labour requirement per day per work. Gange of males and females are formed to match the norms, as set by the specific 'works'.

Payment system

3.18 They are also usually assessed for payment on 'quality' and paid at 'piece rate' to the group labourers who have completed the job, to be divided amongst themselves.

These three aspects together operate in many ways against the interest of women.

3.19 Firstly, when the percentage of women in the gang is greater, than say the norm the women also do the heavy work, their aim is to complete the jobs.

The P.W.D. Engineers² on the staff of the MEGS claim that by and large at least 50% of the work is available to women, their intake of women would largely depend e.g. on earth

digging, on the depth of digging - women carry earth while the men dig. Therefore, the deeper the digging or higher the bunding, the greater the need for women e.g. on road building and on the distance of exact work place and road from the village of origin. Women may be less able to move too far away from home unless earlier 'prepared'.

Doing the heavy work has (a) its physical costs and (b) its wage-loss cost. The quantum of output that can be generated by women alone is less than the mix. Hence they may have to, as they do, work longer hours for the same 'output' within the specified time or may have to stretch the time and thereby earn 'less' wage per day.

- 3.20 Secondly, if women are 'alone' or in an inordinately larger proportion of job seekers than men, it is possible that they may not be offered work unless they bring men with them.

The Field Report (Vol.I) Appendix 6) has an instance of a widow not being able to find a widow not being able to find a place in any gang. She was sent away and later mobilised a gang of women and demanded work.

- 3.21 Women, therefore, would register and report in much lesser numbers than the volume of unemployment would actually indicate;

- a) because they are turned away and asked to come with men,
- b) because knowing that a gang has to be mixed, they would probably not even come, unless they had access to a man.

Ref.2: Dialogue with M.E.G.S. Administrators at Bombay meeting, quoted from Dr. J. Krishnamurthy, Consultant, Employment Planning Division, Planning Commission.

- 3.22 Such an 'impact' or implication would particularly affect older women, especially widows, abandoned women, and women of families where men have migrated in search of wage work. Since, on any criteria, these would be the neediest women, this implication in the design of the Scheme deserves serious attention.

- 3.23 The system of piece rate payment to groups would distort distribution of wage within the gang.

According to Table 17, the majority of the gangs are formed on the basis of 'village' and 'caste'. This implies that

extended kin usually form a gang. This is also corroborated by the Field Report (Volume I, Appendix 6) as well as the Nelamangala field visit (Volume I, Appendix 4).

According to the rules, the payment for men and women should be equal. The payment is made on the basis of 'contribution' and is traditionally at the discretion of the gang headmen, who tend to value women's contributions at less than the men's.

On the other hand, if payment was made to individuals either on an output basis or on a basis of hours worked, this in-built discrimination would not take place.

Table 18, as well as Field Reports, indicate that women earn less than men in agricultural work. However, in EGS as many earn equal pay to men as earn a little less.

3.24 Hence 'works' have to be selected who do not pre-suppose fixed ratios of male/female labour. Females must not only be allowed, but encouraged to form gangs, and payment systems changed to that of direct daily ~~pa~~ payment. More drastically, 'gang' formation could be abandoned and workers employed individually.

3.25 The Rahuri Sugar Cane workers (Volume I, Appendix 3) are employed by labour contractors in pairs of one male and one female. Tasks are sex segregated and strictly specified. Men cut the cane while women tie and load it. They are paid 'per pair', thus the division would be left to the internal relationship between the man and the women.

3.26 The payment system in the Nelamangala Block under the Karnataka Employment Affirmation Scheme is not based on gang formation, but weekly wages are paid directly to the workers on the muster rolls at the site offices. This may be a less pernicious system as, here too it is reported that often men register their names for work, send the women to the site, then come to collect the wages in their name.

Weekly payment

3.27 Other aspects of the payment system are:

- 1) weekly payment and
- 2) coupon payment.

Weekly payment presumes weekly purchase of household needs or staying power for the week. Coupons presume the nearness and use of the ration shop for encashment.

Ration shops

3.28 A study of the buying habits of the poor made by Professor Ramesh Bhatt of the Gujarat Centre for Management Studies, Ahmedabad reveals that (a) the poor buy small amounts for their requirements each day for each meal, (b) they usually buy from wherever they can get credit,

even at usurious interest rates.

This study was specific to the public distribution system and showed that weekly/ fortnightly issue of rations, packaging in large unit bags like 1 kg. etc. preempted the poor from using shops, and yet it was for these people that the system was meant.

3.29

The majority of the women on the sites are assetless and needy. It would be difficult to imagine them having stocks of food which give them staying power for the week.

The need for advance money and stock of food becomes even more clear when seen in the context of the sugar cane workers in Rahuri. Here the 'pairs' of workers are given Rs.500 advance by the contractor for joining his gang. This is reported as an attraction by the workers and an incentive in comparison to other forms of work.

3.30

While the ration shops are not too far (in the range of 5-10 km from the site), it is still a distance for those who have walked from home to work at manual work, and then

have to walk to the ration shop.

- 3.31 In a study done on workers on the Tea Plantation in the Nilgris* (a tea growing mountain area in Southern India), the women complained of exhaustion and lack of any days rest because of the distance to the weekly markets. They said that on their one days holiday during the week, they had to walk across the slopes to fetch their stocks for the week, which made every day of the week hard and physically tiresome.
- 3.32 In Karnataka, the office which distributes the wages also distributes the food grains at the same time. Monetary wages are combined with the foodstuff, thus avoiding the use of ration shops or coupons.
- 3.33 While payment in coupons does have value because it (a) increases the wage value (Table 5), showing that actual wages rise from Rs. 19.10 to Rs. 24/- as a result of

*Women workers on a tea plantation, Monograph, Issued 1976 (Mimeo).

additional coupons, and also because (b) access to food is especially important to women as they attend to the nourishment of the family. However, it does not overcome the problem of weekly payments, lack of holding power, relationships and indebtedness.

Intra Household Issues

- 3.34 The issues considered above have, by and large, been related to areas which are external to the household, though cases made for payment of daily wages, payment directly to workers individually and distribution of benefits is unusual amongst the poor.
- 3.35* Allocation of time for household chores by women, as a result of working on public works sites is another concern. The field investigation however, suggests that most women of the age group 30-50 who work, keep their domestic time in the range of 2-4 hours whatever the size of the family and whatever the type of work. By and large women are able to reduce the time needed for household care when they have gainful work. Usually, it is when

*Women in rural households, a study of the time distribution (in progress for ICSSR), Institute of Social Studies.

there is no gainful activity, whether it is inside the home or outside, that women extend the hours of domestic work.

3.36 A study done of women from 128 rural ~~max~~ households reveals that those who do not go out to work for gainful employment spend their whole day in domestic activity, while those who go out to work are able to fit them into 2--4 hours.

3.37 However, there is no doubt that there is a physical burden in doing manual work which could be alleviated by improving the facilities available to such workers. The women who were interviewed were constant in reporting that there has been no marked improvement in their lives except in nutrition. In other words, no other facilities have been provided. However, the fact that they report that nutrition of the family has improved is certainly a most positive impact on such a minimum wage programme.

3.38 Other issues like the condition of children, the status of women in terms of power in decision making are difficult to capture in a

short period study. It is also to be noted that women from this class of workers who are driven by acute poverty are less concerned about these matters than about finding their daily bread. When the pressure for the day's food is acute, it is difficult for them to respond to questions about status or even about how their being home affects the children. This fact is often forgotten by those who are pre-occupied with providing amenities. The children's education or health becomes a consideration only after she can provide bread to survive. This is the view of the women workers who came to the site.

3.39 Another area of concern has been whether there is any local environmental interest in the women, whether by the Administrators of the programme or women's organisations or trade unions. As the sample selected for study was purposive, the district of Dhulia was deliberately selected as it was a long standing movement of the tribals, (the site visited in Shahada Block comes within the purview of Shramik Sangattan, a peasants movement for land rights and minimum wages etc). Many women belong to the movement.

3.40 However, this phenomena is uncommon and virtually no other area in Maharashtra has taken up any kind of labour movement on behalf of the landless, casual women labourers.

3.41 Neither the Department of Women's Welfare, the Voluntary Agencies nor the Social Work School show any concern for these labourers.

3.42 In the Poona district, a new political group is moving amongst the workers, but so far its impact has not been specific on women, and not even very strongly on the men.

The employment structure and the system of hiring of labour on the large farms is such that it is difficult for any impact to be made on the conditon of labour of this category without a change in the total perception at policy level.

However, at a himan level, it does come as a disappointment that no women's organisations or trade unions have come to work with these women and help them to develop some long-term sustenance through working on the sites.

A-5 : Illustrative calculation of the wage hike under EGS after 23rd October 1978

Weekly Wage	Cash to be deducted from wages		Cash Component of wages		Wheat coupons to be given		Valued at Rs.1.30 per kg. - cash value of total wages		Valued at Rs. 1 per kg. - cash of total wage	
	Pre. Oct. '78	Post Oct. '78	Pre. Oct. '78	Post Oct. '78	Pre. Oct. '78	Post Oct. '78	Pre. Oct. '78	Post Oct. '78	Pre. Oct. '78	Post Oct. '78
Rs. 15/-	2.00	1.20	13.00	13.80	2	4	15.60	19.00	15.00	17.80
Rs. 20/-	2.00	11.80	18.00	18.20	2	6	20.60	26.00	20.00	24.20
Rs. 25/-	3.00	2.40	22.00	22.60	3	8	25.90	33.00	25.00	30.60
Rs. 30/-	3.00	2.40	27.00	27.60	3	8	30.90	38.00	30.00	35.60
Rs. 35/-	4.00	3.00	31.00	32.00	4	10	36.20	45.00	35.00	42.00

The increased scale of wages become operative from 23rd October 1978. Before that date if a worker earned Rs.18/- during the week, he would be paid Rs.16.50 and 2 kgs. wheat by coupon. After that date he would get Rs.15.20 in cash and 6 kgs. wheat by coupon. Valuing the wheat at the FPS price of Rs. 1.30 per kg., the cash value of his old and new wage would be Rs.19.10 and Rs. 24.00 respectively. From December 1978 the effect of the wage hike is obvious.

F-28 : Amenities related to (a) household (b) worksite desired by respondents classified by landholding status

Amenities desired/ landholding status	Amenities related to household				Amenities related to worksite								
	Creche or dai to look after children	Maternity leave	Help in house work	Help in bringing water at home	Shed in work site	Drinking water at site	First medical aid	With pay leave	Lava site	Training for certain job	Provisional meal	Canteen facility at site	No response to 46-57
Landless	35	8	7	4	49	53	45	27	5	10	16	3	8
Landed	26	15	17	16	52	47	47	26	6	16	14	8	5
Total	61	23	24	20	101	100	92	53	11	26	30	11	13

There are sharper difference in the kind of amenities that are preferred, between the landless and the landed class of workers express the need for a creche, more women amongst the landless express this need. In contrast more women amongst the landed express the need for maternity leave, help for domestic work and help for fetching water home.

Interestingly in relation to worksite there seems to be equal number of women of both classes who want sheds drinking water, medical aid, with pay leave etc. at the work site. In fact an equal number of them ask for all these facilities.

D-17 : Basis of gang formation and landholding of the respondents household

Landholding	Village	Caste	Family	No basis	No response to basis of gang formation
Landless	43	7	9	-	15
0.1-2.5	27	3	6	1	10
2.6-5.0	16	3	1	1	4
5.1-10.0	3	-	-	-	5
10.1-20.0	-	-	-	-	-
20.1 and above	-	-	-	-	-
No response to land size	1	-	-	-	-
Total	92	13	16	2	34

Note: Respondents 1 to 20 of Ranzangaon were not asked question relating to basis of gang formation of a total of 123 respondents who answered this question, 74% gave village as the basis for the gang. That is they are all workers from the same village. Family and caste seemed to take a much lesser place in the basis of gang formation e.g. 11% but no response form 21% of the sample.

Since the sites are statutorily required to be within 5 kms of the village it makes sense to find this as the basis. Statistics from the Planning Department reveal that 30% of the total workers are from Scheduled castes and tribes and therefore it

D-18 : Reasons for joining EGS and size of landholding of respondents' household

Landholding (acres)	No other job available near village	Other employment in sufficient, uncertain	Working hours fixed	Time bound work	Equal wage men & women	Higher wages than elsewhere	Working hours convenient	Children allowed at site	Creches provided	Leave with pay/maternity leave	Others	No response to reasons for joining EGS
Landless	37	25	-	5	4	8	2	1	-	-	1	11
0.1-2.5	13	8	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
2.6-5.0	11	8	-	1	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	2
5.1-10.0	2	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
10.1-20.0	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
20.1 and above	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total :..	68	46	-	8	8	10	3	1	-	-	3	31

The majority of the workers i.e. 79% of a total sample of 144 respondents have given the reasons that neither any other job is available in the village nor does it adequately take care of their unemployment needs with certainty. Those respondents again support the aim of the programme as designed by the initiators. While other reasons such as equal wages for men and women, higher wages than elsewhere and a time bound work are also reported as reasons, it is lack of employment opportunities that predominates as the main reason. Again the landless not only form the majority of the respondents but approximately 50% of the total respondents in each column. Other reasons which would normally have been expected to be vital such as creches and maternity leave while they must be important for women, do not seem to enter the perception of the respondents in relation to the pressure for survival which depends on having paid work.

Section 4 Case II Impact on Women

The modernization of the traditional
Handloom Weaving Industry in the
Kashmir Valley.

4.1 THE TRADITIONAL INDUSTRY

The woollen handloom industry in the Kashmir Valley is an ancient craft. The skill in weaving is handed down from one generation to the next. The looms and equipment used are simple and are made locally. The raw wool is also produced in the valley.

The handwoven woollen fabrics have a local market because of the severe winter.

Also because of the climatic conditions only one crop can be grown annually, in the warm season. Thus for the winter period many rural households would be without employment were it not for the weaving industry. The industry becomes their most important supplementary source of income.

In short, the industry uses local materials, satisfies local demand and provides essential work for rural household labour during the off-season.

The main constituents of the industry are the hand spinning of the woollen yarn, the hand preparation of warp and weft and the hand weaving of fabrics.

Yarn making is the first step in the process of woollen fabric production. In the Kashmir Valley an estimated 16,000 rural women are engaged as hand-spinners. They earn an average of Rs.1 a day for about four to five months a year. They work about four to five hours a day. Ordinary wooden spinning wheels are used and spinning wages account for 15 to 17 per cent of the value of the spun yarn.

It is estimated that a further 10,955 persons are engaged in the preweaving and weaving operations. Of these, one quarter are weavers and three quarters are allied workers who carry out pre-weaving operations, such as preparation of the warp and weft. Allied workers are generally members of the weavers household and are most often women. The weaving work is contracted by the weavers on a piece-rate basis, which invariably includes charges for pre-weaving operations. It has been estimated that allied workers contribute about 15 per cent of the weavers

earnings. The weaver's wages range from Rs.6 to Rs.10.40 per day, depending on the quality and quantity of work available to them. They work for a little over seven hours a day for about five to six months of the year.

4.2 THE INTRODUCTION OF INTERMEDIATE TECHNOLOGY

Domestic demand for traditional products of the industry has been growing and in recent years supply has been short of demand. Consequently, the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC) started to introduce intermediate technology, replacing the traditional throw shuttle loom with a fly shuttle loom. KVIC also provided training to weavers who opted for this change.

By December 1977, nearly half of the total number of looms had been converted to fly shuttle looms. These looms can produce nearly twice the yardage of the throw shuttle loom. Eight hours of weaving by a fly shuttle loom can produce seven to eight metres as compared with the three to four metres produced by the more traditional loom.

It is important to note that the fly shuttle loom raises productivity and income per weaver without

affecting the pattern of employment in the rest of the industry. The work of the spinners and allied workers is correspondingly increased with the increased productivity of the weavers.

4.3 THE INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PROJECT FOR WOOLLEN HANDLOOM WEAVING INDUSTRY BACKGROUND.

In 1975 the Government decided to modernise the Kashmir woollen handloom industry. One of the important objectives of this modernisation was to equip the industry to produce hand woven woollen fabrics for the export market. It was believed that the present products were not suitable for export and that the industry was not adequately equipped to produce exportable quality and width of fabrics.

A. Detailed Description of The Modernisation Project

The development of the handloom industry is the responsibility of the Directorate of Industries. In previous plans, a few schemes for providing training to weavers and some facilities such as improved equipment had been implemented but due to the constraint of resources, as well as the absence of an integrated programme. The efforts

were deemed to be marginal and inadequate. As a result, weavers continued to remain in depressed conditions, with low earnings, etc.

In the absence of any large and medium industry in the State, the handloom industry was one of the important planks in the overall strategy for industrial development of the region. It has immense potentiality for development and growth since the state is a large wool producer and the availability of this raw material is increasing rapidly.

Apart from meeting the basic need of the local population, woollen products can meet external demands including foreign markets which remain untapped. To satisfy these demands, what is needed is to increase productivity maximise added value, enlarge production capacity and improve marketability.

Keeping the above factors in view, the Government launched a two-pronged programme; one constituent is the Wool Utilisation and Development Project, partly funded by the UNDP and the other known as the Intensive Development Programme which is to be financed entirely by the Government. The two components are integrated and complementary.

4.4 The Asian & Pacific Centre for Women and Development commissioned a case study to be done by the Institute of Social Studies (ISS) New Delhi in 1977-1978, On the modernisation of the Traditional Handloom Weaving Industry in Jammu and Kashmir (India). The purpose of this study was to ascertain whether and to what extent the integrated project for the modernisation of the traditional woollen handloom weaving industry in the Kashmir Valley is adversely affecting the employment and income of the traditional artisans, especially women.

The project is sponsored by the Government of India, in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, with assistance from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) .

Some of the major findings of the ISS Study are as follows:

The manner in which the IDP is being implemented is certain to cause large scale displacement of women workers.

Their displacement is threatened by the following facts:

- (a) The new looms being installed are using only mill made yarn which will displace thousands of women engaged in handspinning.
- (b) The new high production looms being installed are not in addition but in replacement of the existing relatively low-production looms. This will disrupt the existing product pattern which is geared to meet local demand. This will affect local consumption and may also affect weaver's employment if the Project fails to find a market for the new products geared for export demand, which was not studied in any detail prior to launching the project.
- (c) Under the existing system, warp and weft are prepared manually by family labour. For the new looms the preparation of warp and weft have been mechanised. Readymade warp and weft are provided to the weavers from a central facility. This will also affect employment of family labour.

These observations were brought to the notice of the project authorities by the ISS. The following specific suggestions were made to mitigate the adverse consequences of the project on women's employment.

"If the new looms were to be given to those who are not already weaving, the programme would generate additional employment and not cause immediate displacement. When a certain number of new looms have been established under the programme and their products have been successfully marketed, then alone should the project consider the conversion of existing (throwshuttle or fly-shuttle) looms by the new frame looms and that too after thorough examination of the likely consequences on employment".

"Only 140 traditional looms have been replaced by new looms so far against a target of 1000 looms. Therefore, it is still possible to prevent further damage by taking corrective steps on the line suggested above. It must be ensured that IDP does not create displacement and distress even though unintended."

The results of these efforts to persuade the project authorities to modify the project design were reported in a follow-up report towards the close of 1978.

The recapitulate, the review had reported that the project authorities did not subscribe to the apprehension that women's employment will be affected much by the project. They also argued

that there was not much scope for modifying the project since the assumptions on which the project was started were still valid. The substance of the position taken by the Project authorities was:

"the prime objective of Intensive Development Handloom Project is to improve the economic condition of the existing weavers by increasing his productivity. This has been sought to be achieved by meeting their working capital requirements, supply of designs, speeding up of production and providing marketing cover."

The functions have been incorporated in the project on the obvious presumption that:

- i) the raw material requirements cannot be met out of hand spun yarn.
- ii) there is a sizeable demand of handloom production made of mill yarn
- iii) productivity shall remain at low ebb if warp and weft are prepared in the traditional style.
- iv) the demand for handloom cloth in the market could not be met if all the yarn required for it is spun by hand only because of the limitations in the hand spinning capacity.

The presumption mentioned above are very much valid. Enough quantity of hand spun yarn is not available to be fed into all the modernised looms which are proposed to be installed under this project. This object of the project is not to extend the weaving industry by training new weavers and giving them handlooms but to improve the economic condition of the existing weavers by increasing their production. This cannot be done if the weavers are asked to prepare their own warp and weft with the yarn to be supplied by the project, whether mill made or hand spun. This will definitely be resulting in some saving of labour in the families of the weavers which need to be tapped primarily for spinning of yarn and for preparing warp and weft for the cloth which is to be woven on behalf of the Khadi and Village Industries Board/Commission (KVIC) out of hand spun yarn.

It is proposed by the J&K Government to cover only one thousand looms under this project and the field is for the remaining 90 to 95% looms for operations of Khadi & Village Industries. There are no restrictions that the weavers included in this project should not use hand spun yarn. In fact, the J&K Government have kept away from procurement

and supply of hand spun yarn, exclusively on the insistence of Khadi & Village Industries Board because they wanted exclusive working with the hand spun yarn. Further, though J&K Small Industries Corporation have modernised the looms with the weavers under this project, there is no binding upon them (weavers) to use only the yarn or to have warp and weft supplied by the J&K Small Industry Corporation which is implementing the Project. The weavers can continue to help the Khadi & Village Industries Board and modernised looms provided by the J&K Small Industry Corporation shall give them better returns with which they will be merely required to procure the loans required for purchase of these looms.

One immediate gain was that the project conceded that there will be no binding upon the weavers to use only the mill spun yarn. However, the other assertions made that the raw material requirements cannot be met out of hand spun yarn and that there is a sizeable demand of handloom production made out of mill yarn, were without material support. The Khadi & Village Industries Commission (KVIC) contested the statement that the raw material requirements cannot be met out of hand spun yarn. KVIC also asserted that the woollen khadi produced

in the Kashmir Valley using hand spun yarn can match any product of mill yarn. In some of the varieties, items produced from the hand spun yarn are in fact superior to mill yarn products e.g. Lois cannot be manufactured out of mill yarn. Similarly, Pashmina items cannot be produced out of the mill yarn. KVIC further asserted that if the Project organisation is prepared to undertake the responsibility of marketing the KVIC will be willing to organise supply of hand spun yarn in any quantity required.

In view of these conflicting assertions, the All-India Handicrafts Board in the Ministry of Industry Govt. of India, appointed an independent expert team to make an on-the-spot study especially to examine the possible threat to women's employment.

4.5 Subsequent Developments

1. Several encouraging developments have taken place since the last review report. Some of these have clearly been influenced by the findings of the ISS study on Impact of the Integrated Development Project for woollen handloom industry in J&K on women's employment.

2. The foremost gain is visible at the policy level. According to the All-India Handicrafts Board, the Government has recognised the vital need to protect the traditional employment of women spinners of woollen yarn in J&K and elsewhere. The expansion of factory capacity for woollen spinning is henceforth to be consciously regulated in a manner that employment in hand spinning of woollen yarn is not affected adversely.
3. The next gain is that technical improvements are being attempted to raise the productivity and income of handspinners of woollen yarn in India estimated 200,000 women. Government has sponsored research to improve the traditional hand-spinning wheel. It is pertinent to point out that improvement of the traditional hand-spinning wheel was not a part of the UNDP/Government of India aided "modernisation" project.
4. Some initial experiments made in recent months by several groups especially the Indian Appropriate Technology Development Association (ATDA) with the export help of the Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG) U.K. justify confidence in the possibility of (a) increasing productivity

of women hand-spinners (b) improving the quality of yarn and (c) improving the earnings of the spinners. Conclusive results of this R&D effort are expected to be available in a year.

5. The success of the above R&D efforts will have profound implications not only for the 200,000 women Hand-spinners of woollen yarn in India but also on the approach which development agencies (such as UNDP etc) need to follow in developing countries where it is essential to first study the existing pattern of employment, tools and techniques in traditional industries before launching "modernisation" programmes.
6. It is also noteworthy that the total investment on the R&D now being undertaken to improve the productivity of the traditional woollen spinning wheel, as well as the likely cost of extension of the improved spinning wheel technology are not expected to be more than a fraction of the vast funds being spent by UNDP/Government of India on the modernisation of the J&K Woollen Handloom Industry.
7. The J&K Project authorities have also shown some positive response to the findings/suggestions of

study. The study had recommended that the new looms installed under the project should not be forced to use only mill-spun yarn as that would affect the employment of the women hand-spinners of woollen yarn in the Kashmir valley. The project authorities have now formally decided that the new looms installed by the project may be shared 50:50 between the project and the Khadi (handspinning and weaving) producing agencies. This is a welcome, albeit partial relief, and under the circumstances perhaps the only feasible solution since huge investment has already been made on the modern new looms. Introduction of additional new looms has slowed down. But it is not clear whether the slowing down is based on any conscious decision.

8. However, the Intensive Development Project continues to suffer from lack of demand for the products, despite the earlier assertions of the Project authorities to the contrary. There is considerable accumulation of unsold stocks. This reconfirms the ISS finding that this UNDP aided project was launched without any market study. It was all too readily assumed that anything produced on a modern loom will sell easier than that produced on the traditional loom. The production of modern woollen

goods which are not required for local consumption, is continuing to cause problems for the project. The project has yet to find a product mix which is appropriate to the new equipment installed and for which there is adequate demand.

9. The expert committee set up by the All India Handicrafts Board to assess the impact of the project has not yet concluded its deliberations. The Institute of Social Studies is represented on this committee and proposes to press for consideration of all the issues raised in the case study for firm protection of women's employment.

Section 5 Case III

Women in the Anand Pattern

5.1 Field Survey

In April 1978, a quick and modest field survey covering 124 households from 10 villages, was canvassed in Kaira district. The intention was to understand the role of women in dairying and the impact of the Anand pattern on the women of dairying households. The survey was designed with the help of the Research & Development Division of the National Dairy Development Board. The Board already has base-line data on the villages divided into ecological zones*. The zones represent different agro-climatic features. In selecting the villages it was initially thought that these zones might be relevant to the participation of women. However, this sampling design was abandoned because on the basis of data from 486 milk co-operatives

* The ecology zones are: .

- I Kapađwanj, Thasra
- II Nadiad, Borsad, Mehemdabad, Matar
- III Anand, Petlad

if became evident that, with a few exceptions, female membership was below 20%. More than half of the co-operatives had a female membership of less than 10%.

Table 1 : Distribution of AMUL Co-operative Societies in Kaira District by proportion of female membership based on Ecology Zones.
(Based on 481 milk co-operatives for which data was available as on April 1, 1978).

Percentage of women members in Cooperative	Ecology I	Ecology II (No. of Societies)	Ecology III	
0 - 5	32	63	30	
5 -10	38	66	25	
10 -15	23	61	43	
15 -20	13	33	18	
20 -25	6	12	4	
25 -30	7	12	4	
30 -35	-	3	-	
35 -40	1	3	-	
40 -45	1	-	1	
45 -50				
50 -55				
55 -60				
60 -65				
100%	1			
	<u>122</u>	<u>254</u>	<u>105</u>	
Total membership	28,352	99,627	43,359	171,338
Total female membership	3,006	10,766	4,325	18,097
Female membership) as proportion of) total membership)	10.6%	9.25%	10.62%	10.58%

Source: Data for 481 milk Cooperatives, AMUL 1977.

Within each village, households were selected randomly from four asset categories to represent variations in household resources and therefore, income. The asset categories were landless agricultural labour households (NLNB) landless households with buffaloes (NLB), small farmer households with land below 5 acres and buffaloes (LBI), and bigger cultivators with over 5 acres of land and buffaloes (LB II). The first category, landless and non-dairying agricultural labour household comprised 25% of the sample and the landless dairying household (the second category) accounted for another 25% of the sample. The cultivator households constituted 50% of the sample.

In each surveyed household the respondent was an adult female, generally the women who controlled the dairying operations in the household.

Findings

While there is no noticeable association between ecology zones and women's participation in co-operative societies, what is noticeable from Table 1 is that ecology II which is Nadiad and other areas contiguous to Anand have the largest number of societies. To that extent a greater number (approx. 11,000 women) are members of the cooperatives in this

ecology but the percentage in relation to total membership remains in the range of 10%, in fact is 9.25 in this ecology. In other words, even in areas where cooperativisation has been intensive, twice the usual number, the share of the women in the membership remains the same.

The attempt to relate female membership with milk turnover to see whether milk production was in any way influenced by the sex of the membership did not yield any fruitful results. There is no relationship between number of females and the milk turnover. However, no inference can be drawn as there are very few women in any given cooperative to be able to record any impact.

Demographic characteristics

Patel seem to be the predominant caste and they were mainly found amongst the bigger cultivators. Amongst the landless there were Rajputs and amongst the small cultivators Parmars. However, no particular caste seem to have any striking share of the samples population in any of the villages. As is to be expected the largest number of households were clustered around family size 3-5, followed by 6-8. Family sub-sizes

above 12 were found amongst the small and large cultivators, whereas families of size 1-2 were only found amongst the landless. This is also a usual pattern in rural India. The sex ratio as estimated by the 1971 census for Kaira district was 894 females per 1000 males. The average as calculated from the 124 households surveyed in the 10 villages comes to 905, more favourable than that for the whole district. However, what is interesting and not surprising is that the sex ratio drops dramatically to 774 per 1000 when calculated for the landless, no buffaloes household, rising to 94.3 per NLB's. It is now well established that amongst the poor women are the most vulnerable to death and disease (Table 5). Disaggregating this information, it appears that amongst the NLNB household sex ratio for adults above 11 is extremely unfavourable to women, though no figures for the age group 0-10 can be analysed as the sample is too small, and the Explanatory information not adequately investigated.

An equal proportion of males seem to be unmarried as are married and this phenomena seems to be repeated for females whatever the land class. On the other hand there is a dramatic drop in education between males and females amongst landless where amongst the bigger cultivation there seem to be more women who have completed primary

and secondary education than men. Female participation rates, are as usual lower than male participation rates, increasing with a decrease in land size and reaching the peak amongst those who are totally resourceless. The increase in the female rate is from 40% in large cultivators households to 51% amongst the landless without a buffalo. Children i.e. those under 10 do not show any important difference in participation based on sex (Table 10).

Most of the households belong to cultivator or agricultural labour occupational categories, with agriculture as the primary source of income and dairying as the secondary source. Amongst the landed classes the majority of women workers report working in dairying (Table 11).

Those amongst the landless who had buffaloes had 40% increase in income over those amongst the landless who had no buffaloes.

On an average women from landless households who work only at dairying or only at agriculture, work for about 11-12 hours per day at these economic

activities. But women from the same landless households who combine agriculture with dairying by acquiring a buffalo add 2 hours more to their working day. These additional 2 hours seem to be provided by cutting into time spent in domestic activity. This phenomenon comes out clearly when their time disposition is compared with women working in single occupations (Table 13).

While moving up from ownership of one buffalo to ownership of 2 buffaloes the time spent in dairying of a woman from a landless household increases by 45% whereas the increase in time spent on dairying for a woman from large cultivator household is only 22%. This difference can be explained by the fact that households of large cultivators would use domestic servants who would naturally help with dairying activities and thus reduce the increment in time of a better-off woman to 22% or half of the burden on the landless woman (Table 14).

While the work burden may increase, the compensation is provided by the addition that is made to family income when a landless household also owns a buffalo. The per hourly earning from dairying for a landless

women is 4 times the per hourly earning from agriculture. Recalling table 12 there is a percentage increase in household income of 40 by the addition of a buffalo to a landless household.

This impact both on household income as well as on opportunity cost for women working on dairying in contrast to agriculture is an extremely important factor. Agriculture especially as its technology changes tends to push out women, while it absorbs men at higher and higher wage rates. Women's contribution therefore, being marginal also gets very low wage payments. It is now well recognised that in such a situation it would be important to absorb women in occupations allied to agriculture where their earnings may be much higher than what they could get in agriculture. The field survey supports this proposition.

Women's perception

There was a fairly even distribution of households amongst those who have never visited Anand, those who have visited Anand with their husbands and those who have visited it alone. A slight increase in

number of households when neither males nor females had visited Anand could be noticed amongst the landless households. In ownership of shares not surprisingly landless households predominated against those who owned one share (82%) whereas those who have some land were ranged across households owning upto 7 shares. The response to the question of benefit to the household from the society was not clear and strong. Those who answered seem to have had help in animal sickness more identifiably than any other benefits. In answering questions regarding the attitude of AMUL co-operative staff to enrolment of women members the consistent response from all classes was that they were hostile. Other questions asked on impact of the project were usually answered enthusiastically in favour of the project. But in this case there is a clear indication given by the women, who group themselves into the categories (I) i.e. indifferent, or (H) i.e. hostile, whatever the land class. A long list of possible changes resulting from the project has been summarised in Table 21. Broadly the women seem to feel that there is no change in most of the indicators except in terms of food consumption and health care where they report improvement whatever the class. This in itself is an important positive impact of the project as food and health

would be the core of any of the minimum needs of households. As a result of the case study and discussions with the project holders, some growing awareness has emerged in the promoters of Operation Flood. For example -

1. The National Dairy Development Board which is to launch many more milk sheds in the next five years, has laid down a condition that a minimum of 25 per cent of the cooperative membership should be reserved for women. Extension staff are being recruited to give more training to women in the principles of cooperative societies and their management.
2. Even more interestingly in several areas women are being trained in the simpler veterinary services and in Surat, a tribal area of Gujarat, women are the artificial inseminators.
3. Awareness of the inadequacy of child care, health and educational inputs for women has led to several projects being undertaken initially at Anand, the most notable of which are an intensive health project. (Tribhovand Das Foundation).

4. The Dairy Board has also decided to commission studies in nutritional impact of the milk flood programme to verify whether the criticism that commercialisation of milk production has led to drop in milk consumption by dairy households is true or false.

5. The Board is also recruiting women to participate both in their spearhead teams which are used for mobilisation of persons into cooperatives as well as to its professional staff at the various headquarters.

Table 5

Sex ratio in surveyed households (Total sample)

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Females per 100 males</u> Kaira District (71)	
NLNB	93	72	774	
NLB	89	84	943	
LB I	98	96	979	
LB II	123	113	918	
Total	403	265	905	894

Profile of Household Characteristics

Table 10 Work Participation Rates.

	No. of House- holds.	ADULTS		Children		Workers*	
		Males 11 and above	Females 11 and above	M 10 & under	F 10 & under	M	F
NLNB	34	80	51	13	21	60 (75.0)	26 (50.9)
NLB	27	73	71	18	13	57 (78.1)	35 (48.2)
LB I	31	78	76	20	20	54 (69.2)	36 (47.3)
LB II	32	90	84	23	29	64 (71.1)	34 (40.4)
	124	321	282	74	83	232 (72.3)	136 (48.2)

Note: Figures in brackets indicate work participation rates.

* Workers including all those who are engaged in activities that generate family income.

Table 11

Occupation

	<u>NLNB</u>		<u>NLB</u>		<u>LB I</u>		<u>LB II</u>	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Cultivation					38	18	48	3
Labour	53	26	48	35	6	3		
or + Non-								
Service	4		5		7	1	9	
Business	3		4		2		3	
Teaching							4	
Dairying					1	14		31
<u>Total</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>34</u>

The above is a breakdown of occupational distribution of "Workers".

The totals correspond to total workers in table on work Participation Rates.

Table 12

Income, monthly expenditure on food and incidence of secondary education in samples population.

Type of household	No. of households	Primary source of income	Secondary source of income.	Average household income. Rs	Average monthly exp. on food. Rs	Incidence of Sec. education in sampled population %
NLNB	34	Agricultural wage labour	-	181	176	9
NLB	27	Agricultural wage labour	Dairying	255	261	11
LB I	32	Cultivation	Dairying	595	317	19
LB II	31	Cultivation	Dairying	833	491	36

Table 13 : Average work burden on female respondents in landless households

Sub-category of respondent	No. of respondents	Average time in			Total hours worked during a day
		Dairying activities (Income generating)	Agricultural activities (Income generating)	Domestic work (Hours)	
1. Dairying-cum-agricultural wage-earning respondents (double occupation)	11	2.6	7.40	4.00	14 hrs
2. Only dairying respondents (single occupation)	16	3.32	-	8.1	11 hrs
3. Only agriculture wage-earning respondents (single occupation)	28	-	6.71	5.48	12 hrs

Table 14 Average time spent in Dairying by women respondents by number of cattle owned & land classes.

No. of Buffaloes owned.	NLB	LBI	LBII	Average for sample (1+2+3) 5
	2	3	4	
1	2.55 hrs	2.70 hrs	2.26 hrs	2.10 hrs
2	3.70 hrs	3.05 hrs	2.76 hrs	3.27 hrs
3.	-	-	-	2.79 hrs
4	-	-	-	2.25 hrs

NLB Landless households owning buffaloes

LB I Households owning less than 5 acres of land & owning Buffaloes

LB II Households owning more than 5 acres of land and owning Buffaloes.

Note: The decrease in the average time spent by the women respondent in 3/4 buffaloe households is due to the assistance rendered by servants.

Table 21 : Impact since inception of Milk Co-Operative

who represented		NLB (29)	LB I (29)	LB II (31)
Food Consumption of hh	I	17 (59)	18(62)	26 (84)
	NC	9 (31)	6(21)	5(16)
	D	3 (10)	5(17)	5(16)
Food Consumption of respondent	I	15 (52)	16(55)	21(68)
	NC	9 (32)	8(28)	9(29)
	D	5 (17)	5(17)	1 (3)
Health care of household	I	16 (55)	17(59)	22(71)
	NC	12 (41)	9(31)	9(29)
	D	1 (4)	3(10)	
Availability of clothing to household	I	14 (48)	18(62)	20(65)
	NC	13 (45)	11(38)	11(35)
	D	2(7)	-	+
Availability of clothing to respondent	I	10(34)	15(52)	20(64)
	NC	14 (48)	13(45)	11(36)
	D	5 (17)	1 (5)	--
Attendance of school by male children	I	14(48)	9(31)	25(81)
	NC	14(48)	18(62)	6(19)
	D	1 (4)	2(7)	-
Attendance of school by female children	I	9 (31)	13(45)	25(81)
	NC	17 (59)	16(55)	6(19)
	D	3(10)	-	
Treatment of respondent by husband	I	6(21)	12(41)	23(74)
	NC	18(62)	17(59)	6(19)
	D	5 (17)	-	2 (6)
Treatment of respondent by in-laws	I	6(21)	9(31)	23(74)
	NC	18(62)	20(69)	5(16)
	D	5(17)	-	3(10)
Status of respondent in the house	I	8(28)	12(41)	22(71)
	NC	17(59)	17(59)	7(23)
	D	4(14)	-	2(6)

Figures in brackets indicate percentage.

I - Increased

NC - No Change

D - Decreased.

Section 6

Case 4 : Impact on Women Workers: Sericulture Project in Karnataka

In collaboration with the World Bank, the Government of Karnataka has undertaken a Sericulture Development Project which will operate in all the districts of the State. The time frame for the project is 80-85.

- i) To increase the production of raw-silk in the next five years from the present level of 2,300 tonnes to 4,500 tonnes (of which 1,700 tonnes of bivoltine silk), by bringing 19,000 ha, irrigated area in the new districts under (M-5) mulberry cultivation, and by converting 24,000 ha, of existing irrigated mulberry area in the traditional districts from low-yielding mulberry cultivation to high yielding (M-5) varieties, and by increasing production in rainfed areas.
- ii) To provide employment mainly to weaker sections of the people. For this purpose, and from a longer term point of view.
- iii) To strengthen research capability for evolving new races of silkworms and strains of mulberry, including improved methods of disease control and agronomic practices.

- iv) To strengthen the arrangements for producing breeders and foundation stock and egg production and the other associated infrastructure of technical services, marketing reeling etc. in order to expand the area of new multivoltine, bivoltine and bivoltine hybrids in the traditional as well as new areas.

The Project would consist of :

- (a) The expansion of an integrated production infrastructure to increase the productivity of silk-work rearing in the entire State comprising the establishment of :

	<u>Number</u>
Government Silk Farms	8
Grainages	19
Technical Service Centres	198
Chowki-Rearing Centres	2451
Cocoon Markets:	
Upgrading/Expansion	22
New	28

- (b) On-farm credit for the -
- Plantation of 4,750 ha of mulberry in new areas (some 25 per cent of the area to be planted).
 - Purchase of rearing equipments for 4,750 ha (25 per cent of new plantation).
 - Construction of rearing houses, (Nos. 1,900 covering 10 per cent of the new area).
- (c) Provision of credit of requirements in establishment of about 1,000 cottage basin units.
- (d) Rehabilitation and modernisation of Government silk enterprises
- (e) Research and Development.
- (f) Setting up of two Training Schools and Strengthening of the existing training school.
- (g) Project management, evaluation and monitoring.
- (h) Technical consultancy.

VI. PROJECT COSTS

Project costs would amount to Rs.501.3 million without contingencies.

	<u>Rs. in Mil.</u>	<u>Proposed Financial channel</u>
On Farm Credit:		
Plantation	11.9	Commercial and Land Dev. Banks, refinanced by ARDC.
Equipment	21.4	
Rearing Houses	15.2	
	<u>48.5</u>	
	<u>19.6</u>	
Cottage Basins		
Government Enterprises:		
Mini Filatures	17.0	IDBI, Loan (2/3) GOK Equity (1/3)
Automatic Reelers	57.8	
Silk Weaving Factory	11.7	
Spun Silk Mill	43.3	
Workshop	0.7	
Twisting Factory	18.2	
	<u>148.7</u>	

Departmental Expenditures:

(A) Production infrastructure
Investment.

Chowki-Rearing Centres (2451)	22.2
Technical Service Centres(198)	12.8
Model Chowki Rearing Centres (20)	10.5
Grainages (19)	62.7
Silk Farms (8)	10.7
Cocoon Markers	35.7

154.6

GOK Budget

(B) Operational Cost 238.5

Receipts (161.8)

Deficits

76.7

(C) Training

Training Centres (3)	1.4
Recurring Costs	3.5
Mobile Units (4)	0.8
Recurring Costs	0.3

6.0

Research and Development		
Building and Equipment	10.3	GOI
Research Staff	11.6	
	<hr/>	
	21.9	
	<hr/> <hr/>	

1. Project Management Evaluation, Monitoring and Technical Assistance:

Project-Management	22.8	GOK Budget
Consultants	2.5	IDA Direct
	<hr/>	
	25.3	
	<hr/> <hr/>	

TOTAL 501.3

For the extension of area under M-5 Mulberry,
the Report says :

"Traditional Areas (pg 12)

(38). In the traditional areas, barring 2,000 ha the entire irrigated area continues to be under low yielding varieties of mulberry. The balance 24,000 ha, would be brought under the M-5 variety (Appendix 4 Table 3). The main requirements are the M-5 cuttings, which the silk farms and the private farmers would supply. Mulberry cuttings from the silk farms are supplied free (Transport cost is met by the GOK under the Intensive Sericulture Development Programme).

New Areas

(39) The Department of Sericulture has identified the potential for planting M-5 mulberry in 9 new districts (15,000 ha) and 14 taluks of 4 traditional districts (4,000 ha) (See Appendix-4 Table 4). A greater part of the Proposed area is under surface irrigation (See Appendix 4 Table 5). The 9 new districts are Chitradurga, Shimoga, Hassan, Bijapur, Bidar, Gulbarga, Raichur, Bellary and Dharwar. About 1,100 hectares under irrigation have already been brought under M-5 variety by 2,000 farmers during the past two years

(See Table 6 Annex.6), under the project 19,000 ha, would be brought under high yielding mulberry cultivation, 2000 ha, each in 6 districts and 1,000 ha each in 7 others.

(40) Agroclimatic conditions are favourable for mulberry cultivation and silkworm rearing in most of the state (See App endix 5) Migration of sericulturists from the traditional sericulture areas to the new areas has helped the introduction of silkworm rearing in these areas, by demonstrating the greater profitability, of sericulture compared to sugarcane or paddy. (See Farm Models at Appendix 2) Field visits have shown that in the first year of switching over from sugarcane/paddy/vegetables, etc. to sericulture, farms have been able to earn additional net income from Rs.5,000 to Rs.7000 per ha (See Table 9, Annex. 2). Water requirement for mulberry is much less than for sugarcane or paddy, which is an added incentive for switching over to mulberry cultivation.

Chart A

Tasks in Sericulture

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1) <u>Preparation of soil</u>		
a) Digging of land		
b) Levelling of land		
2) Plant of mulberry		
3) Irrigation		
4) Fertiliser feeding		
5) Leaf picking		
6) Silk worm rearing		
a) Feeding of worms		
b) Cleaning of trays		
7) Making of trays		
8) Cooling tray with dung and repairs.		
9) Marketing of cocoons		
10) Reeling of yarn from cocoon.		

A visit to a project site in Karnataka revealed that :

- 1) allocation of tasks in all the steps in sericulture from cultivation of the mulberry to the reeling of the silk. See Chart A.
- 2) The time use of men, women and children in some of these tasks. The worms are fed every 4 hours, no women complain that all day and night they are chopping leaves, feeding and cleaning.
- 3) The relationship between work, wage and opportunity of men, women and the children and the size of the assets of individual sericulture families. The large farmers combine agriculture dairying and sericulture. The landless have to buy mulberry leaves, rear worms in small space, and sell at low cost due to small quantity. Women and men work here equally.
- 4) the housing and health problems associated with silk farming; and
- 5) the strategy being adopted by the project in relation to expansion, appointment of personnel and training.

No survey has yet been made by the Institute from which a formal presentation of these information can be made. This information was gathered more from an observation during a field tour. However, this initial study has led to a proposal to the Government of Karnataka:

- 1) to sponsor a base-line study before launching the project, in two talukas and districts to identify.
- 2) Age and sex specified allocation of tasks in sericulture from mulberry cultivation to silk reeling and marketing.
- 3) The category of the persons/families benefiting from the programme today i.e. the economic status of the families in sericulture.

Size of - land ownership
cattle ownership
House ownership.

Religion - Muslim community basically involved
in reeling by Charka

Caste - Meda - a tribal community in
Chandrike (tray) making.

- 4) to set up a project implementation committee both at the State level as well as at the local district and block levels where women representatives will also be included and through whom not only will the women be mobilised but services which women workers require integrated into the project.
- 5) To select women from the villages to be the model silk worm breeders and later extension workers. But a more basic problem in the project emerges from para 38 and 39 in the printed report.

Land which is now being used for sugarcane, paddy and vegetable will be converted into growing of the mulberry. While converting sugarcane land into mulberry may not have much impact on household access to food, conversion from paddy and vegetable land to mulberry will in fact convert food into totally inedible cash-value.

While there may not be much impact on the nutritional levels of the very large farmers, households nor on the landless there is no doubt that for the middle farmer household where the females work for self consumption there could be a strong negative impact. Such a

statement is made based on the now globally accepted proposition that a shift from subsistence farming to cash farming whether in Africa, Asia or Latin America tends to lower the nutritional status of the farm household especially of children. This is argued on the basis that women lose direct access to food from their own fields. Instead the new cash crops are commercially marketed by men, who may in exchange buy other goods not necessarily basic or the better food items.

Regarding the landless, expansion of area under mulberry or increasing of silk worm rearing by households could increase the opportunities for wage labour. But whether it will increase

- 1) work opportunities for female labour, and
- 2) at what wage and with what regularity is not the consideration of the project.

The evidence yielded by the present system of silk reeling or hand-spinning wheels is not very encouraging in terms of the workers opportunities. The spinning

wheels are usually owned by "master reelers". These masters will hire labour to reel the cocoon into yarn on the basis of piece rate payments. They may either keep the spinning wheels in common sheds attached to their home or lend out to the labourer to keep it in his/her home. The most popular category of labour for silk reeling is child labour because of the suppleness of the child's fingers.

It has been observed even by the officers of the Government and others that reeling of silk from the cocoons which have to be taken out of boiling water, damages the fingers and mutilates the hand almost permanently. Secondly it is said that the smoke in the sheds or in the homes leads to tuberculosis.

The expansion of silk production envisaged in the project does not have any reference to the occupational hazards. There is mention of modernisation of reeling but this modernisation does not change the use of the fingers. In fact the modernisation is to produce filature silk and women are the main workers in drawing of filature.

It is for these reasons that the Institute has suggested not only the base-line survey but also a project implementation committee which include functionaries from the health department, education department, and maternity and child care department; non official representatives from the local areas who would try to build the various protective services even as the project reaches the target groups.

Section 7

Conclusion

In this section, I propose to consider issues under 3 headings; data, methodology and concepts in relation to employment especially of rural women.

Data

1. What seems to emerge from the foregoing surveys is that more data should be collected specific to tasks performed by female and male adults and children - going beyond the usual standard occupational classification. In this attempt to get task-specific data, it is important to get hours i.e. time spent by individuals per day, across seasons or other relevant time spans.
2. The classification of the population apart from including age and sex as strata, should definitely include asset classes whether the assets are land, animals or tools. Skills also could be counted as an asset as the really destitute, are those who do not have the skills.
3. In examining the relationship between growth and employment, the promoting employment through projects it is not only important to see the number of man days generated but who which class, sex, caste, age group etc. is able to absorb this employment.

Methodology

1. Micro studies and theoretical discussions based on them often get into a syndrome where the data supports an insight, which in turn strengthens theoretical formulations, which feeds the academic. But the data does not get fed back into the situation which created it, and therefore does not necessarily have an impact on the target group which is the subject of concern.

It is important for the women's research movements to concentrate or undertake intervention in the form of research both into a social situation as well as an input into a policy and programme exercises.

2. There is an healthy trend so far emerging in the articulation and the literature on women from all over the world. This is reflected in the emphasis given to participatory elements both in research and in programme, the rejection of most classical ideologies, categories, systems, their search for new explanations of social and political history and ultimately their interest in building identities across traditional boundaries. If research methodology can also break traditions and

concentrate on intervention, ~~from~~ it would set another healthy trend.

3. Speaking for India, it must be said that findings from research into ongoing projects especially employment if fed back into the system are well received, even by the men who by and large dominate all policy councils.
4. In the last few years, the findings of several micro studies of female labour and employment patterns has found response amongst data collectors to the extent that the Head of the National Statistical Organisation in India has reviewed the entire stock of official data in the country with special reference to the visibility or invisibility of women. (Ref.6).

Concepts

1. The most vital concept which needs to be explored through research is the concept of work. Is all work employment? How does one develop a ^{meaningful} definition of work?

In the perception of the poor all work is not employment. They may be surviving through free

collection of goods, they may be working hard but their perception of employment is when they are rewarded regularly, preferably monetarily for their labour - leading to the statement that all employment is work, but not all work is employment.

2. It is impossible to cut through the large body of theoretical and empirical questions and problems that crowd the examination of the subject of women's work unless we clearly set out at least two considerations, viz.

- the precise purpose for which we want to conduct any exercise-either discussion or investigation.
- the precise category of women for whom the exercise is being conducted.

If the purpose of the analysis is not clearly stated, nothing more can be said about women's work except that they work a great deal, for more hours than men, and are, therefore, physically strained. Making such a statement is saying no more than the common place. It should be our purpose to forge the tools, the instruments, by which relief can be provided to women where necessary.

The relief might be economic - e.g. the provision or enhancement of relevant employment opportunities; social in the sense of developing the institutional structures or delivering services; or political in the sense of drawing women into the power process. It is obviously a mix of all: information and analysis can help to identify the proportions of the mix in specific micro situations, so that programs can be sensitive and relevant. But an aggregate programme directed at 'women' in general leads us into a maze of issues without hope or clarity.

If reassessment of women's work reveals that most activities of women in home production are gainful, conventional employment generating programmes may not be relevant. In this case, women of the target group might require to be paid wages for house work and to receive institutional support. In developed countries the need for compensating house work has already received some recognition. But in developing countries with substantial unemployment and underemployment of the labour force, such a proposition might be unreasonable. It is tentatively suggested that in cases where the whole

amount of 'gainful' activities cannot be recognized as economic activities, at least the conventional definition of employment (i.e. income earning activity) should be used to determine the 'productive' elements of women's home production. Such components must attract a wage. In addition to providing income to women who do not make their productive contribution in the market, such a recognition will bestow upon them the status of an economic producer.

3. Existing classificatory systems whether of labour, or organisation of production, or production relations require revision. It is conventional to classify labour according to agriculture, non-agriculture, according to household worker and so on. It may be more vital to classify labour according to:

- (1) asset classes
- (2) hours of labour per day
- (3) terms of hiring of labour
- (4) regularity and duration of employment etc.

It is only then that the most vulnerable groups of workers will be more visible.

4. Another example of classification that requires reordering is the occupational classification. The standard U.N. classification conceals a number of

gainful activities, especially in the developing countries which not only absorb the time of men and women but actually earn them income real or monetary. Time use studies of the poor indicate these innumerable opportunities, however degrading which the poor grasp. The recognition of the situation can help in replacing these degrading opportunities by better ones or support these opportunities in such a way that the degradation is removed and so on.

In other words what kind of surveys, inputs, training, mobilisation can emancipate from existing situations will only emerge if the existing situation is recorded in detail, and this is not done in the existing standard classification.

5. Finally it must be recognised that concepts which are developing out of the knowledge according from studies of women especially their labour and their employment often reflect more than women's condition. They reflect the issues which oppress or neglect or camouflage all groups male or female whose access is limited. The most significant way in which studies of women especially female

labour and its employment can improve the condition of women is to link the analysis and the solutions to all other groups which suffer from such distress - thus making research on women the radical edge to social transformation, the slender thread leading to the heart of the five-cracker.

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Address

Asia Regional Workshop On the Role of Women In
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Clearing House for Social Development in Asia
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