

IMPACT ON WOMEN WORKERS  
MAHARASHTRA EMPLOYMENT GUARANTEE SCHEME  
A STUDY

VOLUME I

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

1.1 One of the interests of the Employment Emergency Schemes Unit, Employment and Development Department of the ILO is to investigate the impact of public works and other emergency employment schemes on rural women, in order to develop some recommendations to be canvassed with Governments with respect to the condition of such women.

From the findings of such investigations it is then hoped to develop policy recommendations/guidelines by which the condition of women on such schemes can be ameliorated.

This study of the women affected by the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme, Maharashtra State, India is one such investigation.

Aims

1.2 The Department spelt out some of the aspects they were interested in. The Institute then designed its study, whose aims were modified after a field trial period of three months. This sequence of aims is given in Volume II, Chapter I.

1.3 Summarized, the aims of this study are:

- i) To assess the impact of such an employment scheme on;
  - a) Women's work: Type of work, nature of availability, hours, wage payment systems, physical load.
  - b) Women's domestic/household life: costs in terms of health of self, others in the family, gains.
  - c) Workers' social/extra household behaviour and participation.
- ii) With this knowledge;
  - a) to assess the designing and implementation of the scheme - its appropriateness, given women's needs and constraints
  - b) to scan the environment to see if there was any machinery which was supporting women's interests currently.
- iii) To develop recommendations by which the scheme could be made more suitable to the kind of women who participated in it.

- 1.4 The details of the methodology with which the investigation was conducted is given in Volume II, Chapter 5, (which was also submitted as part of Progress Report 2).

Methodology

- 1.5 Summarized, the procedure was as follows;

Eight work sites scattered in three districts of Maharashtra were visited between June 1978 and January 1979. Chart I gives the breakdown in terms of type of work etc. Data was collected or identified from official sources - Planning Commission, Census, Maharashtra Government, State/District/Taluka/ Site level as well as from the Institute's field survey. Questionnaires were canvassed (see Appendix 7, Volume I), at all these levels. Women were interviewed with Schedule VI covering 86 aspects of their socio-economic condition and attitudes.

- 1.6 Some of these sites were visited twice during the Pilot Field Study and during the formal Field Study, (see Volume I, Appendix 4 and 5). They were visited by a field officer, a woman economist working for a development agency and a team of interviewers recruited locally for each district, mostly students and social workers (see chart 2 giving names of those who did field survey).

80 of the women were interviewed while on the site, but 100 were interviewed in their homes after work. They did not appreciate being interviewed on site as it reduced the gang's output, cutting into their collective earning capacity. The profile of those interviewed is given in Chart 3. Twenty three were sugar cane migrant workers.

- 1.7 The sample covered several variations such as district and nature of work differences, single and multiple occupations, asset ownership etc., (described in Methodology of field survey Volume III).

- 1.8 Discussions were also held with official and non-official spokesmen/women of the scheme at Central, State, District, Block and Site levels. (See Appendix I, Volume I).

- 1.9 A similar scheme which recently started operating in Karnataka (another State in Southern India) was also visited to check some of the hypothesis that were emerging from the sites (Appendix 2).

Limitations

1.10

There were serious limitations in data collection. Firstly, the sample of 180 respondents is extremely small compared to the magnitude of the size of the universe, i.e. about 10-15,000 women workers per day in any of the three districts. This would make any kind of statistically meaningful generalisation impossible. However, the quality of the data collected in the field sufficiently compensated for the small size of the sample.

Since the selection of sites and respondents was taken at random, many of the answers relevant to the main focus of the study, namely worker's needs, availability of amenities etc., seemed to provide adequate basis for generalisation.

1.11

Secondly, due to financial limitations, the field survey had to be narrowed in its coverage, both in extension and in intensity. More sites should have been visited, investigators should have stayed longer on each site, perhaps some sets of site-specific labour should have been followed from the open site period to the closed site period. Men should also have been interviewed to make the analysis of women's interest, as opposed to 'class' interest, much sharper.

This study, therefore, can only be the introduction to a wider, deeper study of the performance from the point of view of the unemployed classes.

Chart-1 - Distribution of sample according to District, Block, Worksite

District	Block	Worksite	Type of work	No. of Respondents		No. of house holds	
				Workers	Non workers		
1. Ahmednagar	Parner	Ranzangaon (Masidiche)	Percolation Tank	19	1	20	
"	"	"	"	19	1	20	
"	"	Palve Budruk	Nala Bunding	3	-	3	
"	Rahuri	Rahuri	Sugar Cane worksite	15	-	15	
"	Rahuri	Rahuri	Sugar Cane Campsite	8	-	8	
2. Dhulia	Shahada	Katharde Pariwardhe	Road Work	31	2	33	
"	"	Vaijali Karmali	Road work	7	-	7	
3. Bhandara	Sakoli	Lakhori	Past (Percolation tank)	40	6	46	
"	Salekana	Kawade	Past (Percolation tank)	25	3	28	
					Total		<u>180</u>

Chart-2 - Site Visits

District	Block	Sites Villages visited	Date/period of visit	ISS's Senior Field-cum-Research Officer	Name of the investigators and institutional application
<u>I Pilot Study</u>					
Aurangabad	-	-	27.4.78 to 7.5.78	Smt. Sandhya Naik.	Not available
Ahmednagar	Nagar	Arengao (P.T)	"	"	"
Dhulia	Dhulia	Vani-Vadgao Shirdane road work	"	"	"
Aurangabad	Vaijapur		"	"	"
	Gangapur		"	"	"
	Khuldabad		"	"	"
Poona	Shirur	Shikhrapur Nala bunding	8.6.78 to 10.6.78	Smt. Devaki Jain (Director) and Smt. Sandhya Naik	
<u>II Formal Study</u>					
Ahmednagar	Parner	Palve Budruk Nala bunding Ranzangaon (PT)	24.6.78 to 4.7.78	Smt. Sandhya Naik	Smt. Bhagawati Bajaj Student, Poona and Smt. Mangala Rani, Lect. Phil., Poona.
Dhulia	Sahada	Katharde Pariwardhe road work Vaijali-Karmade road work	14.11.78 to 21.11.78	"	Shri Prakash Dalvai, Student, Bombay.
Ahmednagar	Parner Rahuri	Ranzangaon (PT) Rahuri sugar cane camp site	23.11.78 to 112.78 "	"	Shri A. Bhaneshwar
Bhandara	Sakoli Salekasa	Lakhori Kawade	14.12.78 to 21.12.78 "	"	Smt. Jyoti Shambarkar Shri D.B. Gajabhiya Shri R.Y. Nagarkar Shri L.G. Mahajan Shri S.S. Shaskar all from ICSW, Nagpur Post Graduate Students

ECONOMIC PROFILE OF SAMPLE

Site	Total Respondents	Non-worker (Def. 1)	Non-EGS (Def. 2)	EGS Workers
Ranzangaon	40	2	-	38
Palve	3	-	-	3
Katharde	34	2	1	31
Vaijali	7	-	-	7
Lakhori	45	4	15	26
Kawade	28	2	-	26
<b>Total</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>131</b>

	S. No. of non-workers (Def. 1)	S. No. of non-EGS (Def. I)	
Renzangaon	2	Katharde 82	(She is sealdar and also works in cane)
Katharde	27		
	74	Lakhori 108	132
	101	109	137
Lakhori	143	112	138
	144	113	139
	145	115	141
	146	116	142
		117	
Kawade	171	119	
	172	120	
<u>Non-workers</u>	<u>Def. 1</u>	Those respondents who are not engaged in a gainful activity on a usual status basis.	
	<u>Def. 2</u>	Those respondents who are casually employed, voluntary or involuntary.	
<u>EGS worker</u>	<u>Def. 1</u>	Those respondents who are either casually engaged in EGS work or have engaged in such work at any time in the past.	

Non-EGS  
worker

Def.2

Those respondents who have worked in EGS, excluding those past EGS workers who have dropped out of EGS work and been engaged for 8 months of the last reference year in a non EGS gainful employment.

Def.1

Those respondents who have never worked in EGS, but engage in a non-EGS gainful occupation.

Def.2

All respondents covered by Def.1 plus all those who have abandoned EGS work for another non-EGS gainful occupation in which they have spent over 8 months in the last reference year.

If definition 2 is used, then

non-workers becomes	11
and non-EGS	36



CHAPTER II

The Tables Speak

<u>Table No.</u>	<u>Name of the table</u>	<u>Comments</u>
A-1	Daily labour attendance-percentage of women workers, (District level). Source official.	As mentioned in Chapter I, the percentage participation of women in the total labour force on the EGS sites is slightly higher than the State average. For 1978, the Government of Maharashtra had given the percentage of 43 as the overall average for the whole State of female share in the total labour on EGS*.  Looking at the months it will be noticed that there is a trend in all the districts but specific to each district, in other words, the peak period in Bhandara is not peak in Ahmednagar or in Dhulia.
	* 43% is for Jan-March 1978. Another figure of 57% emerges from the data of the Project Evaluation Organisation, Planning Commission, Government of India. The P.E.O. data is based on a sample of muster rolls of 25 works in 4 districts sometime in 1978.	
A-2	Women on site and percentage of women.	Again, as mentioned in Chapter I, the site figures reveal a higher percentage of female participation than the official State level figures. This is not surprising as most observers and field workers have noted that there are many more women workers on the site than men. Shri Tungare (Appendix I, Volume I) has explained that men seldom work more than half a day on the site
A-3	Rate yielded by field survey by Institute of Social Studies.	The gang percentage, as reported by the women is higher than that of the site report. There is also a consistency that always Ahmednagar is the highest. The official district data gives 49%, the sites give 72% and the gang gives 80%. The equivalent figures for Dhulia is 36%, 56% and 53%. The Bhandara figures are 39%, 50% and 49%.  There seems no relationship between the type of work and perception of women in the gang. For example Ranzangaon gives 80% participation whereas Bhandara gives 49% and both are percolation tanks.

- A-4      Labour attendance(in lakhs) under the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme at the end of each month 1975-1979.
- The attendance record under the EGS shows substantial expansion in the four year period between 1975-1976 and 1978-1979. The month by month analysis of attendance when compared with the attendance in previous years in the same month reveals that there is a steady increase. The aberrations are minor and occurred in a limited period during 1977-1978. The numbers reporting for work showed a significant decline over the previous year. There is no ready explanation for this aberration but the attendance in the same month in the following year showed that the increase in attendance was maintained, indicating the need for such an avenue of employment.
- A-5      Illustrative calculation of the wage hike under EGS after 23rd October 1978.
- The increased scale of wages became operative from October 23rd, 1978. Before that date, if a worker earned Rs.18/- during the week, he would be paid Rs. 16.50 and 2kgs of wheat by coupon. After that date he would receive Rs. 16.20 in cash and 6 kgs of wheat by coupon. Valuing the wheat at a fair shop price of Rs. 1.30 per kilo, the cash value of this old and new wage would be Rs. 19.10 and Rs. 24/- respectively. From December 1978 the effects of the wage hike is obvious.
- B-6      Distribution of EGS worker respondents' landholding by worksite.
- Of a total sample of 131, 67 (a little over 50%) of the workers are amongst the landless. Small marginal farmers owning up to five acres, account for another 30% of the workers.
- These facts show that principally their labour supply comes from the categories i.e. landless, small and marginal farmers, whom the programme intended to serve. In this respect, the objective of the programme is fulfilled.
- B-7      Size of holdings and duration in EGS.
- The sites attract an assortment of workers, single and multi-occupational. In terms of duration of work under EGS, landless workers are small and marginal farmers, having similar family circumstances, showed more or less the same trend.

B-8 Respondents participation in EGS in the latest year of participation and occupation of head of respondents household in that year.

Only 12% of all EGS workers are pure EGS workers, i.e. depend only on EGS work. The majority of EGS workers in EGS, work for less than six months in the year. These women account for 62% of the sample.

The evidence corroborates the earlier picture that the workers who come to sites are basically from the category of casual agricultural labourers and marginal farmers. Those who have any skill like artisans, or any assets like live stock, do not appear to be interested in this type of labour at the price/wage rate.

B-9 Age of EGS worker respondents and land holding size.

Consistently, on all sites, it is the women between the age group of 30-50 who are the bulk of the workers. In these rural areas most of the reproductive activity of women is over by the time they reach 30. It seems that the women past child-bearing and perhaps child rearing of small infants find working on the sites more attractive than the newly married.

It is, however, noteworthy that among the landless, women in the age group 50-59 can be found working on the sites, which emphasizes the pressure of poverty put on women from the landless classes.

B-10 EGS worker respondents relationship with head of household and land size of respondents household.

An interesting finding is that while wives, daughters and daughter-in-laws belonging to landless rural households offered to work in EGS projects, women workers coming from landowning classes happen to be mostly unmarried daughters. In the land-owning class, holding 10-20 acres, 5 out of a total of 7 women workers were unmarried daughters.

Another noteworthy observation is that among the poorest a high percentage of women happen to be the breadwinners and heads of households. 23 out of 131 workers i.e. 18% are heads of households. Also 16 out of 38 married women, or roughly 40% are heads of households amongst the landless.

C-11 Awareness of wages on EGS by respondents and age.

The majority of the women in the sample belong to the age group 30-59 (84 out of 131 respondents). The majority of women are not aware of wage rate schedules and of the provisions of the Equal Remuneration Act.

C-2 Receipt and use of coupons by EGS worker respondents.

Out of the total of 131 respondents 72, or about 56% reported having received coupons, whereas 32 i.e. about 26% said that they received no payment in coupons. A total of 27 did not answer this question. A large number of workers at Lakhori and Kawade stated that they are not receiving coupons while a large majority of workers in Ranzangaon, Palve-Budruk and Katharde Pariwardhe did receive payment in coupons.

None of the respondents favour payment in kind only. An overwhelming number prefer payment in both cash and kind, while about 15% would like payment of wages in cash only.

C-13 Size of landholding and outstanding debt of respondents.

Out of 79 respondents of the landless class as many as 23 did not reveal the extent of their indebtedness. Out of the remaining 56, 35 have stated that they have no debts. Of the balance of 21, 14 have debts ranging between Rs. 50-500. A similar pattern is reported between those who have a small piece of land, namely 0-2.5 acres. Among those having land of 2.6 acres, 12 out of 19 respondents admit to being in debt. In other words, amongst the landless and other economically distressed groups, there is a reluctance to reveal indebtedness.

Taking this table along with table 14, the picture becomes even more obscure. The majority, i.e. 75% of those who borrow within the land class group, 0-2.5 borrow from banks and cooperatives. Landless workers obviously borrow from sources other than banks or cooperatives, i.e. possibly money-lenders.

C-14 Outstanding borrowing (source and amount) and land size.

This table endorses the views that the indebtedness cannot easily be surveyed. It requires far more participatory techniques of data collection than a "one time visit" survey. The majority of the landless do not have any outstanding debts, yet when sites were visited off the record, workers reported that they were not only in debt, but were in debt to the shop-keepers, whilst the men were in debt to the local liquor shop owners. (See Appendix 405).

C-15 Duration of respondents' employment in EGS in the latest year and of her employment in other gainful occupation in the reference year.

Non EGS workers in Lakhori account for the major proportion of non EGS workers. These women are mainly engaged in "Bidi rolling" and seem to have steady employment throughout the year in that occupation. Only about 12% of the sample respondents of EGS workers worked for eight months and more. The majority of the EGS workers work between 1-8 months.

C-16 Respondents daily wages in EGS (cash only) and/or in any other wage earning occupations.

Some respondents did mention that they also receive coupons, but no account has been taken of this. There was doubt as to whether an imputed value of the coupons was taken into account by some respondents in reporting the cash wage. Wage rates vary between Rs. 2 to Rs. 3.50 for EGS workers and between Rs. 1 to Rs. 2.50 in non EGS works.

Inclusion of coupons in the effective EGS wage may considerably alter any conclusion based on this table regarding wages in EGS in relation to other occupations (see Table 4 and Table 5 for effect of increased wage on labour supply).

D-17 Basis of group formation.

Of a total of 123 respondents who answered this question, 74% gave the village as the basis for the gang, i.e. came from the same village. Family and caste seemed relevant in formation only in the case of some 11% of the workers.

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

The majority of the workers, i.e. 79% of a total sample of 144 respondents gave non-availability of other jobs in the village as the primary reason for seeking EGS job. Many strongly 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.

D-19 Reasons for not joining EGS by non-workers and non-EGS worker respondents.

Most of the answers in this table are derived from the respondents in Lakhori as the sample in this site had a greater concentration of Bidi workers. Amongst the non-workers, there seems to be no specific and predominant reason for not joining EGS. Whereas amongst the non-EGS workers, namely Bidi workers, household work as well as laboriousness of EGS work seem to be the basic reasons.

D-20 EGS respondents' status in respect of registration with EGS site authorities by land classes.

Of a total of 104 respondents, 58 i.e. 55% comes from the landless classes. Again, this is explained by the predominance of the landless in the sample and on the sites. Out of 104 respondents, 15 did not respond to this question. However, the majority seem to have heard from the public announcements of Sarpunch and the Gramsevika.

Shramik Sangattan naturally is the source of motivation for 31% of the landless workers. Again, it is those on the Katharde Pariwardhe site who formed 45% of this group who heard about the EGS from the public announcement. Amongst the unregistered, once again "no response" predominates, followed by the 'gangman' as the source. Even though the numbers are small, this makes sense, as it is the unregistered who would normally be mobilised by labour contractors or the gangman. Looking on the gang formation table it could be seen that sites in Ahmednagar area are more vulnerable to this kind of private labour gang formation. It is difficult not to suspect that in such 'gang formation' some of the workers' wages may have to be paid as commission to the gangman.

D-21 EGS worker respondents' age and registration/non registration with EGS site authorities.

Of a total of 104 respondents to this question, it is interesting to note that 41, i.e. 39%, have no response to the question of motivation. Of those who are registered, namely 53, 12 i.e. 22%, could not answer the question of motivation. 13 of these i.e. 24% learnt about this programme from the public announcement and 8 from the Sarpunch. It is interesting to see that out of the 33 people interviewed in Katharde Pariwardhe, 7 heard about the scheme from the local peasants organisation namely "Shramik Sangattan". Again the workers from Katharde side predominate all the columns. For example 7 out of 8 reporting registration through Sarpunch came from Katharde Pariwardhe, 8 of the 13 who heard from the public announcement come from Katharde Pariwardhe and 4 out of 6 who heard from the Gramsevak came from

the same site. In contrast the majority of those who have no response to this question did not acknowledge any motivator and came from the non Katharde Pariwardhe i.e. Ranzangaon, Lakhori and Kawade.

Of the 36 unregistered, mainly from Lakhori and Kawade, approximately 4 gave no response.

This pattern clearly underlines the importance of mobilisation and political awareness, as was mentioned in the sample selection. Katharde Pariwardhe in Shahade block, Dhulia district was mainly selected to see the impact on the local workers organisation on the implementation of the EGS.

In terms of age and its relationship to awareness of registration, rights etc, the age group 40-59 form 39%, in other words this group is more aware, followed by the 30-39 age group with 26% and the 20-29 age group with 21%. This was as expected since it is those in the age group 40-49 who predominate among the workers, followed by the age group 30-39.

D-22 Attitude of Muster Clerk/  
Engineer/Supervisor/  
Contractor/Mukandan towards  
EGS worker cross classified  
by landholding status.

There does not seem much difference between land-owners and landless workers in their general satisfaction with equality of treatment in enrolment. On the other hand, both groups find measurement of work and payment of wages unsatisfactory. This is an important criticism of the programme management.

A large number of both groups, more among the landless (33) than the land-owners (27) did not respond to the question on treatment of female workers, those who did respond said they found the treatment poor and unsatisfactory - not one worker had a positive response to these questions.

E-23 Average time disposition  
of EGS respondents in gainful  
work (single or multi-  
occupational).

Out of an effective sample of 128 workers, 84% work at gainful activity for 6-8 hours a day. There are more women single-occupation workers in this category (48%), than there are among the multi-occupation group. Where a minimum of eight hours seems necessary for reaching the output requirement for payment, hardly anyone works less than four hours, or more than eight hours.

- E-24 ✓ Respondents age and time disposition in domestic work.
- Domestic work seems to take up to 4 hours for most workers (62%), whereas 32% report spending 4-8 hours on domestic work. While it would have been expected that those in the age group 15-29, or 50 and above would have done more domestic work, while the 'core group' aged 30-49 go out to work, it appears that the 'core group' also put in 2-4 hours of domestic work.
- E-25/26 ✓ Respondents family size and time disposition in gainful work.
- Since the sample of 124 workers is not evenly distributed in regard to family size, it is not possible to read any relationship here. The majority of the family size group is 3 - 6, and this is the group from where the largest number of EGS workers come from. As seen earlier, more than half of the sample work 6-8 hours a day, and do domestic work for 2-4 hours a day.
- Of those who have a family size of 7-8, 85% are engaged in gainful work for 6-8 hours. In fact, this percentage continues all the way down to those who have family sizes of even above 9-10 members. Domestic work, however, remains in the range of 2-4 hours rising to a maximum of 5 hours, but does not go above this.
- E-27 ✓ Comparative allocation of time between domestic and gainful activity of EGS and non-EGS workers according to site.
- It will be noticed that EGS workers all report working 8 hours regularly on the site, with the exception of those from Lakhori. Comparatively, non-EGS workers report working 6 hours. However, as expected, while the EGS workers spend around 3-4 hours in domestic activity, in Lakhori and Kawadi some workers report up to 6-8 hours of domestic work. Non-EGS workers spend from 4-7 hours in domestic work. From this limited sample, it could be suggested that EGS work does curtail hours that can be spent in domestic work. However, it can also be argued that when there is a pull in gainful work, women themselves reduce hours in domestic work by increased efficiency.
- F-28 Amenities related to  
a) household  
b) worksite  
desired by respondents  
classified by landholding  
status.
- There are sharp contrasts in the kind of amenities that are preferred between the landless and the land-owning class of workers. While both sets of workers express the need for a crèche, more women among the landless express this need. In contrast, more women among the land-owners express the need for maternity leave, help for domestic work and help for fetching water home.



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

F-29 Household amenities relating to worksite, cross classified by duration of respondents' work in EGS.

When table 28 is further analysed in terms of the respondents' duration on the EGS, there seems no specific trend, whether newly entered or working for two years, there is a strong, clear expression of needs for sheds, drinking water, crèches and maternity leave.

F-30 Respondents perception of impact on EGS on food, health and clothing by land classes.

While most of the respondents, whatever their status, record that the food situation has improved, most of them report that there has been no change in their health or clothing level. There is no marked difference between the land-owning and the landless classes with the exception that the small and marginal farmers report no more significant change than those who are landless, perhaps showing a greater self-confidence and articulation.

F-31 Whether prepared to leave home. Limited only to EGS workers.

Out of a total of 59 EGS workers who responded to this question, 40 said they were prepared to leave home in search of work, while only 19 said that they would not. 31 did not respond to the question. There was some discussion among those who implemented the MEGS as to whether the Zone, within which the right to demand work is granted, should be widened from Village to District Level, thus workers may have to go to whichever district work is made available. When asked if such an arrangement would reduce the number of women workers seeking EGS jobs, many women responded that they would want to work even if far away from home. The Rauri (Sugar Cane) workers are further evidence to this (Appendix 3).

CHAPTER III

TABLES

A-1 - Daily labour attendance - percentage of women workers  
(District level) - source: Official

		<u>BHANDARA</u>	<u>AHMEDNAGAR</u>	<u>DRULIA</u>
1976	April	46	51	NA
	May	44	53	"
	June	48	57	"
	July	52	58	"
	August	40	54	"
	September	35	55	"
	October	38	51	"
	November	49	54	"
	December	42	50	"
	1977	January	43	53
February		36	49	"
March		42	45	"
April		45	52	35
May		45	48	40
June		47	48	37
July		41	48	36
August		32	48	34
September		31	52	32
October		32	52	35
November		29	32	33
December		38	52	34
1978	January	42	52	42
	February	37	48	33
	March	29	46	42
	April	36	44	31
	May	40	43	41
	June	27	49	58
	July	49	48	37
	August	33	46	41
	September	29	45	41
	October	31	50	33
	November	NA	42	22
	December	"	46	29
		Average :	39	49
1979	January	50	43	41
	February	41	45	51
	March	50	44	51

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the percentage participation of women in the total labour force on the EGS sites is slightly higher than the State average. For 1978, the Government of Maharashtra had given the percentage of 57 as the overall average for the whole State of female share in total number on EGS.

Looking at the months it will be noticed that there is a trend in all the Districts but specific to the Districts, in other words the peak period in Bhandara is not peak in Ahmednagar or in Dhulia.

A-2 : Workers on site and percentage share of women  
Source : Field Survey Oct - Dec 1978.

Site	Total		Male		Female		Percentage	
	MR	SA	MR	SA	MR	SA	MR	SA
Katharde								
Pariwardhe	402	389	175	169	227	220	56	56
Ranzangaon	234	226	52	47	182	163	77	72
Lakhori	NA	24	NA	12	NA	12	-	50
Kawade	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Palve								
Budruk	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

MR : Muster Roll  
SA : Site Attendance  
NA : Not available

Again as mentioned in Chapter 1, the site figures reveal a higher percentage of female participation than the official State level figures. This is not surprising as most observers and field workers have found that women are many more on the sites than men. Shri Tungare (Appendix 1, Volume I) has explained that men hardly work half a day on the site.

A-3 - Rate yielded by Field Survey by Institute of Social Studies Oct - Dec 1978.

Site	Work	Size of gang - Range	No. of women in gang - Range	Total No. of respondents	Average percentage of women in gang
Ranzangaon	P.T.	25-35	23-30	10	80
Katharde Pariwarthe	Road	35-45	18-30	25	53
Lakhori	P.T.	10-20	5-15	29	49
Kawade	P.T.	20-21	10-11	24	49

Total number of respondents: 88

P.T. : Percolation Tank

The gang percentage, as reported by the women is higher than that of the site report. There is also a consistency that always Ahmednagar is the highest. The official district data given 80%, the sites give 72% and the gang gives 80%. The equivalent figures for Dhulia is 36%, 56% and 53%. The Bhandara figures are 39%, 50% and 49%. In all cases the closer to the ground the higher the figure.

There seems no relationship between the type of works and perception of women in the gang. For example, Ranzangaon gives 80% participation whereas Bhandara gives 49%, and both are percolation tanks.

A-4 : Labour attendance (in lakhs) under the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme at the end of each months, 1975-79.

	<u>July</u>	<u>Aug.</u>	<u>Sept.</u>	<u>Oct.</u>	<u>Nov.</u>	<u>Dec.</u>	<u>Jan.</u>	<u>Feb.</u>	<u>March</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>June</u>
1975-76	3.57	2.76	2.48	2.71	1.90	2.44	3.64	4.93	5.33	5.94	7.16	5.82
1976-77	3.49	3.04	2.94	2.64	3.22	4.39	4.90	5.17	5.99	5.46	6.20	5.67
1977-78	3.91	3.68	3.54	3.47	3.12	2.32	2.32	2.87	4.36	4.53	5.02	4.32
1978-79	3.55	4.24	4.69	3.97	4.39	6.00	7.01	7.10	9.11	-	-	-

The attendance record under the EGS shows substantial expansion in the four years period between 1975-76 and 1978-79. The month by month analysis of attendance when compared with the attendance in previous years in the same month reveals that the increase is steady. The aberrations are minor and occurred in a limited period during 1977-78 than the numbers reporting for work, showed a significant decline over the previous year. There is no ready explanation for this aberration but the attendance in the same month in the following year shows that the increase in attendance is maintained indicating the need for such an avenue for employment.

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. 1.00 per kg. - cash value 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	23.00	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. 16.20 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.

B-6 : Distribution of EGS worker - respondent's landholdings by work site

Land Size (acres)	Ranzangaon	Palve Budruk	Katharde Pariwardhe	Vaijali Karmadi	Lakhori	Kawadi	Total
Landless	16	2	25	3	12	9	67
0.1-2.5	1	0	2	1	8	13	25
2.6-5.0	8	0	3	1	5	4	21
5.1-10.0	4	0	1	2	1	0	8
10.1-20.0	6	1	0	0	0	0	7
20.1 and above	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>131</b>

Note: Respondents who have leased out land have been included in the landless category. (Do not agree - not assetless)

Total sample : 157  
 Non-workers : 10  
 Non-EGS : 16  
 No response : 0  
 Valid sample : 131

Of a total sample of 131, 67 or 50% of the workers are amongst the landless and not surprisingly there is a clear downward trend as land size increases. Small marginal farmers owning upto 5 acres provide another 30% of the worker.

These facts show that principally their labour supply comes from the categories i.e. landless, small and marginal farmers, whom the progress intended to serve. In this respect the objective of the programme is fulfilled.



B-7: Size of landholding and duration in EGS

Land size (acres)	Less than 1 month	1 - 2	2.1-3.0	3.1-4	4.1-6	6.1-8	Over 8	No response to duration	Total
Landless	11	7	8	11	3	10	11	6	67
0.1-2.5	1	4	3	8	-	-6	1	2	25
2.6-5.0	3	4	3	2	-	5	3	1	21
5.1-10.0	1	4	-	-	1	2	-	-	8
10.1-20.0	1	-	-	1	1	2	-	2	7
20.1 and above	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	3

Note: Respondents with leased out land have been included in the landless categories.

Total sample : 157  
 Non-worker + non-EGS: 26  
 No response : 11  
 Valid sample : 120

Again, it is the landless and the marginal and small farmers who are evenly distributed across the time classes. There is an equal number of landless workers, for example, who work for less than one month, three to four months or over 8 months. In contrast, higher land owners offer to work primarily for larger duration. This would be due to the age/family size/marital status and other such factors operating on the worker's participation in the site, apart from asset ownership. The sites attract an assortment of workers - single and multi occupational.

## TABLES

### Section A Percentage of women workers of total workers

- 1) Daily labour attendance - percentage of women workers (District level).  
Source : Official
- 2) Women on site and percentage of women.
- 3) Rate yielded by field survey by Institute of Social Studies.
- 4) Labour attendance (in lakhs) under the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme at the end of each month 1975-1979.
- 5) Illustrative calculation of the wage hike under EGS after 23rd October '78.

### Section B Relationship to land size

- 6) Distribution of EGS workers-respondents' landholding by worksite.
- 7) Size of holding and duration in EGS.
- 8) Respondents' participation in EGS in the latest year of participation and occupation of head of household of respondents' household in that year.
- 9) Age of EGS worker, respondents and landholding size.
- 10) EGS worker respondents' relationship with head of household and land size of respondents' household.

### Section C Wages, land and indebtedness

- 11) Awareness of wages on EGS by respondents and age.
- 12) Receipt and use of coupons by EGS worker-respondents.
- 13) Size of landholding outstanding debt of respondent (amount).
- 14) Outstanding borrowing (source) of all respondents and landholding size.
- 15) Duration of respondents' employment in EGS in the latest year (of her work in EGS) and duration of employment in other gainful occupation in the reference year.
- 16) Respondents' daily wages in EGS (cash only), and/or in any other wage earning occupation in which the respondent worked or continued to work.

### Section D Reasons

- 17) Basis of group formation and landholding of the respondents' household.
- 18) Reasons for joining EGS and size of landholding of respondents' household.

- 19) Reasons for not joining EGS by non-worker and non-EGS worker respondents.
- 20) EGS respondents' status in respect of registration with EGS site authorities by classes.
- 21) EGS worker respondents' age and registration/non-registration with EGS site authorities.
- 22) Attitude of Muster Clerk/Engineer/Supervisor/Contractor/Mukandan towards EGS worker cross classified by landholding status.
- 23) Average time disposition of EGS respondents in gainful works and respondents participation in single or multi-occupation.
- 24) Respondents' age and time disposition in domestic work.
- 25) Respondents' family size and time disposition in domestic work.
- 26) Respondents' family size and time disposition in gainful work.
- 27) Comparative allocation of time between domestic and gainful activity of EGS and non-EGS workers.
- 28) Amenities relating to (a) household (b) worksite desired by respondents classified by landholding status.
- 29) Amenities relating to (a) household (b) worksite desired by respondents classified by duration of respondents' work in EGS.
- 30) Respondents perception of impact of EGS on food, health and clothing by landholding size.
- 31) Whether prepared to leave home - limited to EGS workers.

Section E  
Time disposition

Section F  
Amenities

B-8 : Respondents participation in EGS in the latest year of participation and occupation of head of respondents household in that year

	Self-culti- vation (S.C.)	S.C.+ agri- cultural labour (A.L.)	Atta- ched or A.L.	Non agri. manual work	EGS	EGS+ A.L.	Arti- san (black smith, Sonar, Carpenter	House hold try (tail- dholi, sala- fisher- man)	Pro- fes- sion- al ser- vice emplo- yee	Live stock breed- ing and/or milk	Trad- ing	Res- pon- dent self head of house hold	Col- lect- ing grass	Bidi	No res- ponse to head of house hold's occu- pation	Total
Respondent in EGS for less than 6 months	17	1	24	3	5	3	2	6	3	2	-	9	2	2	2	81
Respondent in EGS for 6 months or more	10	3	4	-	12	2	1	2	1	-	1	7	-	1	-	44
Response to time spent by respondent in EGS during the reference year	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>131</b>

Only 12% of all EGS workers are pure EGS workers i.e. depend only on EGS works. But the majority of women workers in EGS work for less than 6 months in a year. These women account for 62% of the sample. The evidence corroborates the earlier picture that the workers who come to sites are basically from the category of casual agricultural labourers and marginal farmers. Those who have any skill like artisans or any assets like stock do not appear be interested in this kind of labour at the price/wage rate.

B-9: Age of EGS worker - respondent and landholding size

Land size (acres)	Age of EGS worker respondents						Total	
	Below 15	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59		60 and above
Landless	1	7	14	20	22	3	-	67
0.1-2.5	1	3	3	7	6	5	-	25
2.6-5.0	-	2	7	5	6	1	-	21
5.1-10.0	-	1	1	2	3	1	-	8
10.1-20.0	-	4	1	2	-	-	-	7
20.1 and above	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	3
Total	2	18	27	36	38	10	-	131

Consistently, in all sites it is the women between the age group of 30-50 who are the bulk of the workers. In these rural areas most of the reproductive activity of women is over by the time they reach 30. It seems that the women past child bearing and perhaps child rearing of small infants find working on the sites more attractive than the newly marrieds.

It is noteworthy, however, that amongst the landless women in the age group of 50-59 can be found working on the sites emphasising the pressure of poverty on women from the landless classes.

B-10 : EGS worker-respondents relationship with head of household and land size of respondents household

Land Size (acres)	Wife	Co-wife	Self head of house hold	Unmarried daughter	Daughter in-law	Widowed sister	Widowed mother	Total
Landless	38	-	16	10	3	-	-	67
0.1-2.5	17	-	5	2	1	-	-	25
2.6-5.0	11	-	2	3	4	-	1	21
5.1-10.0	5	-	-	1	2	-	-	8
10.1-20.0	2	-	-	5	-	-	-	7
20.1 and above	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	3
Total	73	-	23	23	10	1	1	131

Total sample : 157  
 Non-worker : 10  
 Non-EGS : 16  
 Valid sample : 131

While there is more of an every sort be it wives, daughters, daughters-in-law amongst the landless working at site, it is interesting to see that it is mainly the unmarried daughter who goes out to the site amongst the higher land classes. In the land class 10-20 acres, 5 out of a total 7 women workers are unmarried daughters.

Another noteworthy observation is that amongst the poorest a high percentage of women are primary bread winners and heads of households. 23 out of 131 workers i.e. 18% are heads of households. Also 16 out of 38 married women are head of households amongst the landless making the percentage 40.

C-11 : Awareness of wages on EGS by respondents and age

Respondents age	Awareness of EGS wages						No response to awareness		
	Awareness of diff. wages for diff. job		Awareness of Rate schedule		Awareness of Equal remunera- tion Act.		Diff. wages for diff.job	Rate Schedule	Equal Remuneration Act
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No			
Below 15	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	-	-
15-19	3	9	2	10	4	8	2	2	2
20-29	7	14	4	16	5	14	2	3	3
30-39	9	16	2	23	5	19	16	16	17
40-59	7	25	-	31	3	28	20	21	21
60 and above	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No response to age	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The majority of the women in the sample belong to the age group 30-59 (84 out of 131 respondents) hence the scatter of women workers is large in these age groups-however, what is interesting here is that the majority of women are not aware of wage rate schedules, the Equal Remuneration Act (more than twice as many woman say no as yes. And as many as say no, do not even wish to respond to the question. This emphasises the importance of the depth interview and investigation technique for getting any information from rural woman/man far away from system of communications unreached by information.

C-12 : Receipt and use of coupons by EGS worker-respondents

Sites	Whether received coupons in payment				Distance from grain ship				Whether purchase grain			If yes, whether consume or sell		In payment, preference for cash or Kind			
	Yes	No	No res- ponse	Total	2 km or less	2.5-5	5.1& more	No res- ponse	Yes	No	No res- ponse	Consume	Sell	Cash only	Kind only	Both	No res- ponse
Ranzangaon	35	2	1	38	3	-	-	35	34	1	1	34	-	6	-	13	19
Palve Budruk	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	3
Katharde																	
Pariwardhe	19	3	9	31	-	20	1	10	17	1	13	17	-	2	-	26	3
Vaijali																	
Karmadi	6	-	1	7	-	-	7	-	7	-	-	7	-	1	-	5	1
Lakhori	1	12	13	26	-	1	-	25	1	1	24	1	-	8	-	13	5
Kawadi	8	15	3	26	-	8	-	18	8	-	18	7	-	5	-	15	6
Total Sample				: 157													
Non-worker				: 10													
Non-EGS				: 16													

Incomplete information

Out of the total of 131 respondents 72 or about 70% have reported as receiving coupons, whereas 32 i.e. about 30% said that they have not received payment in coupons. 27 did not answer this question. A large number of workers of Lakhori and Kawade stated that they are not receiving coupons while a large majority of workers in Ranzangaon Palve Budruk and Katharde Pariwardhe received payment in coupons.

None of the respondents favour payment only in kind. An overwhelming number prefer payment in both cash and kind while about 15% would like payment of wages only in cash.



C-13: Size of landholding outstanding debt of respondents

Size of landholding	Sites	Yes	Outstanding Debt					No out-standing debt	No res-ponse to indebted-ness	Total (yes + no + no response)	
			50-100	100-500	501-1000	1000 & above	No res-ponse to amount				
Landless	R	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	11	6	18
	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	2
	KP	13	3	6	1	-	-	7	-	8	28
	V	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3
	L	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	8	8	19
0-2.5	K	3	-	2	1	-	-	-	7	-	10
	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	KP	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
2.5-5.0	L	5	1	2	-	-	1	1	8	5	19
	K	7	2	5	-	-	-	-	6	-	13
	R	4	-	3	1	-	-	-	3	1	8
	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	KP	3	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	3
5.1-10.0	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
	L	4	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	6
	K	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	4
	R	3	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	4
	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10.1-20.0	KP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
	V	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	2
	L	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3
	K	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	R	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	6
20.1 and above	P	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
	KP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	L	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	K	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	R	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	3
	P, V, L, K	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total		56	11	23	7	8	7	68	33		157

Out of 79 respondents of the landless class as many as 23 did not reveal the extent of their indebtedness. Out of the remaining 56, 35 have stated that they have no doubt. Of the balance 21, 14 have doubt ranging Rs. 50-500. A similar pattern is reported by those who have small piece of land, namely 0-2.5 acres. Those who have land of 2.6 acres, 12 out of 19 respondents admit to having debt. In other words amongst the landless and other economically distressed groups there is a reluctance to reveal indebtedness for fear of some kind of retaliation.

Taking this table alongwith Table 14, the picture becomes even more cloudy. The majority, 75% of these who borrow within the land class group, 0-2.5 take from banks and cooperatives. On what basis can landless labourers borrow from banks even if in the cooperative sector is the question. Hence while not ~~abandoning~~ this table because it still reveals some aspect of the indebtedness. It is doubtful whether it may be used with any effect. Information on indebtedness cannot be collected by short term surveys. They require involved techniques of investigation.

R : Ranzangaon  
P : Palve Budruk  
KP : Katharde Pariwardhe  
V : Vaijali Karmadi  
L : Lakhori  
K : Kawade

C-14 : Outstanding borrowing (source and amount) and land size

Land size (acres)	Borrowing source and amount										Source and amt. unspeci- fied	No out- standing debt	No res- ponse to borrow- er status
	Organised source		Co-operatives		Individuals					unspeci- fied			
	Govt. Bank		Co-op bank	Co-op. Society	Money lender	Land owner	Vil- lagers	Friend	Shop keeper				
Landless	4	1	5	5	1	1	-	-	2	1	1	35	23
0.1-2.5	1	1	6	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	16	5
2.6-5.0	-	-	2	6	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	7	3
5.1-10.0	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	2
10.1-20.0	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	5	-
20.1 and above	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>33</b>

Total sample :157  
 Non-response to  
 borrower status : 33  
 Valid sample :124

This table only endorse the views that the indebtedness cannot be easily surveyed. It require far more participatory technique of data collection than one time visit surveys. The majority of the landless is not having any outstanding debts, and what is more curious is that all of them borrow from cooperatives which seems baffling unless they are some landless member of some cooperatives. The only comment that can be made with some confidence is that the cooperatives seems to be the major source of borrowing. Yet when sites were visited, off the record, workers report that they are not only in debt but they are in debt to the shop-keepers and the men were in debt to the local liquor-shop owners.

C-15 - Duration of respondent's employment in EGS in the latest year (of her work in EGS) and duration of employment in other gainful occupation in the reference year

Months (only EGS)	Non-EGS 0 months nonEGS	Duration in EGS (in months)				No response to duration in EGS (months not specified)	Total
		0.1-3	3.1-6	6.1-8	8.1 and above		
0 months only EGS	11	8	6	5	8	-	38
0.1-3	1	-	2	-	1	-	4
3.1-6	2	12	8	11	2	5	40
6.1-8	4	2	2	2	-	-	10
8.1 and above	29	3	-	1	1	-	34
2nd occupa- tion not clearly specified	3	13	3	3	7	2	31
Total	50	38	21	22	19	7	157

Note: For non-EGS work, only dominant occupation has been taken into account i.e. some respondents work in more than two occupations.

Non-EGS work in Lakhori accounts for the major proportion of non-EGS works. These women are mainly engaged in Bidi rolling and seem to steady employment through out the year in that occupation. This makes sense as it is the nature of the programme to offer short period sub-works. Comparatively those in EGS for 8 months and above seems a smaller percentge, only about 12% of the sample. The majority of the EGS worker i.e. about 50% and more work between 1-8 months.

C-16 : Respondents daily wages in EGS (cash only) and/or in any other wage earning occupation in which the respondent worked or continues to work.

Daily wages in other occupations in which the respondents work or worked (Rs.)	Daily wages in EGS (Rs.)								No response to wages in EGS	Only non EGS work	Total
	Less than 1	1-1.49	1.50-1.99	2-2.49	2.50-2.99	3-3.49	3.50-3.99	4 and above			
Less than 1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	4
1-1.49	2	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	2	4	12
1.50-1.99	5	-	2	1	-	5	-	-	4	8	25
2.0-2.49	1	-	-	1	6	4	1	-	3	3	19
2.50-2.99	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.00-3.49	-	-	-	-	-	8	1	3	-	-	12
3.50-3.99	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4 and above	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
No response to wages in EGS work	1	-	1	4	5	13	-	3	1	-	28
Only EGS	1	-	-	10	20	12	1	1	-	-	45
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>147</b>

Some respondents did mention that they also receive coupons but no account has been taken of this. There was doubt as to whether an imputed value of the coupons was taken into account by some respondents in reporting the cash wage.

Inclusion of coupons in the effective EGS wage may considerably alter any conclusion based on this table regarding wages in EGS in relation to other occupation (see Table 5 for effect of increased wage on labour supply)

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	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>34</b>

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 from 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 is possible that the two are coincident.

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

Landholding (acres)	No other job available near village	Other employment insufficient, uncertain	Working hours fixed	Time bound work	Equal wage for men and 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 from 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.

It is this phenomena which is often forgotten when the policy making for workers namely that amenities can only follow or be a sequence to having work at all. Therefore, when the basic wage is not feasible the question of amenities seems a distant problem.



D-19 : Reasons for not joining EGS by non-workers and non-EGS worker respondents

	No need to work	Work too laborious	Worksite is bad	Worksite far to carry children	Worksite far from village	Escort not available	Women not enrolled on work site	Wages too low	House hold work	Active member of Shramik San-gathan	No response or no reason given
Non-workers	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	2	1	6
Non-EGS (Bidi)	-	5	-	-	3	1	1	2	4	6	7

Most of the answers to this table are derived from the respondents in Lakhori as the survey in this site had a greater concentration of Bidi workers. Amongst the non-workers there seems to be no specific and predominant reason for not joining EGS. Whereas amongst the non-EGS workers namely Bidi workers household work as well as laboriousness of EGS work seem to be the basic reasons.

D-20 : EGS respondents's status in respect of registration with EGS site authorities by land classes

Land acres	Registered/Adviser/Motivator								Unregistered/Adviser/Motivator							Total		
	Vil- lag- er	Gram sevak	Mus- ter cle- rk	Sar- pan- ch	Pub- lic anno- unce- ment	Super- visor	Shra- mic Sanga- ttan	No ans- wer to who	Mus- ter cle- rk	Oth- er wor- kers	Gang man	Loc- al lea- der	Kot- wal	Sar- pun- ch	Super- visor		No res- ponse to adviser	No res- ponse in res- pect of regis- tration
Land less	-	3	2	-	10	2	7	6	-	1	4	-	1	-	1	13	8	58
0.1-2.5	-	2	-	7	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	8	1	21
2.6-5.0	1	1	-	-	2	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5	5	18
5.1-10.0	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
10.1 - 20.0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20.1 and above	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>104</b>

Of a total of 104 respondents, 58 i.e. 55% comes from the landless classes. Again this is explained by the predominants of the landless in the sample and on the sites. Out of 104 respondents 15 did not respond to this question hence it could be said that 59% of the sample registered conversely could not answer the source of motivation but majority seem to have heard from the public announcement followed by the Sarpunch and the Gramsevika.

Shramik Sangattan naturally is the source of motivation for 31% of the landless workers. Again it is those on the Katharde Pariwardhe who formed 45% of this heard from the public announcement. All these percentages are of the landless classes. Regarding the difference between the landed and the landless very little can be said from this table except that public announcement seems the major source followed by the Gramsevak for motivation. Amongst the unregistered once again "no response" predominates followed by the Gangman as the source. This even though the numbers are small, makes sense as it is the unregistered who would be mobilised by labour contractors or gangman. Looking on the gang formation table it could be seen that sites in Ahmednagar are more vulnerable to this kind of private labour gang formation. It is difficult not to specify that in such gang formation some of the wage may have to be paid as commission to the gangman.

D-21 : EGS worker respondent's age and registration/non-registration with EGS site authorities

Age	Registered/Advisor/Motivator										Registered/Advisor/Motivator					Total		
	Vil- lager	Gram- sevak	Mas- ter cle- rk	Sur- pun- ch	Pub- lic anno- unce- ment	Sup- er visor	Shar- mic San- gatan	No res- pon- se as to who	Mus- ter cle- rk	Oth- er work- ers	Gang men	Local Leader	Kot- wal	Sar- pun- ch	Super- visor		No res- ponse to who	No res- ponse to regis- tration
Below #5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
15-19	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	2	11
20-29	1	3	-	2	4	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5	4	22
30-39	-	2	1	2	3	1	2	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	8	3	28
40-59	-	1	1	4	6	-	5	5	-	1	3	-	-	1	-	9	5	41
60 and above	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No res- ponse to age	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>104</b>

Note: This question was not asked of 20 respondents in Ranzangaon and 3 respondents in Palve Budruk.

Of a total of 104 respondents to this question, it is interesting to note that 41 i.e. 39% have no response for motivation. It is possible that this aspect of programme is not really implemented at the local level. It is also clear that no mobilisation is taken place by official or non-official agencies of the labour. All those who

are registered namely 53, 12 i.e. 12% could not answer the question of motivation. 13 of these i.e. 24% learnt about this programme from the public announcement and 8 from the Sarpunch. It is interesting to see that out of the 53 Nos. of people interviewed in Katharde Pariwardhe, 7 heard about the scheme from the local peasants organisation namely Shramik Sangattan. Again the workers from Katharde side predominates all the columns, for example 7 out of 8 reporting registration through Sarpunch came from Katharde Pariwardhe, 8 of the 13 who heard from the public announcement come from Katharde Pariwardhe and 4 out of 6 who heard from the Gramsevak came from the same side. In contrast the majority of these who have no response to this question did not acknowledge any motivator came from the non Katharde Pariwardhe i.e. Ranzangaon, Lakhori and Kawade.

Amongst the unregistered i.e. 36 again there are hardly 4 who have no response. On the other hand majority are from Lakhori and Kawade.

This pattern makes a clear case to reveal the importance of mobilisation and political awareness as was mentioned in the sample selection. Katharde Pariwardhe in Shaha Block, District Dhulia was selected mainly to see the impact of the local workers organisation on the implementation of the EGS.

In terms of age and its relationship to awareness of registration, rights etc. the age group 40-59 form 39% in other words this group is more found followed by 30-39 age group, 26% and 20-29 age group 21%. This is as expected since it is those in the age group 40-49 that predominate amongst the workers, followed by the age group 30-39.

D-22 : Attitude of Muster Clerk/Engineer/Supervisor/Contractor/Mukandan towards EGS worker cross classified by landholding status

Land	Enrolment of new workers	Enrolment of new female workers	Attitude					
			Response to com- plaints	Measure- ment of work	Payment of wages	Making jobs perma- nent	Treatment to debit caste	Treatment towards female workers
Landless	E-24	E-25	E-9					
	I-15	I-15	I-7					
	H-2	H-3	H-17					
				S-16	S-14	S-12	S-12	S-9
				P-12	P-9	P-9	P-13	P-14
	NR-13	NR-12	NR-18	US-23	US-24	US-10	US-3	US-4
				NR-6	NR-5	NR-22	NR-26	NR-27
Landed	E-36	E-34	E-15					
	I-16	I-18	I-16					
	H-4	H-4	H-8					
			US-3	US-3	US-22	US-16	US-3	US-2
			P-2	P-18	P-18	P-16	P-20	P-15
	NR-8	NR-8	NR-18	S-17	S-14	S-14	S-14	S-12
				NR-6	NR-7	NR-13	NR-25	NR-33
Total	E-60	E-57	E-25	S-33	S-28	S-27	S-26	S-21
	I-31	I-33	I-33	P-30	P-27	P-25	P-33	P-29
	H-6	H-7	H-15	US-44	US-48	US-26	US-6	US-6
	NR-2	NR-20	P-2	NR-12	NR-12	NR-39	NR-51	NR-60
			US-3					
			NR-38					

(E) (Enthusiastic) (I) (Indifferent) (S) (Satisfactory) (US) (Unsatisfactory) (P) (Possible) (H) (Hostile)

There does not seem much difference between landed and landless workers in their general satisfaction with the enrolment of all workers or female workers - or even in their percentage of 'no response'. On the other hand both groups find measurement of work and payment of wages unsatisfactory. This is an important critical comment on the management of the programme.

A large number of both groups (33) amongst the landless than the landed responded to the question on treatment of female workers. Those who did find the treatment poor and unsatisfactory not one worker has a positive response to these questions.

B-23 : Average time disposition of EGS respondents in gainful work (single or multi occupation

Single/Multi time disposition	Non-workers	Single occupation	Multi occupation	Total number of workers in each time category
Lessthan 2 hours	-	-	-	-
2-4 hours	-	2	-	2
4.1-6 hours	-	14	4	18
6.1-8 hours	-	62	45	107
8.1 and above	-	-	1	1
No response to disposition of time	10	12	7	29
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>157</b>

Total Sample : 157  
 Non-workers : 10  
 Non-response to time disposition in gainful activities : 19  
 Valid sample : 157 - (19 + 10) = 128

Out of an effective sample of 128 workers 84% work at gainful activity for 6-8 hours a day. There are more women single occupation workers in this category 48%, than amongst the multi occupation group. Where a minimum of 8 hours seem necessary for reaching the output required for payment, hardly anyone works less than 4 hours or above 8.



E-24 : Respondents age and time disposition in domestic work

Time Disposition/ age	0 Hours	Less than 2 hours	2 - 3 hours	3.1-4 hours	4.1-5 hours	5.1-6 hours	6.1-8 hours	8.1 Hrs & above	No res- ponse to time dis- position	Total
Below 15	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	4
15-19	-	2	9	2	2	1	2	-	4	22
20-29	-	-	8	6	5	3	1	1	7	31
30-39	1	-	8	11	6	8	2	1	3	40
40-49	-	-	11	17	2	3	3	-	10	47
50-59	-	-	5	4	1	2	-	-	-	12
60 and above	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>157</b>

Total Respondents : 157  
 Total non-response : 25  
 Total valid sample : 132

Domestic work seems to take upto 4 hours of most (62%) workers whereas 32% report spending 4-8 hours on domestic work. While it would have been expected that those in the age group 15-29 or 50 and above would do more domestic work as the core group 30-49 go to works, it is again this core group which puts in 2-4 hours domestic work also.

E-25 : Respondents family size and time disposition in gainful work

Time disposition/ family size	0 Hours	Less than 2 hours	2 - 3 hours	3.1-4 hours	4.1-5 hours	5.1-6 hours	6.1-8 hours	8.1 and above	No response to time dis- position	Total
1 - 2	-	-	-	-	-	2	8	-	3	13
3 - 4	-	-	-	-	1	4	34	-	12	51
5 - 6	-	-	1	-	2	7	34	1	9	54
7 - 8	-	-	-	-	1	1	18	-	1	21
9 - 10	-	-	-	1	-	-	7	-	2	10
More than 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	3
No response	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	5
<b>Total</b>	-	-	1	1	4	14	107	1	29	157

Total respondents .. .. . : 157

Total non-response to time disp. including non-workers 29

Total non-response to family size (including 1  
common with non-response to time disposition) : 4

Total valid sample : 157 - (29 + 4) = 124

Since the sample of 124 workers is not evenly distributed across family sizes - it is not possible to read any relationship here. The majority of the samples are in the family size group 3-6 and that is where the largest workers are clustered in the distribution also. As seen earlier more than half the sample work 6-8 hours a day and do domestic work 2-4 hours a day.

Of those who have families of 7-8, a large number 85% report as also working in gainful work for 6-8 hours. In fact this percentage continues all the way down to those who have family sizes even above 9-10 members, whereas domestic work whatever the size of the family remains in the range 2-4 going upto maximum of 5 hours but never more.

E-26 : Time disposition in domestic work and respondents' family size

Time Disposition/ Family size	0 Hours	Less than 2 hours	2 - 3 hours	3.1-4 hours	4.1-5 hours	5.1-6 hours	6.1-8 hours	8.1 and above	No res- ponse to time dis- position	Total
1 - 2	-	-	4	4	1	1	-	-	3	13
3 - 4	1	1	13	13	7	6	3	-	7	51
5 - 6	-	-	10	15	2	8	5	2	12	54
7 - 8	-	1	9	4	5	1	-	-	1	21
9 - 10	-	1	5	1	1	1	1	-	-	10
More than 10	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	3
No response	-	1	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>157</b>

Total respondents : 157  
 Total non-response : 25 + 5  
 Valid response : 132 - 5 = 127

8-27 : Comparative allocation of time between domestic and gainful activities of EGS and non-EGS workers according to site

Age	Current EGS workers	Total	Workers domestic activity	Hours-gainful activity	Non-EGS workers	Hours domestic activity	Hours gainful activity
Below 15	KP-1,1	2	4,1,5	8,8	-	-	-
15-19	R-1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1	11	4,2,0,1,5,0,2,2,2,1,2,4	8,8,0,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8	-	-	-
	KP-1,1	2	2,2	8,8	-	-	-
	L-1,1	2	2,5	-	L-1,1	2	7,2
	K-1	1	6,5	-	-	-	7,8
20-39	R-1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1	16	6,2,3,4,1,4,2,4,5,5,3,3,5,3,4,4	8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8	-	-	-
	PB-1,1	2	5,3,5	8,8	-	-	-
	KP-1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1	15	5,4,4,3,NR,9,3,4,2,3,2,2,4,3,6,5	8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8	KP-1	1	4
	V-1,1	2	6,5	8,8	-	-	-
	L-1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1	13	6,2,6,6,6,6,5,4,5,1,1,12,6,4,4	8,8,6,6,6,6,6,5,8,6,5,6,8,8	L-1,1	2	5,6
	K-1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1	12	2,4,8,10,7,8,6,2,4,5,5,5	8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8	-	-	-
40-49	R-1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1	10	4,3,4,3,4,3,2,6,4,4	8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8	-	-	-
	PB-1	1	4	8,8	-	-	-
	KP-1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1	7	3,3,3,3,3,3,3	6	-	-	-
	V-1,1,1,1,1,1	5	-,6,4,4,3	8,8,8,8,8,8	L-1,1,1	3	4,4,5
	L-1,1,1,1,1	5	4,4,4,4,4	8,8,8,8,8	-	-	-
	K-1,1,1,1,1	5	4,4,4,4,4	0,6,2,8,4	-	-	-
				8,8,8,8,-	-	-	-
50-59	R-1,1	2	3,4	8,8	R-1		4
	KP-1	1	2	8	L-1	1	6
	L-1,1,1	3	4,5,6	8,7,-	-	-	6
	K-1,1,1,1	4	2,3,3,5	8,8,8,9	-	-	-
Total		121				8	

It will be noticed that EGS workers all report working 8 hours on the site regularly except from Lakhori. Comparatively non-EGS workers report working 6 hours as gainfully spent. But as expected while the EGS workers spent around 3-4 hours in the domestic activity but there are few such as Lakhori and Kawade where they report 6-8 hours in domestic work and non-EGS workers range from 4-7 hours in domestic work. From this limited sample it could be suggested that EGS work does curtail hours that can be spent in domestic work. However, it could be argued that when there is a pull in gainful work, women themselves reduce hours in domestic work by increased efficiency.

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 lookafter children	Mater- nity leave	Help in house- hold work	Help in bring- ing water at home	Shed in worksite	Drink- ing water at site	First aid medi- cal aid	With pay leave	Lava- tory at site	Train- ing for cer- tain job	Provi- sional for meal	Can- teen faci- lity at site	No res ponse 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. While both the sets 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.

F-29 : Household amenities relating to work-site cross classified by duration of respondents work in EGS  
 Ame. related to household      Amenities related to work-site

Amenities desired/ No. of months/ year	Creche	Maternity leave	Help in house hold work	Help in bringing water at home	Shed in work site	Drinking water at site	First aid/ medical aid	With pay leave	Lavatory at site	Training for certain jobs	Provision of meals	Canteen facility at site	No response to 46-57
2 months and less	12	2	6	2	16	21	15	11	1	3	5	1	3
2.1-6 months	11	3	4	2	17	21	17	15	1	6	6	1	3
6.1-12 "	13	5	3	8	21	19	18	8	5	4	5	4	1
1-2 years	10	7	5	2	17	14	16	9	-	4	5	1	-
2.1-3 "	2	2	1	-	7	8	8	2	1	1	3	1	1
Over 3 "	6	1	2	2	12	8	9	2	2	4	3	2	1
No response w.r.t. duration of work with EGS	7	3	3	4	11	9	9	6	1	4	3	2	4

When table 28 is further analysed in terms of the respondents duration on the EGS, there seems no specific trend, whether newly entered or working for two years, there is a strong clear expression of need for sheds, drinking water, creches and maternity leave.

F-30 : Respondents perception of impact of EGS on food, health and clothing by land classes

Land	Food			Health			Clothing			No response to impact on		
	I	NC	D	I	NC	D	I	NC	D	Food	Health	Clothing
Landless	42	10	5	15	38	3	17	38	2	9	11	10
0.1-2.5	16	7	3	5	18	1	5	14	2	-	1	5
2.6-5.0	10	4	-	6	8	-	5	9	-	4	4	4
5.1-10.0	6	1	-	3	3	-	2	4	-	4	5	5
10.1-20.0	2	3	-	1	4	-	-	-	4	2	1	1
20.1 and above	2	1	-	2	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-
No response to land	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

While most of the respondents whatever the land class record that food situation has improved, most of them report that there has been no change in their health or clothing level. There is no marked difference between landed and the landless except that the small and marginal farmers report no change more than those who are landless - perhaps showing a greater self-confidence and articulation.



F-31 : Whether prepared to leave house - limited to only EGS works.

Site	No. of EGS workers	Yes	No	No response
Ranzangaon	19	4	3	12
Katharde	8	6	2	-
Lakhori	33	14	8	11
Kawade	26	15	6	5
Palve Budruk	4	1	-	3
Total	90	40	19	31

Total respondents : 90

Out of a total of 59 EGS workers who responded to this question, 40 said they were prepared to leave home in search of work; and only 19 said no, while 31 did not respond to the question. There is some discussion amongst those who implement the MEGS whether the zone within which the right to demand work is granted should be widened from village to district level. That is workers may have to go wherever in the district work is made available. This modification, it is argued would ensure better planned, more useful productive work.

This question was asked in that context to assess whether thereby women would drop out. But the response seems to indicate that women want the work even if far away from home. The Rahuri (Sugar Cane) workers are further evidence of this (Appendix 3).

## CHAPTER IV

### Analysis and Findings

#### The Context

- 4.1 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 works 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.
- 4.2 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 (See Appendix 2 for description of scheme and official documentation). Yet it has an in-built 'short-term' horizon, but on a different premise than that of an emergency relief operation.
- 4.3 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.
- 4.4 The Unemployment 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.
- 4.5 Given these two components, the scheme is more close to a development programme than a crash or relief programme. At the district and block level, there are officers as well as engineers specifically for the programme.

- 4.6 This aspect of the scheme has as many advantages as disadvantages and has made it a source of controversy.
- 4.7 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

- 4.8 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.
- 4.9 The female participation rate for all Maharashtra and the selected districts i.e. Ahmednagar, Bhandara and Dhulia are given below:

Table I	Census 1961		Census 1971		NSS - 27th Round '74	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
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:

Table ii

	Average Daily Attendance	
	33 months 1976-1978 % Age	21 months 1977-1978 % Age
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.

4.10 At the site, data was collected 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

4.11 It will be observed that the local (site gang level) date 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.

4.12 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.

4.13 Another aspect of this participation rate is that male/female labour mix as required for various construction work, which may actually inhibit women 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.

4.14

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

- a) crèches are rarely established, and where they are, 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 crèches.
- c) Women want crèches, 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 crèche does not rank as their most essential need. They leave the children at home, or stay at home with them.

4.15

It is not meant to suggest here that crèches are not an extremely important facility for women, specially for those unemployed and without assets, or the pure hirer's out. In fact it could be argued 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;

- i) even in the sample, younger women from the landless classes work on the sites,
- ii) in a study done on the time disposition of 300 women from rural households, predominantly from the landless classes it revealed that not only does the female work participation rate decrease with increase of assets, rising above even the rate for males and definitely above the average rate, it increases with the increase of the number of children below 5<sup>1</sup>.
- iii) Observation by field workers, social and political, in Maharashtra, report that there are women working on the sites who have delivered a child less than three days earlier, such is the compulsion for the wage and the acuteness of their distress.

4.16

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

- 4.17 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' and 'heavy' work and consequently have predetermined rates of female and male labour requirement per day per work. Gangs of males and females are formed to match the norms, as set by the specific 'works'.

Payment system

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

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

- 4.19 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. Engineers<sup>2</sup> 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 costs. 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.

- 4.20 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 place in any gang. She was sent away and later mobilised a gang of women and demanded work.

- 4.21 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.

4.22 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.

4.23 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.

4.24 Hence 'workers' 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 payment. More drastically, 'gang' formation could be abandoned and workers employed individually.

4.25 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 woman.

4.26 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 woman to the site, then come to collect the wages in their name.

#### Weekly payment

4.27 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

- 4.28 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.
- 4.29 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.
- 4.30 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.
- 4.31 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.
- 4.32 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.
- 4.33 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 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.

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



Intra Household Issues

- 4.34 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 food on site, on the bases that intra household distribution of benefits is unequal amongst the poor.
- 4.35\* 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 there is no gainful activity, whether it is inside the home or outside, that women extend the hours of domestic work.
- 4.36 A study done of women from 128 rural 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.
- 4.37 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.
- 4.38 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.
- 4.39 ✓ 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.

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

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

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

4.42            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 condition of labour of this category without a chance in the total perception at policy level.

                However, at a humane 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.

CHAPTER V

Recommendations

The difference between male and female workers

5.1 The foregoing analysis reveals that female labour has not been perceived as a category distinct from male. Hence these unsatisfactory repercussions of the programme on the women.

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

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

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

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

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

- 1) The biological difference between men and women requires that women not only have to give birth to the child but also nurture it in its early days of life. This behaviour has led to their having the added responsibility of home and child care even when the children are beyond the infancy stage.

Apart from the responsibility, they also undergo physical strain with childbirth and childcare which tells on their physical capacity to do sustained hard work, although they do do it.

- 2) Various cultural and traditional factors have led to the clear demarcation of economic roles between men and women. For example in rice agriculture it is common to find only women transplanting rice. Weeding, vegetable plucking, bundling of harvest produce are all usually given to women. In non-agriculture, especially on construction sites, women are often made to carry earth while men dig.

In other aspects of construction, men do the skilled jobs of brick laying while women mix the mortar and so it goes on. The more traditional a society the more clearly demarcated these rules.

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

The variations in labour absorption do not end here. Certain crops have different female labour inputs at different times than other crops. Sugar cane and its cycles may use a different level and ratio of female labour than rice and its cycles, or wheat and its cycles. All these differences have been identified by various kinds of research which are going on.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Change in perception

##### Recommendation I

- 5.7 The first recommendation that seems of high priority is for the planners and programme designers to perceive this difference between male and female labour, its sociological as well as economic characteristics and ensure that these differences are accommodated. Such a change in perception would require that engineers and administrators working at the local level nearer to sites, would have to be given orientation programmes which would make them aware that women are the most critically unemployed, that it is the women who are the majority of the job seekers amongst the unskilled casual labour force and that traditional allocation of roles in economic activity make supply and demand of female labour different from male labour. Hence conception, design and implementation of public works or relief works schemes where women are present in large, if not dominant numbers, have to be modified after a study of female work patterns, internal and external to the household.

#### Change in nature of schemes and ratios of female/male labour

- 5.8 Most of the schemes i.e. the works that are undertaken are selected by the Irrigation and PWD departments. They are conventional works and therefore, traditional norms prevail. In the mix of male and female labour for completion of a work, two changes may be required here;

##### Recommendation II

- 5.9 To develop in the administration, specially at the local level, a change in the attitude to the mix. Since males and females on the works sites are doing identical jobs, digging, carrying etc., females are in fact doing as many jobs as males, thus there need not be the distinction between heavy and light work. When labour reports for work, they may be taken on in gangs regardless of the ratio of females to males. This aspect of the change in ratio could be communicated to the villages for the benefit of the workers when the public announcements are made regarding the availability of employment under the scheme.

##### Recommendation III

- 5.10 The second change required would be in the type of schemes undertaken. It does not seem to be necessary only to undertake irrigation and public works type schemes. As Shri Tungare has said (Volume I, Appendix I) related schemes should be taken up if other departments working at the district level provide some technical services to the local EGS administrators. Horticulture provides one useful development in which women can work without necessarily revealing lower productivities than men.

- 5.11 However, the Karnataka Government's Employment Affirmation Scheme yields an even more innovative idea for unskilled work of short term duration. The cleaning of villages, making improved roads within the village, the improvement of Harijan's housing, community centres etc. are an example. In other words, the various items taken up for "Shramdan", or 50% participation by the Panchyat, can be converted into EGS work and those who contribute the labour could be paid under the scheme.

#### Training of Personnel

##### Recommendation IV

- 5.12 Since it is proven that the majority of the workers come from the landless classes, often live in sub-standard housing, if they have houses at all, and since maintenance of villages could be a short duration work, this aspect of using labour to improve its own living conditions may be considered. Engineers, administrators etc., of the scheme may have to be reoriented on both these changes and taught how to adjust their selection of sites with the kind/sex of labour that reports, the kind of area to which the labour belongs etc.

#### Payment System

##### Recommendation V

- 5.13 The payment system may have to be drastically modified in response to the acute problems faced by females from the poorest rural households.

Weekly payment makes both men and women vulnerable in relation to borrowing. Whether they borrow from the money lender, the Makkadan or the shopkeepers they have to borrow for consumption. When the circle starts by borrowing, then there is no end.

Hence, it may be important to pay a daily wage. The coupon system and the use of the ration shop can be a source of distress unless it is ensured that the ration shop has sufficient rations so that coupons are taken there, and also that they are accessible to the workers. After working eight hours of manual labour on the site, it would be cruel to imagine that these same women would be able to go to ration shops which are far away, and especially so if they are likely to be told that there are no stocks.

##### Recommendation VI

- 5.14 It might be possible to design a system by which, if foodgrains are to be given, these are given on the sites and cash payments are made once a week. The Food for Work Programme which provides the basis for the real wage should develop this methodology universally so that goods shops are opened on the sites\*

\* This recommendation has been made by Prof. Raj Krishna, Member Planning Commission, Government of India in a discussion. It has also been made in a note on Rural Development.

Recommendation VII

- 5.15 It may also be important not to pay the collective wages to the gangman but pay directly to individual workers working in the gang. This would ensure that heierarchical systems of evaluation of women's work would not be exercised. This is done in Karnataka (Volume I, Appendix IV).

Piece Rate

- 5.16 The piece rate system comes under question. It should be the right of the labourer to get her/his day's wages whatever the output. It is conventional to use the piece rate in all public work sites because there is no other form of assessing the daily output. It is also used in order to act as an incentive for higher outputs. However, this is an extremely cruel system and especially cruel when the labour that reports to work comes from the poorest households, which also have acute under-nourishment. Added to this the fact that women and children predominate on sites, the piece rate seems even more vicious.

Recommendation VIII

- 5.17 It is often argued that piece rate is compassionate as it allows anyone to work as long as the job is completed. If a woman holds a job and cannot report for work, she can send anybody else in her place and as long as the job is completed, her income is ensured. But these are only marginal attractions, and in fact become an attraction simply because there is no other form of insurance against sickness or absence. On the other hand it provides a cover for families who want to exploit female and child labour, so piece rate should be replaced by daily wage as recommended in Recommendation III.

Leave with wage

Recommendation IX

- 5.18 It would be far better if, on public works schemes (which are meant to provide relief and are supported by public funds), if norms of payment could be set up to provide an example to private employers. If the worker is registered and his/her attendance is regular, a certain percentage of absence should be condoned or insured against in the project. This aspect of payment system becomes extremely important in the light of women's participation as women are often handicapped not only with their own illness but the illness of others in their households apart from days during childbirth. They should be given a certain number of days leave with pay. This can be done only in conjunction with a daily wage payment system.

Recommendation X

- 5.19 The system by which payment is made after the period of work, whether it be one week, one month or one day, is again to be questioned. The sugar cane labour at Rahuri are paid Rs. 500/- in advance by the contractors before the season starts.

While it can be argued that this is a form of bondage, it is also true that this gives the labourers the opportunity to leave stocks of food at home and move to the sites. In the case of EGS sites, since the sites are near the village this issue is not as obvious. However, because of the acute poverty and marginal-to-survival levels of existence here, the wage should be paid in advance.

5.20 Hence, if the payment is weekly, the worker should be paid the weekly wage in advance; if daily, then on the first working day at least one day's wage (if not one week's wage) should be paid in advance. It would be even better if this payment was made in food. The food input would make it possible for the worker to at least be nourished before bending the body to work.

5.21 The risk involved in advance payment is exaggerated. If this payment is made in the normal course, then the population would quite soon settle into its obligation. Most professional people, and certainly landlords, are paid in advance. It seems unjust that the most destitute labour should be worked on hungry stomachs and be pushed into indebtedness. Indebtedness erodes into the earnings because of the need to eat while working.

#### Delivery of the programme

##### Recommendation XI

5.22 Obviously most of the facilities associated with female workers such as creches, drinking water and sheds for rest, are absent from the majority of sites even though they are accepted as a part of the programme. It is not surprising to find that they are not being delivered with any kind of efficacy on the sites. The same phenomena or characteristics prevail even in plantations in the organised sector such as tea or coffee plantations and even in non agricultural sectors such as the textile industry covered by the Factory Act. Wherever the employee, especially the local labour supervisors, are males, there is no serious attention given to maternity and child services for women.

5.23 Again, the perception of the male is an extension of his attitude developed within the home. He sees the maternity and child care roles of the women in the family as being in some way of low value or not requiring any special support. Therefore, when he sees a similar role in a factory or plantation or a tea estate, he does not pay much attention to the quality of these facilities.

5.24 In addition to this problem of the perception of the employer there is the perception of the labour leader. Most union leaders even in the organised sector i.e. in plantations or in industry are males. They also perceive the needs of the women workers only as an extension of the attitude that prevails within the home. Hence the union leaders do not make the quality of the creche or the maternity benefit schemes or the health insurance schemes the priorities in their struggle for better working conditions or wages. Most women workers belonging to industries which are covered by unionisation make the complaint that those who lead their unions are indifferent to women's needs.



While women on the EGS sites have reported that these facilities are not well supplied, they have also reported (See Table 22) that the attitude to women workers is highly unsatisfactory. This matches with the analysis made on the perception of employers and union leaders. Hence women spokesmen for women must be identified, women made paymasters, supervisors and women's interest groups developed.

Recommendation XI1

5.25

Yet another issue which arises is that until there is first the satisfaction of the need for work and wage, the question of facilities does not arise. The major cry of the women is revealed in Table 18 as well as the report of a field visit (Appendix 6). Their priority in terms of wants is for employment throughout the year and regular wages. Creches came lower in their ranking of priority needs. In other words, unless the implementation of the scheme is drastically modified to absorb all the women who want to work and earn the wage, unless the payment system is modified in such a way that the wage reaches their hands, the question of water and child care facilities does not interest them. It is recommended that the implementation of social service facilities should be more carefully considered and in all monitoring and evaluation studies, their existence and their quality should form part of the criteria for evaluation. But along with this there should be radical modifications of the programmes as mentioned in earlier paragraphs.

Gang formation

Recommendation VIII

✓ 5.26

While the recommendations for delivery of the services in greater quantity and quality follows from the results of the investigation, what seems even more important is the formation of some kind of women gangs which are more than gangs and which act as women's groups which would protect their interest as well as articulate them to the local administrators. This would require mobilisation of women as a separate group of workers with some kind of representation given to them which can be used at the block level. Taking into consideration the whole package of women's needs, namely their requirement for creches, their requirement for food, their requirement for regular daily wages and their requirement of some kind of power to change the attitudes and perception, it seems that some structures may have to be designed which are extremely innovative. Following are a few recommendations related to these:

Recommendation XLV

5.27

Many states have an Applied Nutrition Programme as part of their social welfare service. This programme is largely funded by the UNICEF in India, but it is equally supported by the State. Under the Applied Nutrition Programme, infants as well as lactating mothers are given food free of cost. Programmes are usually delivered through local women's institutions as well as the District Welfare Officers. There have been evaluations of this Applied Nutrition Programme and frequently it has been said that the programme does not necessarily reach the neediest women and consequently does not reach the largest number of them.

Considering that women from the most needy report for work on these sites and that their children have to be abandoned in the village for long hours while they do manual work, an idea that seems to emerge is whether the Applied Nutritional Programme could not be fitted into the employment guarantee scheme at the site level. If there are enough trained social workers or implementors of the programme, they should be made into mobile teams and they could service the women on the sites as well as their households in the villages. This would ensure that the programme reached those who needed it most.

- 5.28 The Department of Social Welfare in most states have, at the moment, limited their activities to recognised societies. They handle Harijans and children through certain established structures, and yet they do have quite a massive staff for delivery as well as for inspecting the delivery. Jeeps and some assets are kept at their disposal and voluntary agencies receive their funds.

Recommendation XV

- 5.29 The idea would be either to make the department organise itself in order to deliver its social welfare services on the sites and/or through local voluntary agencies which are in close proximity at the site. Where the sites are opened, they could be asked to distribute these services during the working period.

- 5.30 It is interesting to note that the Planning Secretary of the Karnataka Government, who visited one of the Employment Affirmation Sites in Nelamangala Block (See Appendix 4), reported that out of the 2,000 workers on the site, 1,000 were women. The entire work force belonged to one caste, one of the most backward scheduled castes. He was shocked to find that these 1,000 women workers were not provided in any way with child welfare services, nor sheds, nor care, water etc. When it was suggested to him that the State Government Department of Social Welfare may move itself to deliver these services at the sites, he was extremely responsive and promised to take up this initiative. It was his belief also that social services and especially maternity and child care services, concentrating on nutrition and health for children, would be most effective in reaching the poorest if delivered at the sites.

Recommendation XVI

- 5.31 A similar recommendation can be made for the integrated child development programme (ICDP). India has a programme called the ICDP. By this 100 villages are selected in districts in the country where the child development and related maternity services are intensified. Each of the 100 villages are provided with Care Centres very near the homes of the rural women. Food as well as education is given to these infants. Mothers are educated in health and nutrition, they are also given free food if they belong to the poorest. Here again all the suggestions made for the Applied Nutrition Programme could be made namely, that the ICDP is also made into a mobile programme intensively operating in areas where women are working in massive numbers doing hard physical labour as a result of the pressure of poverty.

Recommendation XVII

- 5.32 The main change required in these programmes, ANP and ICDP as they exist now is that they should become peripatetic - camping on sites for 6 months of the year whilst the sites are open.
- 5.33 However, with a strategy of this kind, it could also have a larger effect since the women workers who come to these sites are certainly the poorest i.e. women and men from the landless and marginal farmer families who are willing to do the hard labour to fight off starvation. By camping at these sites, if services are delivered to them, the child nutritional programmes will have reached large numbers of the poorest, which is not always possible or easy when the delivery is done at the village level by the local women's organisation, usually the Mahila Mandal.
- 5.34 Usually the structures at the village tend to dilute the reach of the programme, and give it a tilt towards the better off.
- 5.35 The great advantage of delivering these services at the sites is that, if the women workers on the site form a clientele for the social welfare services at the site they;
- a) become a formation on the basis of sex,
  - b) become a formation which can continue at the village level where they reside and from where they work when the sites are closed.
- 5.36 This approach, therefore, can be a strategy by which a strong formation of the labouring women of the villages, especially the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, get created and the effect of these formations can be felt both (a) in the EGS sites, in that they would have a supported base, could represent their needs, fall back on additional benefits and (b) in the overall administrative system which is, at least in its stated intention, attempting to develop institutions of the poor, which can become the delivery points for many economic and social programmes.

Women Personnel

Recommendation XVIII

- ✓ 5.37 However, this need not and perhaps cannot be the only method of developing groups of female labour on the public works sites. The scheme should have personnel who are equipped to mobilise the women workers, represent their interests as well as link them to environmental failures. This personnel, like having a local level engineer or overseer should be built into the programme.

Recommendation XIX

- ✓ 5.38 Either women can be made overseers and paymasters, food disbursers, just as they are made into dais, or women can be recruited to initiate and develop women's groups.

5.39 It is often argued that women cannot be supervisors/ paymasters, either because;

- a) they do not have the skills, and
- b) they are not able to be mobile, stay after dark etc.

While (b) may be true in areas of female seclusion or remote areas, it does not apply in most of India, especially amongst women from the scheduled castes and tribes, who in fact dominate the work-sites

5.40 In the Nilgiris, in tea plantations,<sup>1</sup> women were always supervised by men, even for tea picking and weighing. These men are called Maistrs and they earn 25-50% more than the workers. A meeting of women workers revealed that women, specially above 40-45 years, had no inhibition to playing this 'Maistr' role. Hence, a woman was selected and the management accepted this idea as an experiment. This way women leadership was built-up and the women workers felt they had a direct link with the management.

5.41 Similarly in Kaira District,<sup>2</sup> in the milk cooperatives, only 10% of the members were women, though the workers in milk production are women. Again it was argued that women do not have the ability/the mobility etc., to participate fully in the cooperative. However, when the women, specially those who had become co-op members were asked, they said this was a myth and it was promoted to keep women down. They felt as strong and as able as the men and were equipped to handle the management tasks of the cooperative.

#### Recommendation XX

5.42 Thus, it is not unrealistic or sociologically or culturally impossible to find women from the same sources as the men who would act as supervisors, paymasters etc. They should be appointed especially when there are women's gangs. They could also be appointed as the disbursers of the food in the Food for Work Programme.

1 Women workers on Tea Plantations. Monograph 1976. Devaki Jain, Institute of Social Studies (Mimeo).

2 'Milkmaids of Kaira District', Book on 'Women and Development' to be published by Vikas Publishing House, Ansari Road, New Delhi.

- 5.43 Appointing a Government paid social worker at the district of Taluka level does not have much effect because they can hardly cover a village or a site even once a month. So, it becomes highly symbolic.

#### Training

##### Recommendation XXI

- 5.44 Regarding reason (a) that women do not have the skills, it is recommended that women are given training in these simple skills of paymaster, food grain disburser etc., as part of the planning aspect of the scheme.

##### Recommendation XXII

- 5.45 If there is serious interest in such a class of workers, it should not be impossible to make the first day on the site an orientation day.

The days orientation can be information about the scheme, the benefits, the rights of the workers, the duration. It could ask the workers to group themselves, elect or select their leaders. It could offer to those who wish it, the minimum training in the skills required for supervision and so on.

##### Recommendation XXIII

- 5.46 A further extension of such an attempt to involve the workers could include dissemination of knowledge of other schemes/programmes available for the poor. The adult education scheme could be worked into the routine of the workers.

##### Recommendation XXIV

- 5.47 The case for making some arrangements for preparing the workers, assisting their formation around some related issues, becomes even stronger when it is recognised that on public works sites the employer/employee relationships are extremely slender. The employment on the site is neither long-term, nor binding. Therefore, legal provisions do not carry with them any force for implementation. If the workers are themselves made aware then the provisions will have some value. The fact that public works is a State-financed, State-run project gives it the opportunity to develop the forces, the institutional bases which will make legal provisions more than de jure provisions.

#### Technology

- 5.48 Public works have not so far attracted the technologists, since the work is usually minor irrigation, road building, land improvement. The tools are basic and considered necessary. However, it is here that humane technologists can really find an avenue for their skills.
- 5.49 Picks and shovels are heavy blunt coarse handled, baskets and steel iron dishes used for carrying earth

are tattered and small. Stone breakers often hurt their eyes with dugs or break their fingers with the mallets. Water is brought in small pots by individual women at great labour. Sheds for infants are dilapidated. Housing technologists could devise structures which can be put up and stored when not in use. Implements can be developed which yield higher efficiency at less physical destruction.

Recommendation XXV

5.50 Those planning massive schemes of work must at the same time develop improved tools, housing and other community facilities and distribute them on the site.

Evaluation

Recommendation XXVI

5.51 In evolving criteria for evaluation of public works schemes, the usual norms of cost-benefit in terms of expenditure incurred, employment generated, value of assets are not enough. Additional items such as supply of facilities like drinking water, creches, shelters, tools, food, physical (tools) and non physical (technical) services should also be assessed.

CHAPTER VI

Some Wider Issues

Seasonal Employment

6.1 It is an integral part of this employment programme, that it is to mop-up labour only in the so-called 'off' seasons. And even then it is only those who are unemployed to such a degree even in the off-season, that arduous manual labour in the 'open' (under the sky), at below minimum wage levels, is still attractive. Hence;

- a) sites are kept open only for short periods of 2-4 months at a time,
- b) wage rates are kept lower than the market (from October 1978 wage rates were increased through the addition of more food coupons - see Table 5).

6.2 This policy has several implications. Firstly, women are not only seasonally unemployed, they are unemployed all the year round. The evidence, both from Maharashtra and Karnataka, supports this statement - also Dr. Sulabha Brahme (See Appendix I).

When there is such acute need by women for a wage, is it adequate for the planners to open and close the sites? As a public works scheme to alleviate distress it seems only fair that they should keep the wage earning opportunities, for those who wish it, open throughout the year. As Shri V.S. Tungare has said (See Appendix I), the Collector can ascertain whether such labour still demands work, even after agricultural activity picks up in the environment, and make the necessary adjustments in the scheme to accommodate them.

If the labour is only women, then certain schemes may suggest themselves. If the numbers do not suggest Block level works but District level works, then this could be organised and the 5-10 km stipulation abandoned.

Opening and Closing of Sites

6.3 A second serious implication of this policy is the opening and closing of sites according to 'peak' demand for labour, in that it forces labour to return to the market however obnoxious the conditions of employment in the market. In a sense, it acts as a kind of labour bank for the farmers who want to hire labour only when needed, and it appears that the Government obligingly stores it at a low wage rate so that it can be hired at low rates during peak periods.

It provides no lever for those 'pure' employees who wish to improve their working conditions/contractual arrangements with their employers, as they are thrust into the market again involuntarily.

While the assumption that labour would not report in peak times is not unfair, in well developed agricultural belts the wage rates in these seasons rises to 150, if not 200% of the minimum wage, it presupposes that all idle labour or work-seekers will be absorbed in the peak. Here again, women labour provides an illustration of a sub-set of labour that does not belong to the high rate peak demand syndrome.

#### The Poor and Poverty Eradication

- 6.4 The socio-economic condition of the really poor - and within them the scheduled castes and tribes - and within these two sets, women and decades of their stagnation in sub-survival levels of poverty, has created a sociology which demarcates them from others in the labour force.

In India, as in a few other countries, there is the additional factor of a large mass of underemployed labour.

Assumptions about labour supply behaviour, about distribution of benefits within families, about social inhibitions and habits which may apply across the board to the 'formal', above survival labour do not apply amongst the poorest.

- 6.5 A household will operate on the environment collectively to maximise its income to stave off starvation. Everyone will work towards bread-breaking all norms of expected behaviour, bearing all costs however painful.

The migrant workers not only move every 14 days leaving the idea of a home totally behind, but they pair with men who are not necessarily their kin, if that is the need. Children may be abandoned in the pressure to work outside for bread even though the bread may be for that very child. The choices are hard.

- 6.6 Women do hard manual work just like men, stay out, are mobile, face the world of sexual exploitations if it has to be faced for survival.

In distribution within the household, choices are hard and if women or the weak are to be treated unequally, they are. Indebtedness is endemic to their condition and therefore exploitation by asset-owners is a well known experience. In this, to expect any kind of responses, that are expected by those who have crossed the poverty or survival barrier is misleading.

- 6.7 Within the poor, women are the poorest with less access to everything than the men - wage, nutrition, health, literacy, everything.

Should not a programme trying to reach the poorest take note of these factors? Should it not emancipate the lowest grade of labour from the seasonality of Indian agriculture?



Migrant - 14 day workers

6.8 The workers in the sugar cane fields at Rahuri (See Appendix 3) are employed for only fourteen days at a stretch. They are deliberately shifted from employer to employer on the fifteenth day in order to avoid the implication of the Factory Act. In other words, to avoid the treating of them as permanent labour, which begins to operate if a person is employed for more than 15 days. A similar pattern prevails on plantations of other cash crops like tea, coffee etc., all over India. In fact labour of this kind is called 14-day labour in the local language. The condition of this category of labour is cruel beyond imagination. While they earn high wage rates for these short periods, their life styles are inhuman. They have no place they can call their own, their family life is almost non-existent. It is assumed that they return to their village during the 'off-season' and live on the money they earn. However, even this assumption is based more on speculation than reality. Moving from place to place without any roots - geographical or sociological - becomes a way of life for these people, and they become toughened to face it.

6.9 However, given the reason why they are pushed into this life style, namely the employers desire to avoid the Factory Act, the question does arise whether any public works schemes, whose intention or whose initial philosophy is to strengthen the base of the poorest, least skilled manual labour force, should while entering the labour market not make such exploitation impossible? It is these additional issues that suggest, that if the condition of those who need relief, who need the wage of the public works, are enmeshed in complex situations, to promote the conventional stereotype public works programme may not only be inadequate, but actually harmful.

6.10 Unlike famine or flood relief, the employment guarantee scheme is planned relief from unemployment, so it does aim to strengthen the economic base of the unemployed labour.

Programme should be All-Year-Round

6.11 If the majority of this labour, as in the case of the women, seeks year-round work, then the works may have to be chosen which has longer duration. They may have to have a selective element of skill/orientation. They may have to have orientation towards developing assets which will help the poor themselves.

6.12 It is usually argued that if employment is to be offered on a year-round basis, a shelf of projects different from public works should be undertaken - durable "productive" schemes. As Shri Tungare has said (Appendix I), the aim of the NEGS is to wither away, and this would be the aim of most relief works.

He has added that when block level planning for full employment comes up then the EGS would not be necessary. Everybody could have employment in the formal sense of the word. However, a shelf of products like Khadi Schemes or Bidi manufacture are not being recommended in this context. The same programme with the same focus on irrigation land improvement and PWD could generate longer duration employment in a stronger base of labour organisation. Payment of advances, daily wage, food on sites, special services, all could nudge out the poor from poverty syndromes; giving them the relief they want from bondage of various kinds. The programme should take note of the feed-back and beam itself to the class of

people who have worked on the sites rather than treat them as short term relief requiring labour.

Full employment precondition for labour organisation

6.13 In a discussion of unorganised labour\* the prospects of bringing them under any kind of umbrella of legislation like Minimum Wages, the Equal Remuneration Act, Social Amenities etc., that are enjoyed by the organised labour, most labour leaders and officials expressed the view that as long as the employer (whenever his own labour fought for their rights), could hire alternate labour from the 'idle' pools, then the chances of organising rural casual labour was poor. They added that an employment guarantee by the State, even at low levels of wage, could provide the base from which this rural labour could bargain for its rights. In other words there should be no pools of idle destitute labour which can be pulled in.

6.14 This argument not only makes a case for the scheme but also a case against closing and opening of sites. It shows that the scheme can be a source of real social change, but not if it makes partial efforts. Here again there is the added case of absorbing as much of the female labour as seek work.

6.15 When male labour is not available, female labour is usually drawn in and all preconceived notions of what women cannot do are dropped. The case of Britain in the War where women took men's jobs is a case in point. But a more poignant case is that women are often hired instead of men because they are in such dire need for work. They work for lower wages and hardly make any demands. Many manufacturing concerns take female labour, in separate organisations outside their firm, to lower wage costs as well as to avoid the Factory Act. Hence, unless in planning employment the female labourers need for work is fully taken care of, the overall resolution of the problems of unorganised labour, in a 'surplus' labour economy, cannot be resolved.

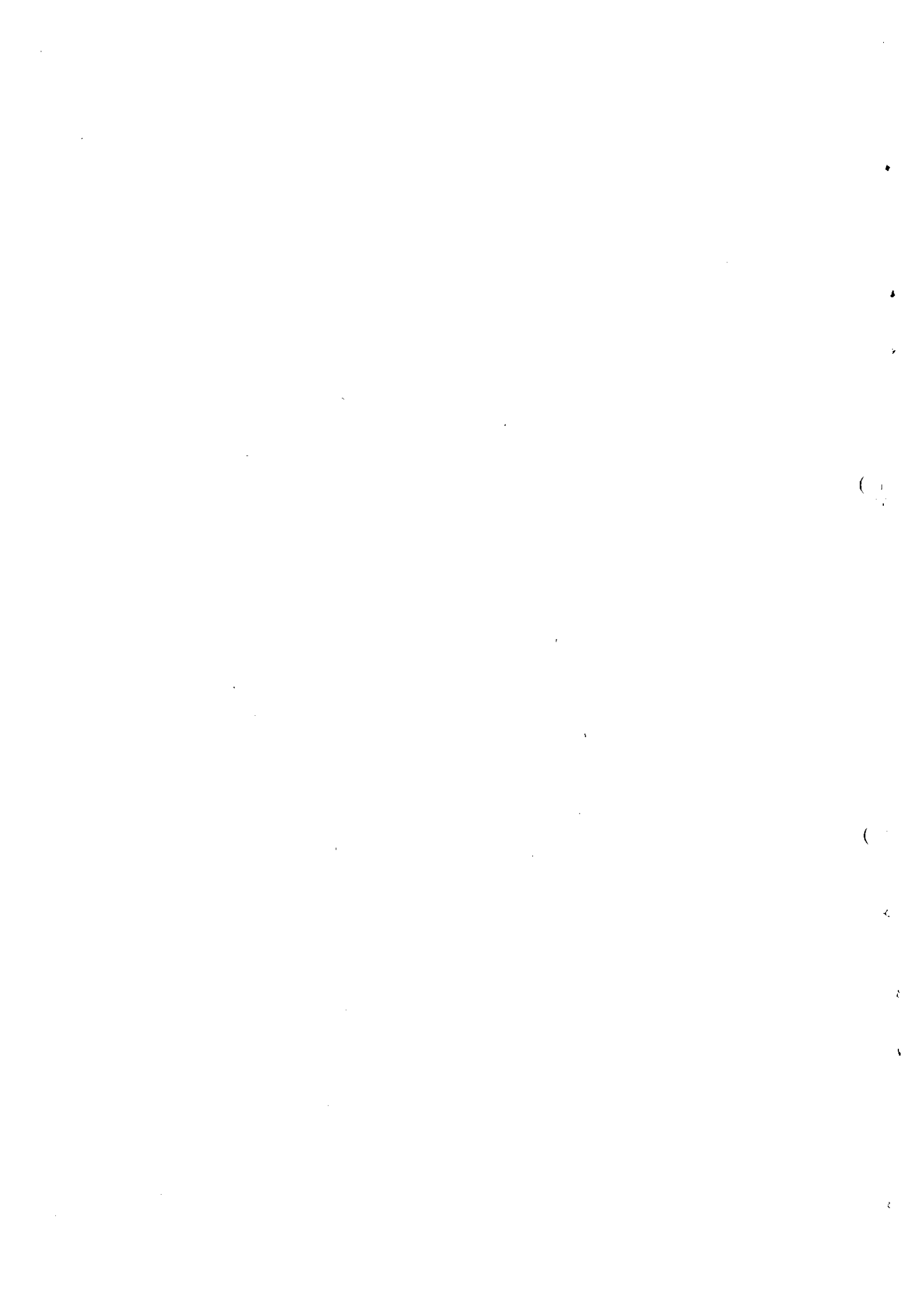
The Programmes' Role

6.16 In retrospect, a review of this programme reveals that an unemployment programme based on the public works format, but meant to supply a soft floor for the poorest and most unemployed and vulnerable section of the labour force makes an incomplete impact. It does have an element of support, at the same time its support exaggerates certain problems which are in the context of the employer/employee relationship in the rural labour market.

6.17 However, more specifically a programme of this kind can be a dynamic and radical force in reorganising the labour market, making the unorganised, assetless, casual labourers less vulnerable if it takes upon itself the task of giving this labour strength in the labour market.

6.18 This it can do if it modifies not only the duration of the employment, but the rules of its employment as well as its support to the institutional that it gives to the workers. Many of these have been included in the recommendations, but they would fall into place only if at the conception level the scheme wishes to break the existing pattern, generate mobilisation of this kind of loose labour into a force which, while providing the input to production, also develops a strength to demand and enjoy certain minimum conditions in its work life.

\* Ministry of Labour, Government of India, 1978.



IMPACT ON WOMEN WORKERS

MAHARASHTRA EMPLOYMENT GUARANTEE SCHEME

- A study

VOLUME II

Sponsored by

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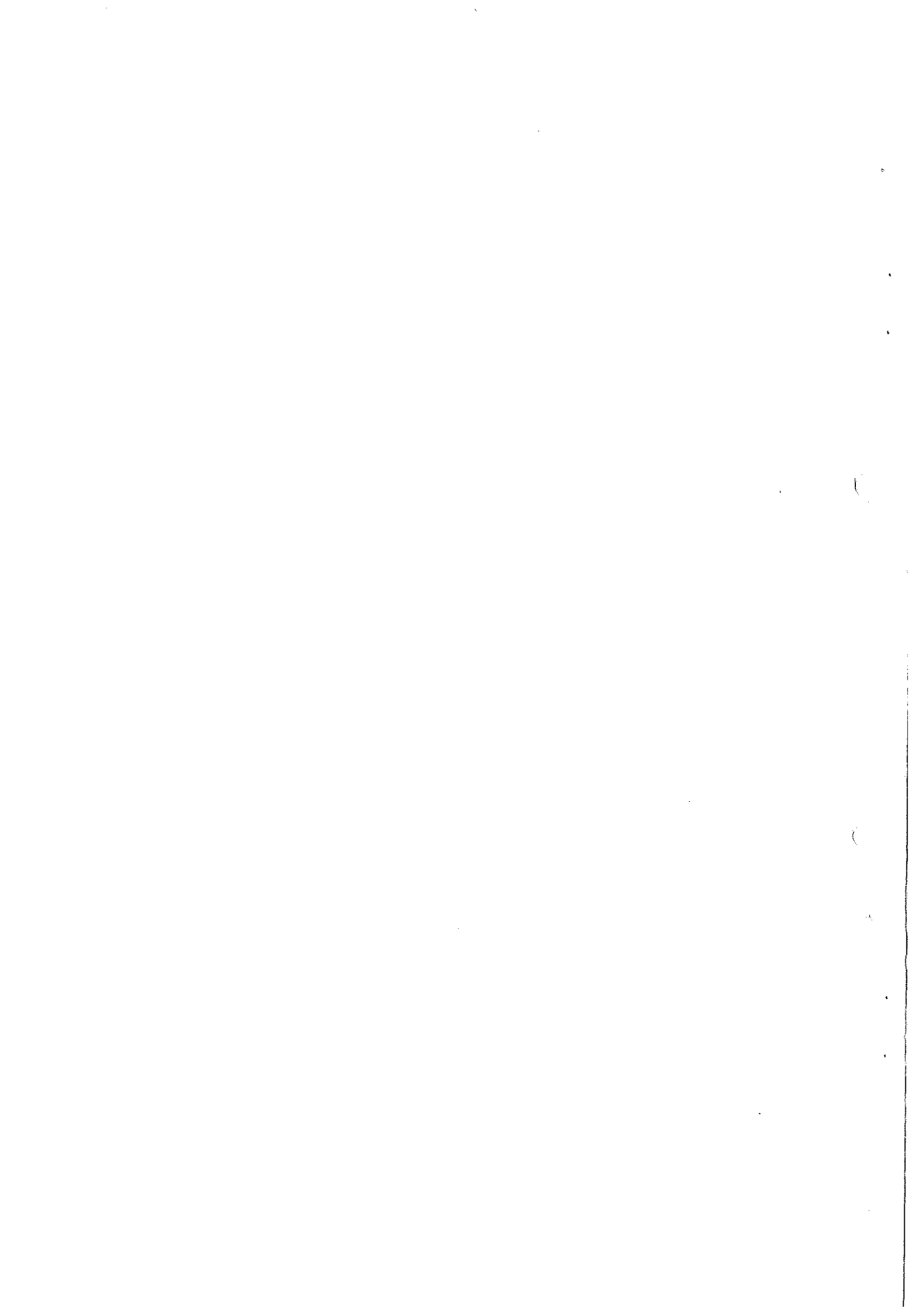
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### Aims of ILO outline

The following five aspects are proposed to be covered:

- (a) general socio-economic data on the areas covered by special public works programmes and status of the women concerned (bonded labourers, sharecroppers, tenants, agricultural workers, small landowners);
- (b) conditions of life and work of women workers engaged in public works projects:
  - the type of work required;
  - the level of wages as compared to that of men;
  - hours of work;
  - relationship to male workers and to contractors who employ them, if any;
  - problems as concerns care of children and households and its impact on the health and well-being, especially of small children, etc.;
- (c) problems of women whose male family members are engaged on public works projects:
  - security of employment;
  - the need to move from project to project, depending on the availability of work;
  - problems of women who are required to stay behind in rural areas to cultivate the land whilst their husbands work on public works projects, etc.;
- (d) the existence of formal or informal organisations representing the interests of women working on public works projects:
  - specific organisations of women, if any;
  - women's participation in mixed organisations, representing both men and women;
  - organisational links, if any, with institutions in rural areas, etc.
- (e) conclusions and recommendations to be drawn from the findings, mainly concerning advice to governments on policy measures to be taken to ameliorate the situation of such women.

Extract of letter No. WEP 2-24-A-02-1 dated 7 March 1979 from Sunil Guha, ILO, to Mrs. Devaki Jain regarding Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme - Impact on Women

I would like to caution you, however, not to overburden the final report with too much detail about organisational, planning, operational and supervision procedures of the EGS, since these aspects have already been covered in some of our earlier studies on the scheme. We would expect you to focus more on the women workers' labour time disposition pattern the extent to which family incomes have been augmented by their participation in EGS without jeopardising their own or families well-being, their attitudes towards the types of jobs offered under the EGS and productivity levels achieved by them in particular physical tasks. Any special problem for women workers resulting from prevailing recruitment or wage payment system should also be highlighted.

In the light of these broad comments, you will certainly exercise your own judgement as to which of the 86 columns can be conveniently dropped for producing a more precise report which can then be used by us for developing a set of guidelines for the employment of women workers in social labour-intensive public works programmes in general.

Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme -  
Impact on Women

A proposal

Introduction

1. In the last three decades of planning in India, several methods of providing employment to the poorest in rural areas have been tried. Despite dissimilarities of detail, several of the methods have shared a common theme - to make work available by "laying on" a public works programme in a chronic unemployment area, or an area affected by natural calamities. The impact of such programmes on short-term and long-term employment has been extensively documented and analysed.

2. However, the specific effect of such programmes on women had hitherto not been studied. There are reports that the proportion of women to the persons who avail of the employment on account of offer is as high as 60 per cent in some areas. There are other reports that women are unable to offer themselves for employment on account of constraints such as lack of institutional facilities (e.g. crèches, common stable for livestock), excessive child-bearing, domestic work, the nature of the work offered, the distance at which it is offered, the hours of the day at which it is offered, etc. Apart from the direct employment effect on women, there is the indirect effect of the employment of the men in public works schemes, on the women and children of the household. There is thus an urgent need for an evaluation of major public works schemes with a specific focus on impact on women.

3. The Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme (MEGS) of the Government of Maharashtra state in India is one of the most ambitious on-going employment programmes in the country. It is committed to providing "full employment to those who are in need and desirous of rendering manual work but do not get it anywhere".<sup>1</sup> A daily wage of approximately Rs.3 has to be ensured to the participants. The schemes on which the workers are employed must create "durable productive assets", so that the work offered is gainful to the individual as well as the community. The schemes implemented by the MEGS are labour-intensive and include minor irrigation works, land development and conservation, and road construction.

4. The MEGS, which was introduced in May 1972 but suspended during the drought period of 1972-74, was revived in 1974-75. Essentially, this is a scheme to provide unskilled manual work to those "able-bodied" adults in rural areas who cannot find employment in agricultural operations, or in any on-going plan or non-plan construction work in the block or adjoining blocks.

5. Persons willing to work under the scheme register at the village level with the village Panchayats. The guarantee of employment operates at the district level, but the Panchayat Samiti attempts to accommodate the registered working in its own area. A shelf of productive programmes and manpower requirements is prepared for each Panchayat Samiti, and a new scheme is launched wherever there are 50 persons who have registered, but cannot be found employment in existing agricultural/other operations.

6. The MEGS is implemented at the district level by the District Collector (chief government official) and directed by District and Panchayat Samiti Committees. At the state level, a committee of ministers of relevant departments co-ordinates the working of the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme.

7. In 1972-73, about 1.5 million persons were enrolled in the various districts under this scheme and employment of 4.5 million man-days was provided at a cost of Rs.1.9 crores. Since then the scheme has progressed rapidly. In the first six months of 1975-76, 640 lakh man-days of employment were generated in 25 districts of Maharashtra at a cost of Rs.15.2 crores.

8. The design and dimensions of the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme are of great significance to those interests in policy and programming for rural employment, including that for women. The positive and negative aspects of the schemes can reveal insights to government and other agencies interested in creating a full employment basic needs approach.

<sup>1</sup> Note, Planning Department, Government of Maharashtra, December 1975.

9. As suggested in paragraph 2 there is confusing evidence regarding the effect of such schemes on women. Hence in the light of the specific interest in preventing the erosion of women's economic roles in national life, and more positively to study the operations of the MEGS - the study should not only have in it quantifiable evidence of impact on participation rates, income, etc. but reveal the impressions, the experience of women belonging to these unemployed households - on work. It could reveal a good deal of information on the preferences of poor rural women in relation to work - outside work, household work, wage work (production, consumption) hours of work, place of work; their view of family work as distinct from individual work, and so on.

The 1.5 to 2 million worker families provide an important catchment of the rural poor for such socio-economic investigation.

Hence the study might attempt a "people" focus apart from a "programme" evaluation.

### Objectives

The objectives of the proposed study of the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme are to assess (a) its direct employment effects on the poorest rural women, and (b) its impact on their socio-economic condition, and (c) its indirect socio-economic impact on women who have not participated directly but whose men are participants in the scheme. Another set of objectives would be to (d) evaluate the content of the employment guarantee in relation to the felt needs of rural women; (e) identify policies, programmes and procedures of implementation which have helped or hindered women's participation in the programme; (f) analyse the factors which have contributed to the success or failure of the scheme in providing employment to rural women; and (g) assess the appropriateness of such public works schemes in generating employment for rural women in relation to other forms of employment programmes.

### Scope

(1) A socio-economic profile of the population of the project area, including classification of the population by income, occupation, caste, landholdings, demographic characteristics, etc.

(2) A detailed analysis of the operations of the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme in the study area. This would include workers registered for work, those provided with work, period of work, hours of work, wages, etc. separately for men and women. The analysis would also include non-workers, i.e. registered and those who did not register.

(3) A profile of the women workers in the project area including family size, income, earning members, education, marital status, age; problems concerning care of children and households and its impact on the health and well-being especially of small children, etc.; and relationship with non-workers, contractors, and/or project administrators.

(4) Profile and problems of women whose male family members are engaged on public works projects; family size, income, earning members, etc.; security of employment; the need to move from project to project, depending on the availability of work and problems of women who are required to stay behind in rural areas to cultivate the land whilst their husbands work on Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme projects, etc.

(5) The existence and role of formal or informal organisation representing the interests of women working on MEGS projects:

specific organisations of women, if any, women's participation in mixed organisations, representing both men and women; organisational links, if any, with institutions in rural areas, etc.

(6) Understanding and awareness of special problems and concerns for women, among those responsible for formulating/designing policy and employment projects for MEGS as well as those responsible for designing and conducting training programmes for the project administrators.

(7) Conclusions and recommendations to be drawn from the findings, mainly concerning advice to governments on policy and programme measures to be taken to ameliorate the situation of such women.

### Methodology

The survey will be conducted in four phases which include desk research, field survey, data collection and preparation of the report. A sample of 200 women participants of the MEGS and 64 non-participants in four districts of Maharashtra will be canvassed to probe the nature of employment offered and its impact on women and their households.

Phase I: Desk research (a) public works schemes in the country, (b) MEGS, (c) secondary data on employment of weaker sections of rural areas in Maharashtra, and (d) a review of previous reports, if any, on MEGS.

Phase II: Selection of sample of the four districts to be selected for the survey, three will be MEGS-intensive districts which together accounted for a substantial proportion of the outlay on the guarantee scheme in 1975-76 and 1976-77, and the other district will be selected on the basis of the limited impact of the MEGS in terms of employment generation. In addition to empirical data, recommendations of Panchayat Samitis, village panchayats, non-officials and state officials will also be considered.

A Panchayat Samiti (Block) will be selected in each of the three MEGS-intensive districts for the survey on the basis of its high share in MEGS employment generation in 1975-76 and 1976-77. Two villages will be selected in each Panchayat Samiti such that they fall in the hinterland of two on-going MEGS projects.

A two-stage stratified random sampling design will be employed to select 25 MEGS participant households and eight non-participant households from each of the two villages in the Panchayat Samiti (Block). The total sample size in each district will be 50 participant households and 16 non-participant households. The participant households<sup>1</sup> will be initially classified into those that have worked on MEGS schemes for a minimum of two years, and others. The sub-strata will be represented by the current involvement of at least one member in MEGS schemes, and others. Six households will be randomly selected from each of the four sub-stratum. For purposes of sample selection, data on MEGS participant households will be collected from the muster roles of the Panchayat Samiti.

In addition to the MEGS participant households, eight other households which have not participated in MEGS will be selected from each village. The sample will be selected randomly and will include marginal farmers who are non-participants. If the selected village lacks households that have never participated in MEGS, non-participant households from a proximate village will be selected.

With respect to the fourth district, i.e. the district in which MEGS has not played a significant role in creating employment, the selection of the Panchayat Samiti (Block) will be biased in favour of a chronic high unemployment block. Within this block, the selection of villages will be biased towards those two villages in which MEGS schemes have provided employment for at least two years. For household sample selection, the procedure will be common with the other three MEGS-intensive districts. The main focus here would be to ascertain the reasons for low impact; whether it is lack of awareness of the scheme or poor response for other reasons, or poor administration of the project.

At each stage of the sampling exercise, the suggestions of local officials and non-officials at the district and block levels and researchers in the area will be sought.

### Phase III:

(a) Round 1 of the field survey to canvass questionnaires on socio-economic characteristics of selected households and their employment patterns and to collect relevant data at the block and district headquarters.

<sup>1</sup> From among landless agricultural labour households and small households that do not have adult females will be excluded.

- (b) Mid-term review of the field survey.
- (c) Round 2 of the field observation.

Phase IV: Collection of data and preparation of the first draft of the report.

Phase V: Preparation of draft report.

Time

The study is likely to take six months to complete from the date of assignment, subject to the findings of preliminary investigations in the field. The tentative timetable is given below:

Phase I: Desk research - 4 weeks.

Phase II: Sample selection - 4 weeks (4 district headquarters and 4 block headquarters).

Phase III: (a) First round of survey of selected households.

(b) Mid-term appraisal.

(c) Second round of survey of selected households - 8-10 weeks.

Phase IV: Collation of data and preparation of draft report - 8 weeks.

Personnel

The study will be under the over-all charge of the Project Director, Mrs. Devaki Jain. The supporting staff will comprise three research associates who have experience in conducting research in rural women's employment projects, and a field investigating staff of social scientists.

All members of the project team will be involved in field investigation and analysis of data.

Budget

The estimated cost of the proposed study is Rs.48,600. The disaggregation by various heads is shown below:

	Salary scale (Rs./month)	Bill for 6 months
1. Salaries		
1 research associate	1 000	6 000
2 research associates	800	9 600
2 social scientists	750	9 000
Consultants		10 000
		<hr/> 34 600
2. Travel		7 000
3. Typing, stationery, etc.		3 000
4. Overheads (9 per cent)		4 000
Total		<hr/> 48 600 (= US\$5 720)

Project design (as modified after pilot field survey)

The Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme (MEGS) provides an unusual option to the labour force in that it guarantees demand for labour of all unemployed adult males and females, without discrimination. In effect it serves to fix the "floor" price for labour and thereby emerges as an important tool in combating destitution. It may also be compared to the unemployment dole, with the important difference that workers are compensated for productive work and not for the lack of employment.

Another unusual feature of the MEGS is the observed phenomenon of high attendance by women workers at worksites. Data for the period 1974-76 shows that women workers have accounted for over 60 per cent of total labour engaged at EGS sites in many districts. Further, according to current estimates of male-female availability for labour (as stated in the progress report), 70-80 per cent of additional employment demanded is by women. The MEGS therefore provides an actual operating market for female wage labour in which various aspects of female work participation can be studied.

Preliminary observation of the work pattern of rural labour in Maharashtra suggests that there are three important variations which affect women either directly as workers or as family members of workers, viz.:

- (i) work at Employment Guarantee Scheme sites;
- (ii) agricultural work on irrigated farm land; and
- (iii) work on migrant labour camps for labour contractors under various forms of contractual arrangements and workers' organisations. Earlier studies have shown that workers' participation in a scheme is determined to a large extent by the system by which workers are managed and organised.

In the current investigation of the impact of the MEGS on women workers, it is intended to include a comparative survey of work conditions in (ii) and (iii) above -

- (1) to understand the characteristics of female labour as perceived in response to a massive employment programme, beamed towards the poorest, least skilled component of the labour force. The Employment Guarantee Scheme, which has drawn out large numbers of women, offers a "laboratory" for those interested in understanding not only female labour supply (the response of females to the pulls of the labour market) but also those who wish to understand operational issues involved in providing productive work.
- (2) to investigate if the fact of predominance of women in the workers on sites has been given due recognition in the formulation and execution of the scheme, for example, in:
  - (a) content and nature of EGS works, e.g., physical operations involved, hours of work, grouping of workers, functioning of workers' groups, role of labour contractors or "mukadans", distance of work;
  - (b) the fixation of wage rates (reportedly a high proportion of women workers in a group tends to lower the group productivity and hence the average wage per worker);
  - (c) the provision of infrastructural support to women workers, etc.

Scope and methodology

Three districts have been selected for the survey, viz. Ahmednagar, Dhulia and Bhandara (see progress report, Phases II and III, sample selection and field survey), and together they offer a wide range of work conditions, including the three types of occupational patterns indicated earlier.

The investigation at the district collectorate level, already completed, included the collection of secondary data relating to district demographic and geographical characteristics, and especially to the implementation and performance of EGS and other public works scheme (see progress report, Phase I, desk research).

Three blocks have been tentatively selected in each district such that they capture the above variations in work patterns. Selection has been biased towards

blocks which had on-going EGS sites where attendance by female workers is high. Preliminary information about characteristics of the labour catchment will be collected at each site, e.g., cultural or ethnic composition, resource base, irrigation pattern, if any, etc.

The investigation at the site level will include a survey of:

- (i) the management system for hiring labour and the impact on attendance;
- (ii) the manner in which wages are paid;
- (iii) financial cost-benefit of the project in terms of employment generated and assets created;
- (iv) civic amenities involved for the workers;
- (v) method adopted for work scheduling based on forecasting labour attendance.

At each selected site, 25 households will be selected for detailed investigation or a total of 75 households will be surveyed in each district. In order to do this, a quick census will be conducted of all the households in the labour catchment of the selected site, so that households can be stratified on the basis of:

- economic characteristics such as assets/resources/income, etc.;
- employment characteristics such as the number of workers in the household, the participation of women in gainful work, availability of work during the year, etc.

The household population will be classified into five strata representing a variation in income, employment and demographic characteristics. A sample of five households will be selected randomly from each strata.

The selected households will be interviewed in detail with a view to investigating the nature of their participation in EGS and non-EGS employment. Appendix 7 provides the household questionnaire to be used for the household inquiry. A questionnaire to be canvassed on women workers only is found in Schedule V of Appendix 7.

The monsoon rains have caused work to cease at most of the selected EGS sites and the sites are likely to remain closed in the three monsoon months, July-September.

The final field survey at the selected sites will be launched in October 1978, when work is resumed at these sites.

Ms. Antoinette Beguin,  
Chief, Employment and Development Department,  
ILO,  
Geneva.

25 July 1978.

Impact of the Maharashtra Employment  
Guarantee Scheme on women workers

Dear Ms. Beguin,

In accordance with the requirements of the contract (dated 9.1.1978) between ILO and Mrs. Devaki Jain of the Institute of Social Studies, we are submitting a progress report on the evaluation of the impact of the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme (MEGS) on women.

As stated in the progress report, certain modifications have had to be introduced to the project design as submitted with the original proposal in response to feedback from pilot field surveys. These changes are spelt out in Appendix 5.

All exercises connected with the selection of worksites for field survey have been completed. We had expected to draw the household sample and commence detailed inquiry of households and women workers by 7 July and had hoped to conclude the first intensive phase of the field survey before the monsoons. However, our weather calculations, which were based on the "break of monsoons" data for the last two years, proved wrong. The monsoons set in early this year (see accompanying table A) and work on the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme sites has come to a virtual halt (mainly on account of the spurt in agricultural work). Also, the worksites are currently inaccessible to our investigators. The sites are likely to revive again by September when rural labour starts moving back from agriculture to public works schemes.

Investigation at the selected worksites will be resumed as soon as feasible. However, this implies that we will not be in a position to submit the first draft report until late November. We hope the changed schedule will not inconvenience your Department.

In the meanwhile, the monsoon period - July-September - is being used to collect information on alternate worksites where the EGS "labour catchment" has been absorbed. For instance, sugar plantations and irrigated farm land use a substantial account of migrant labour. This information will provide a basis for comparison of work patterns, wages, etc., in EGS and other occupations for wage labour, especially female labour.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
(Devaki Jain)

Enclosure:  
Progress report (March-June 1978)  
Appendices 1-8.

Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme: Impact on women

Progress report - April-June 1978

The Institute of Social Studies has undertaken an evaluation of the impact of the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme (MEGS) on women. Work on the study commenced in April 1978 after the elections to the State Legislative Assembly in Maharashtra.

According to the proposal submitted to the ILO, the study was to be conducted in five phases in 1978, viz.: desk research (1-30 April - Phase I); selection of sample for field survey (1 May-1 June - Phase II); field survey (1 June-1 July-30 July - Phase III); collation of data (1 July-31 August - Phase IV); and preparation of the draft report (September - Phase V).

In the period under review - April-June 1978 - Phases I and II have been completed and Phase III is in progress. Information about the MEGS has been obtained both from published sources as well as extensive interviews with officials at the state, district, block and site levels, as well as academics, social workers and political workers familiar with the MEGS, and also male and female workers engaged at EGS sites.

The progress report is given in the following pages.



Phase I: Desk research

Research was conducted at two levels, viz. the state level for macro policy and concepts, and at three district collectorates for published information on MEGS. Major evaluation reports on MEGS, both official and non-official, were also reviewed.

Briefly, the following information on MEGS has been collected from published sources:

(1) Macro aspects:

- conception and formulation of the EGS, including the passage of the relevant Bill and resolutions in the Maharashtra legislature;
- machinery for implementation of the scheme in the State and in each district;
- attendance, employment generated, public works established, expenditure incurred, etc.; and
- appraisal of performance with original objectives of the scheme.

The reports/studies consulted for collecting macro information are:

1. "Joint Evaluation of Employment Guarantee Scheme of Maharashtra" by Programme Evaluation Organisation Planning Commission, Government of India, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay, October 1977.
2. "Report of the study group appointed for assessment of additional requirements of technical staff for employment guarantee" by Government of Maharashtra, Planning Department, Sachivalaya, Bombay - 32, 29 November 1976.
3. "Rural Employment in India" by Planning Department, Government of Maharashtra, 23 September 1977.
4. "Employment Guarantee Scheme" by Government of Maharashtra, January 1975.
5. "Concept of Employment Guarantee Scheme" by V.S. Page, Chairman, Maharashtra Legislative Council.
6. "Committee for EGS", 1975-76, First Report (in Marathi) by Maharashtra Vidhan Mandal, Sachivalaya, Vidhanbhavan, Nagpur, December 1975.
7. "Committee for EGS", 1975-76, Second Report (in Marathi) by Maharashtra Vidhan Mandal, Sachivalaya, Vidhanbhavan, Bombay, 11 May 1976.
8. "Committee for EGS", 1975-76, Third Report (in Marathi) by Maharashtra Vidhan Mandal, Sachivalaya, Vidhanbhavan, Bombay, July 1976.
9. "Committee for EGS", 1975-76, Fourth Report (in Marathi) by Maharashtra Vidhan Mandal, Sachivalaya, Vidhanbhavan, Bombay 400 039, July 1976.
10. "Committee for EGS", 1977-78, Fifth Report, by Maharashtra Vidhan Mandal, Sachivalaya, Vidhanbhavan, Nagpur 400 001, October 1977.
11. "Employment Guarantee Scheme: Objectives and mechanics of implementation", by Government of Maharashtra, General Administrative Department, Resolution No. FD/EGS 1072/2-1, Sachivalaya, Bombay - 32 (DR), 28 March 1972.
12. "Pilot Employment Guarantee Scheme under Irrigated Area Development Scheme", by Government of Maharashtra, Agriculture and Co-operation Department, Resolution No. I AD/1171/432/3-R.

(2) District information

For each of the three districts selected for the field survey (see below, Phases II and III, sample selection and field survey), the information canvassed relates to block-wise data on:

- demographic characteristics viz. distribution of population by sex, rural/urban residence, incidence of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, workers in total population, etc. (1971);
- occupational pattern by sex (1971);
- geophysical characteristics and agriculture viz. geographical area, cultivated area, cropping pattern, irrigation rainfall, drought-prone pockets, etc. (1971);
- nature of public works other than EGS executed in the period 1972-77, viz. investment, employment generation, implementing machinery, etc.;
- nature of EGS works, both on-going and completed, in terms of investment, employment generation, departmental authority, time frame, etc.

The questionnaires used for data collection at the district and block level are attached (Appendices 1 and 2).

Whereas data on the demographic and geophysical variables was readily available from published sources, information with respect to public works programmes and EGS was not available in a consolidated form at the collectorate level. A directory of projects in each district has been constructed from interviews and departmental reports of the district administration.

The published sources of district level demographic and geophysical data are:

1. "Census 1971: District Census Handbook", Ahmednagar District, compiled by the Maharashtra Census Office.
2. "Census 1971: District Census Handbook", Bhandara District, compiled by the Maharashtra Census Office.
3. "Census 1971: District Census Handbook", Dhulia District, compiled by the Maharashtra Census Office.
4. District Statistical Abstract, Ahmednagar District.
5. District Statistical Abstract, Bhandara District.
6. Season and Crop Report, Ahmednagar District, 1973-74.

A review of the above documents relating to the EGS at the state district levels has highlighted certain conceptual issues, which we propose to investigate in the present survey. Firstly, data on employment/unemployment shows that there is a preponderance of adult women in the "idle" labour force, and that women account for well over two-thirds of the man-days of employment being demanded at present in Maharashtra. According to estimates of the State Department of Planning, there is a shortfall of employment of 70-100 crore man-days in 1977-78, of which women account for 50-80 crore man-days.<sup>1</sup> The current survey will attempt to investigate if the fact of women-proneness of idle workers in the State has been given due recognition in the formulation and execution of the scheme.

Secondly, the EGS, with its social contract, has the potential for socio-economic growth in rural areas. The direct contact between the State and the people through the guarantee of employment could serve as the basis of bilateral co-operation in growth of the rural economy. This survey will investigate the extent to which EGS has emerged as a focus of integrated growth of the community.

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(Footnote on p. 11.)

Specifically, the investigation would focus on issues such as:

- the potential of EGS to redistribute income;
- people's participation in decision making through EGS;
- management of natural resources through integrated EGS-cum-plan works;
- capital formation through EGS works.

Thirdly, financial resources for the MEGS are raised through two sources, viz. special taxation on certain sections of the state economy, and a matching grant from the Maharashtra Government for which there is provision in the annual state budget. The present investigation will evaluate the financial viability of the EGS, with emphasis on the scope for self-financing of the works. In this context, the extension of EGS works to privately held lands, and the financial involvement of the people themselves, will also be examined.

(Footnote from p. 10.)

<sup>1</sup> Briefly the computation of the male-female shares in currently unemployed man-days is based on the aggregation of the "availability for work" during the year by the rural population as investigated by the National Sample Survey (NSS) 27th Round (October 1972-September 1973). According to the results of this round, the availability of all rural adult males (18 years and over) for additional work in the year was 22 days, while the average availability of rural adult females already working for additional work was 64 days. Another category of rural adult females, viz. full-time domestic workers, also expressed their availability for gainful work for 104 days during the year. Converting the average per-person availability for work to total availability, the aggregate male-female availability for work is obtained, as shown in the following tabulation.

Category of worker demanding work	Average number of days during the year for which available for additional work	Total number of persons in the worker category (lakhs)	Total number of man-days of employment demanded (crores)
1. Adult male workers in the labour force	22	86.6	19.04
2. Adult females who are already engaged in gainful work	64	77.1	49.34
Total (1 + 2)			68.38
3. Adult female domestic workers engaged in domestic work who are available for gainful work	104	29.6	30.82
Total (1 + 2 + 3)			99.20
4. Availability of adult women (2 + 3) for work as a proportion of total availability of adult workers (1 + 2 + 3)			80%

Source: Based on NSS 27th Round (October 1972-September 1973).

Phases II and III

Sample selection and field survey

A four-tier sampling design has been adopted for the field survey, viz. selection of districts, blocks, sites and households.

On the basis of desk research and spot interviews with officials and academics, three districts were selected for the survey, representing a wide variation of geo-physical and cultural characteristics, level of development, urbanisation as well as progress of the EGS. Each of the selected districts falls in a different administrative division of Maharashtra. They are:

<u>District</u>	<u>Characteristics</u>
1. Ahmednagar (Poona Division)	Ahmednagar is in the rain shadow belt of the State throughout the year and is identified as a drought-prone area. The district shows one of the highest rates of attendance in the Employment Guarantee Scheme.  Ahmednagar also has blocks or subregions within it where there is sugar cultivation as well as "normally" irrigated agriculture or food crops. Therefore, wide variations in the pattern of work/employment can be found.
2. Dhulia (Bombay Division)	Dhulia, being in North Maharashtra, is near the mountains and is a predominantly tribal area. It has plantation crops which use tribal labour as well as imported labour. It is also well-known for a peasant movement by which tribes have organised themselves to claim better working conditions, etc. Hence, in Dhulia, one can again see variations in the patterns of work, as well as the variations due to tribal culture or the organisation of workers or labourers.  The attendance in Employment Guarantee Scheme works is moderate.
3. Bhandara (Nagpur Division)	Bhandara district, located on the eastern border of Maharashtra, has different economic characteristics to the rest of the State.  A block and site within these districts were investigated by the joint group of the Planning Commission and the Department of Economics and Statistics in Maharashtra (1977). These sites will be revisited to investigate more thoroughly the issues pertaining to female labour.

Selected demographic and physical characteristics of the sample districts are presented in table 1 below.

Table 1. Selected demographics and physical characteristics of sample districts

District	Adminis- trative division	Total popu- lation	Rural popu- lation	Workers in target group <sup>1</sup>	Whether drought prone	Percentage gross area irrigated to gross area sown 1968-69	Rural reads per 100 sq.km.
1	2	lakhs 3	lakhs 4	lakhs 5	6	7	8
Dhulia	Bombay	16.72	13.74	5.22	Yes	8.79	21.28
Ahmedabad	Poona	22.69	20.18	7.04	Yes	12.62	8.34
Bhandara	Nagpur	15.86	14.05	6.54	No	25.72	21.02

<sup>1</sup> "Target group" refers to agricultural labourers, cultivators, small farmers and marginal farmers.

Sources: Background Paper I, prepared for the meeting of the Chief Minister of Maharashtra with economists and social thinkers of Bombay, 27 March 1975.

Joint Evaluation of Employment Guarantee Scheme of Maharashtra, October 1977.

A summary view of the progress of EGS works in the sample districts is presented in table 2 below.

Table 2. Progress of EGS in sample districts

	Dhulia	Ahmednagar	Bhandara
No. of EGS works in progress at at 15 November 1975	190	335	50 <sup>3</sup>
Total expenditure on EGS works 1972-73 to 1975-76 (Rs lakhs)	146.62	494.03	718.85
No. of persons working on EGS works (May 1976)	37 721	78 214	46 074
Expenditure on wages to unskilled labour in 9-month period April-December 1974	10.04	113.97	29.65
Man-days of unemployment generated <sup>1</sup> in 9-month period April-December 1974	5.02	56.98	14.82
Average no. of days for which employ- ment generated by EGS for target labour force (days) <sup>2</sup>	2.0	19.1	4.5

<sup>1</sup> Man-days of employment have been based on average wage of Rs.2 per day.

<sup>2</sup> "Target" labour force refers to col. 5 of table 1.

<sup>3</sup> 31 October 1975.

Sources: Joint Evaluation of Employment Guarantee Scheme, October 1977.

Rural Employment in Maharashtra, Study Group of Estimates Committee of the Parliament, Planning Department, Government of Maharashtra, 23 September 1977 (cyclostyled).

Following the selection of districts, a pilot field survey was conducted to finalise the selection of blocks, sites and the investigative framework of the inquiry.

In the course of this survey nine EGS sites were visited, one each from Ahmednagar and Dhulia districts, and six from Aurangabad district. The district of Aurangabad, which is not included in the district sample for this study, was visited to obtain additional knowledge about the operations of the EGS at the micro-level in the State. Information relating to the sites visited during the survey is provided in Appendix 3.

At each site, free format interviews were held with the organisation staff and with workers, both male and female. The interviewees shared information on issues such as the reasons for taking up the offer of employment at the work site, the type of work performed, the organisational pattern of work, the problems encountered at work and at home, the benefits of their participation in EGS work, and the implication of the guarantee of work in their working and personal lives.

Field trials of questionnaires for site organisers and workers were also conducted.

While the field trials were in progress, the sites were visited by Devaki Jain, Director of the Institute of Social Studies. In the course of these visits, detailed discussions were held with key persons related to the scheme (itinerary of the visit and list of officials/social workers encountered is provided in Appendix 4).

The experiences gained during the field visits has necessitated a modification in both the objectives of the survey as well as in the investigative design. Certain changes have been introduced in the methodology of survey as set out in the original proposal. The final project design, as it has evolved, is presented in Appendix 5.

Some general observations on workers' participation at work sites visited during the survey are as follows.

General observations on workers' participation in EGS at work sites visited during pilot field survey

1. At the time of the visits to the EGS sites, female workers outnumbered male workers at a ratio of 3:2. Only at one site, Vari-Vadgaon-Shirdhane, which was visited at 5 p.m., were only three males present and no females. Most of the workers including female workers worked from 6 a.m. until 2 p.m. to avoid the afternoon heat.
2. Work was started on sites even when the total number of workers demanding work was less than the stipulated 50. At Arangaon in Ahmednagar district, only 15 workers had asked for work before the EGS site was activated.
3. Attendance at EGS sites fluctuated with rainfall and the consequent spurt in agricultural work (the onset of monsoon rains resulted in a sharp decline in attendance in all sites in North Ahmednagar) and also with the availability of alternative employment in the neighbourhood. In the neighbourhood of Arangaon site in the district of Ahmednagar, there is an army construction work site where the average daily wage is Rs.7. Workers who do not get work at the army worksite report for work at the EGS site.
4. Work on EGS sites was usually most intense for two-three months in the summer when agricultural labour was "idle". In general, the EGS site was active for a maximum period of five-six months during the year.
5. Most of the workers interviewed had not registered with the local village officials (viz. Gram Sevikas) and were often not aware of the necessity to register. In some areas where voluntary agencies were active, as in Virgaon in Vaijapur Taluk, social workers had encouraged workers to register at the worksite. Each worker was issued a card with a registration number, record of attendance, wages paid, etc., and was expected to have the card updated periodically.

6. Wages at EGS sites were paid piece-rate. All workers in a group were paid an average wage, regardless of sex. Wages ranged from Rs.2 to 2.60 per day, with a recorded minimum of Rs.1.30 and a recorded maximum of Rs.8. On the average, the weekly wage was approximately Rs.12 to Rs.25 per worker at the EGS sites.

Ten per cent of the wages were paid in kind, in the form of a coupon to purchase wheat at approved ration shops. However, these coupons were often not used because the shops were located at a considerable distance from the workers' home or work site, and catered to 3/4 EGS sites so that a visit to the crowded shop entailed a long wait in a queue.

7. Wages in EGS works were higher than in agricultural operations, but generally lower than in other types of work which the workers engaged in whenever available, as summarised below.

<u>Types of work in which interviewed workers engaged during the year</u>	<u>Average wage</u>	
	Male (Rs.)	Female (Rs.)
(a) EGS works	2.00 to 2.60	2.00 to 2.60
(b) Agricultural labour	1.50 to 4.00	0.75 to 2.00
(c) Plan and non-plan works (e.g. nala bunding, village tank etc.)	(maximum) 3.00 to 4.00	2.00 to 3.00
(d) Manual unskilled work for private contractors	4.00 to 4.50	2.00 to 2.50
(e) Sugar factories	Rs.10 per tonne of sugar-cane paid jointly to a husband-wife team.	

In cases where a man-woman team worked, the joint wages were paid to the man, with the exception of EGS works where each worker was paid individually. However, the women EGS interviewee reported that their men squandered a large proportion of their income on liquor, and also reduced their contribution towards household expenses when the women started earning.

8. Workers on EGS sites did not observe strict timings, although the average number of hours worked was seven to eight per day. The average working day at EGS sites extended from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.
9. In general, as in Chor-Wagalgaon in Vaijapur, male and female workers at EGS sites were paired so that there was optimum division of labour between the "heavy" and "light" components of the job work (e.g. digging by the male and carrying soil by head-load by the female). Whereas this system suited husband-wife teams who registered together, it militated against single women viz. widows, abandoned wives etc. A widow in Chor-Wagalgaon, who had been unsuccessful in joining any of the workers' groups (known as "gangs"), formed an exclusive women's gang where all work was performed by women.
10. Gang-grouping was the most common form of workers' organisation in the surveyed EGS sites. Gangs are invariably formed on a caste-wise basis and there are few instances where gangs include both "higher" and "lower" caste workers.

A "gangman" or group leader is selected by the workers to liaise with the implementing authorities, and to supervise work in the gangs. Of the EGS workers interviewed in the pilot field survey, five were gangmen, of whom one was female.

11. In eight of nine EGS sites visited, workers belonged to villages in the neighbourhood, within a radius of 10 km of the site. However in the Girija project in Khuldabad taluka in Aurangabad district, the workers were largely immigrants from distant places. The project, which has been contracted to a private party, had a fairly permanent labour force which had been brought to the site by employees of the contractor.
12. The two surveyed "feeder" villages of the EGS sites i.e. villages which provided labour to the EGS work, were lacking in certain basic infra-structural facilities. Both the villages, Viragaon (Vaijapur taluk) and Chord-Wagalgaon, (Vaijapur taluk) did not have a ration shop and villages travelled up to 20 km for purchasing rations. They did not have electricity supply. However both villages have post offices, and Viragaon is connected by metalled road to the taluk headquarters at Vaijapur.

13. Amenities at the surveyed EGS work sites provided to workers comprised the following:

Drinking water facility: was usually arranged at all sites, except at Nagar in Ahmedabad district where reportedly a private well nearby was being used. Workers were not happy with common drinking water facilities without regard to caste considerations;

Sheds: were not in evidence at any of the sites visited. At one or two sites where sheds had been constructed, the flimsy structures had collapsed soon after construction;

Medical aid: was not provided at any of the sites visited;

Creche: was provided at only one of the sites, at Ranjangaon in Gangapur taluk (Aurangabad district). An old lady had been appointed at a daily wage of Rs.3 to look after the children. She is an EGS employee.

Transport: The average distance to the work site was 5-6.5 km for the workers interviewed during the surveys. All of them walked to the site as transport had not been arranged for them. On the average they spent 1 1/2 hours walking each way.

14. At each work site there are three or four resident officials, and worker-supervisors:

One junior engineer (overseer): He prepares the weekly work schedule, formulates future work schedules on the basis of anticipated attendance, computes group productivity, calculates wages for each worker, and guides and supervises workers;

Two or three muster clerks: who work under the junior engineer, maintain daily attendance records and supervise gangs;

Gangmen: worker-leaders of groups of 10-15 workers.

In accordance with the modified Project Design (Appendix 5), three blocks and sites have been selected tentatively in each of the selected districts. On the pattern of the pilot field investigations, background data collection has been initiated at these sites too. Specifically data is being collected on the progress of public works programmes in the block, and the performance of the EGS works at the selected sites.

The next phase in the field survey is the selection and survey of households/workers associated with the EGS programme. This investigation has had to be abandoned since the first week of July because of the unexpectedly early onset of the monsoons in Maharashtra<sup>1</sup>. Work has been abandoned at the EGS sites, as there has been migration of labour in agriculture

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<sup>1</sup> Data on attendance of workers in Ahmednagar district at EGS sites for the last two years 1976-1977 and 1977-1978, showed July and August to be months of peak attendance. In both the years the monsoon set in late, mid-August, so that there was negligible demand for labour in agriculture during July and August. Consequently, EGS sites were well-attended as they provided the only viable alternative to large sections of the rural labour force.



(in kharif sowings, irrigated sugarcane plantations, etc.). Field investigation of the selected EGS sites has been suspended and is likely to be resumed only in October when a reverse post-harvesting flow starts from agriculture to EGS sites.

In the meanwhile, our field investigators have followed the labour to their agricultural occupations and will be observing their work participation in the months of August and September. Observation of the occupational alternatives - whether in agriculture, factories or EGS sites - is likely to yield a basis for cross-reference in evaluating the impact of EGS, especially on women workers.

M-1, Kanchenjunga,  
18 Barakhamba Road,  
New Delhi.

7 February 1979.

Dear Madam Beguin,

Maharashtra Employment Generation Scheme:  
Impact on women

I am enclosing a progress report on Phase III of our study of workers on the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Sites. As we explained to you in our letter dated 25.7.78, due to monsoons the work on the sites began late so our field work was possible only in November/December.

We are now collating the data and finalising the report, which we hope to submit before 15 March.

According to the proposal, Phase III of the report was to complete field survey and collation of data and Phase IV was to be the final preparation of the report.

I propose to collapse these two phases and submit the final report at the latest by 15 March. However, we are running short of funds, so I would be grateful if you could deem the enclosed report on the field survey, and the Annexure giving the other areas of data collection covered, as the report on Phase III and kindly release the next instalment of the funds due to us - namely the third instalment of Rs.12,500 - at your earliest convenience.

Best regards and looking forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

(Devaki Jain)

Madam Beguin,  
Employment and Development Department,  
International Labour Organisation,  
CH-1211,  
Genève 22,  
Switzerland.

Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme:  
Impact on women

Progress report

August 1978-January 1979 (6 months)

At the commencement of the period under review, viz. August 1978-January 1979, three phases of the survey of the EGS remained. They were (i) field survey, (ii) collation of data, and (iii) preparation of draft report.

The field survey was conducted in three districts of Maharashtra, viz. Ahmednagar, Bhandara and Dhulia, between 13 November and 26 December. The total number of work sites/villages at which the field survey was conducted were 12, of which two are exclusively EGS work sites. At two other survey sites EGS work was available for some months in the preceding three-year period but no work is currently available under EGS. Eight of the selected sites are those where there are on-going EGS works in progress. However, even at these sites the respondents or members of their households tended to mix EGS work with other "usual status" occupations such as contract labour in Bidi manufacturing or attached agricultural labour.

Table 1 summarises the field survey design. Table 2 presents the combinations of respondent's occupation and occupation of the head of the household obtained under the stratification design employed in the selection of sample. Table 3 provides a list of column heads being used in tabulations of primary data.

Table I: The field survey design

District	Block	Work category at surveyed site	Feeder villages (dates of survey)	No. of interviews		No. of respondents by EGS/non-EGS occupations		
				Household	Respondents	Present	Usual status	Whether EGS work in past
Bhandara,	Sakoli	EGS works percolation tank	Lakheri (14-21 Dec.78)	46	46	Agricultural labour	Agricultural labour and Bidi	Yes
	Saleksha	EGS works percolation tank	Kawadi (14-21 Dec.78)	28	28	EGS (to be completed soon)	Casual agricultural labour and Bidi*	Yes
Dhulia,	Shahada	EGS works road work at Katharde-Parivardha	Katharde (14-21 Nov.78)	11	11	EGS work	Casual** agricultural labour	No
			Parivardha (14-21 Nov.78)	22	22	EGS work	Casual** agricultural labour and one non-worker	Yes
		EGS works road work Vaijali-Karmadi	Karnakhed (14-21 Nov.78)	6	6	EGS work	Casual** agricultural labour	Yes
			Vaijali (14-21 Nov.78)	1	1	EGS work	Casual agricultural labour	Yes

\* Respondents household has some attached agricultural labourers.

\*\* One respondent was attached labour engaged in household work at the landlord's house.

Table I (cont.)

District	Block	Work category at surveyed site	Feeder villages (dates of survey)	No. of interviews		No. of respondents by EGS/ non-EGS occupations		
				Household*	Respondents*	Current	Usual status	Whether EGS work in past
Ahmeda-nagar	Parner	EGS works percolation tank (Razangaon Mashidiehe)	Razangaon Mashidiehe (24 Nov.78 to 2 Dec.78)	16 (+15)	16 (+15)	EGS work	Casual agricultural labour and participation in subsistence agriculture	Yes
			Astegaon (24 Nov.78 to 2 Dec.78)	3 (+4)	3 (+4)	EGS work	Casual agricultural labour and participation in subsistence agriculture	Yes
			Pimpri Gowli (24 Nov.78 to 2 Dec.78)	1 (+1)	1 (+1)	"	"	Yes
	Rahun	EGS works Nala bunding (Palwe-Budruk)	Palwe-Budruk (June-July 78)	3 (+3)	3 (+3)	EGS work	"	No
		Migrated wage labour in sugarcane plantations	Rahun (interviews in sugarcane fields)	15	15	Wage labour in sugarcane plantations	Wage labour in sugarcane plantations and/or agricultural as also subsistence agriculture	No
			Interview at night camp (14 Nov.78 to 2 Dec.78)	8	8	- do -	- do -	No

\* Figures in parentheses indicate no. of interviews conducted during pilot field survey in June-July 1978.

Table 2: Respondent's occupation

Occupation of  
head of household \*

EGS	EGS + Bidi	EGS + sugarcane	Bidi (Non- EGS)	Sugarcane (non-EGS)	Other worker (non-EGS non-sugarcane non-Bidi)	Non-worker
EGS						
EGS+Bidi						
EGS+Sugarcane						
Bidi (non-EGS)						
Sugarcane (non-EGS)						
Other worker (non-EGS)						
Other worker (non-EGS)(non- Bidi)						

\* Head of household refers to the dominant contributor to family income other than the female respondent.

Table 3: List of column heads in tabulations generated by the field survey questionnaire

	<u>Column No.</u>	<u>Item</u>
	1	Serial No.
	2	Name of respondent
	3	Marital status
	4	Age
	5	Relationship to head of household
	6	Caste
	7	Family size
	8	Education
	9	Land
Ownership assets	10	Livestock and poultry
	11	Ownership of house
	12	Whether prepared to leave house
	13	Outstanding debt
	14	Source of borrowing
	15	Reason for borrowing
	16	Ages
	17	Education
	18	Sex
	19	Present occupation
	20	Occupation during last year (months)
	21	Traditional occupation
	22	EGS participation
	23	When
	24	For how many months
	25	Average daily income by occupation
	26	Total family income including respondent
	27	Present occupation

	<u>Column No.</u>	<u>Item</u>
Respondent	28	Gainful occupation in last year (months)
	29	Reasons for not working
	30	Domestic
Time disposition	31	Gainful
	32	When
EGS	33	For how many months
	34	Average daily income
	35	When
Bidi	36	For how many months
	37	Average daily income
	38	When
Cane	39	For how many months
	40	Average daily income
	41	Whether received coupons in payment
	42	Distance to grain shop; whether purchase grain
	43	If yes, whether consume or sell
	44	In payment preference for cash or kind
	45	Food
	46	Clothing
	47	Medicine
	48	Livestock
Income allocation	49	House repair
	50	Food household/respondent
	51	Health
Impact	52	Clothing
	53	Size of gang
Group formation	54	No. of females
	55	Basis of group formation
	56	Whether registered ; if yes on whose advice
	57	Lapse of time in obtaining job after registration

<u>Column No.</u>	<u>Item</u>	
58	Method of obtaining EGS job in that registration	
59	Awareness of different wages for different jobs	
60	Awareness of work schedule	
61	Awareness of equal Remuneration Act	
62	Is EGS more laborious for women? Reasons	
63	Is Bidi more laborious for women? Reasons	
64	Is cane more laborious for women? Reasons	
65	Enrolment of new workers	
66	Enrolment of new female workers	
Attitude of Master clerk/ Engineer Contractor/ Thekedar	67	Response to complaints made
	68	Measurement of work
	69	Payment of wages
	70	Making job permanent
	71	Treatment towards scheduled caste workers
	72	Treatment towards women workers
	73	Source of conflict if any
	74	Existence of workers organisations. If yes which
	75	Reasons for working on EGS
	76	Reasons for not working on EGS
	77	Desired amenities in EGS
	78	Desired amenities in Bidi
	79	Desired amenities in Cane
Select demographic details	80	Age of marriage
	81	No. of live births male/female
	82	No. of children male/female
	83	Whether practice family planning
Select parameters of status	84	Husbands consumption of liquor
	85	Beating by husband
	86	Family matters



Sampling methodology

The field survey of women workers conducted in the Course of the present study of the Maharashtra employment guarantee scheme was carried out in two phases, (a) pilot field survey and (b) formal field survey.

(a) Pilot field survey

The pilot field survey, which was conducted in April 1978 and June 1978 was undertaken to finalise the investigative framework of the study. Three districts were visited, Aurangabad (six sites), Ahmednagar (two sites), and Dhulia (one site), the selection of the districts, and within them the sites, was based on discussions with officials, academicians, social workers and other involved in the formulation and implementation of the MEGS as also on a review of a few analytical reports on the Scheme.

The discussions and desk research crystallised some themes related specifically to the participation of women of the poorer rural households in MEGS. The three districts displayed a variation in key variables that had a direct bearing on "women's" questions.

In the course of the pilot field survey 57 workers at EGS sites were interviewed, including 51 females and 6 males. The sample was selected randomly. The interviews were informal and free-format, although the questions were based largely on the questionnaires, prepared for the field survey. This provided an opportunity for field-testing the questionnaires and modifying the schedules on the basis of feed back from the field.

(b) Formal field survey

Following the pilot field survey the formal field survey design was recast. This design was based on a modification of the original sampling design as presented in the proposal (submitted to ILO in December 1977) incorporating the "new" directions of the major work options open to women of the target group of the rural population. The work options were EGS work, wage work on sugar plantations and household manufacturing of bidi on piece rate basis.

In the recast field survey design, a 4-stage sampling frame was used viz. (a) selection of districts, (b) selection of blocks/tehsils, (c) selection of sites and (d) selection of respondents, whereas the four tiers of the sampling frame coincided with the sampling framework postulated in the original proposal, the selection criteria for selection of blocks, sites and households were amended in the recast sampling design. Criteria of district selection, however, remained unchanged. Sampling methodology at each stage is summarised below:

District selection: The State of Maharashtra comprises five regions which are homogenous in respect of socio-political-economic characteristics. Administratively, these regions are grouped into four divisions:

<u>Region</u>	<u>Administrative division</u>
Western Maharashtra	Poona and Bombay divisions
Konkan	Bombay division
Khandesh	Bombay division
Marathwada	Aurangabad division
Vidarbha	Nagpur division

Three of the administrative divisions, Poona, Bombay and Nagpur represent a wide variation in agro-climatic features such as drought proneness, development of infrastructural facilities that affect both the nature of EGS works which can be established<sup>1</sup> as well as worker-attendance at EGS sites. These three divisions were selected for the field survey.

Within each division one district was selected in a manner that the three selected districts together represented a variation in agro-climatic features as well as variables such as the outlay on and number of EGS works undertaken, attendance at EGS sites and some indices of economic development. An additional criterion used in the selection of districts was the existence of large pools of female workers who were engaged on a regular basis in an income generating activity for a major part of the year.

Tables 1, 1A and 2 present some demographic-cum-physical features of the selected districts, as also the progress of the EGS in each district.

In Dhulia district there appears to be a correspondence between drought proneness of a district and cumulative expenditure on EGS works. The blocks that are drought-prone were severely affected by drought in 1977-78, and have recorded a high cumulative expenditure on EGS works are Sakri and Dhulia (both high EGS expenditure blocks), and Nundurbar (medium EGS expenditure block). Of these blocks Sakri block has a predominant female participation in migratory labour on sugarcane farms. On the basis of a qualitative assignation of weights to the multiple criteria of magnitude of EGS expenditure and severity of drought, two blocks were selected, viz. Sakri and Sinkhede. Dhulia block was rejected on account of its having the district headquarters which was considered to distort the normal incidence of EGS works. The selection of Sinkhede in preference to Nundurbar was based on the declaration of Sinkhede as a severely drought-hit block in summer 1978 followed by the proposal of the district authorities to initiate several EGS works on the block.

For the third block in Dhulia district a departure from the above selection criteria was made in view of a unique peasant movement in Shahada block, where rural workers have demanded and obtained higher wages. The block is predominantly tribal where women have displayed a certain boldness and lack of inhibition in their personal lives, as well as in their dealings with landlords in the area.

The three selected districts also display a variation in the proportional distribution of types of work undertaken in the EGS; table 2 (cols. 2 and 3) provides evidence of a disparity in the average size of EGS works in terms of outlay, being higher in Bhandara and least in Dhulia.

Each selected district has a different unit of EGS works, usually with a preponderance of one or two categories. This is reflected in the wage component of the EGS investment outlay, as summarised in table 3.

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<sup>1</sup> For example in hilly tribal tracts of Bombay division road construction is the most common type of EGS work, while in the drought prone areas of Poona division minor and medium irrigation works are commonly taken up under the EGS.

Table 1: Selected demographic, employment and physical characteristics of sampled districts

District	Adminis- trative division	Total popu- lation 1971 Census (lakhs)	Rural popu- lation 1971 Census (lakhs)	Workers in tar- get * group (lakhs)	Activity in which regular employment of pool of female workers	Whether drought prone area	Percentage of of gross irrigated area to gross area, sown 1968-69	Rural roads per 100 sq. km
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Dhulia	Bombay	15.74	13.74	5.22	Migratory labour on sugarcane farmers	Yes	8.79	21.28
Ahemadnagar	Poona	22.69	20.18	7.04	Migratory labour on sugarcane farms	Yes	12.62	8.34
Bhandara	Bombay	19.71	16.42	6.24	Biñi rolling	No	6.54	2.08

\* Note: Target group includes those persons in the rural population whose usual status is agricultural labourer, marginal and small farmer.

Source: Cols. 3, 4, 5: Annexure 1, Background paper I, Employment Guarantee Scheme 27.3.1975.  
Col. 6: ISS Field Survey.  
Col. 7: Table 2.15, Joint Evaluation of Maharashtra EGS of PEO, Planning Commission and Planning Department of Government of Maharashtra.  
Cols. 8 and 9: 2.2 as above.

Table 1A: Major crops and agricultural seasons in selected districts

District	Paddy		Bajra		Jawar		Wheat		Sugarcane		Groundnut	
	K	R	K	R	K	R	K	R	K	R	K	R
Dhulia			/		/	/		/	/	/	/	
Ahmednagar						/		/	/	/	/	/
Bhandara	/	/				/		/				/

K: Kharif June-July to November-December

R: Rabi August-September to February-March

Note: Sugarcane is grown throughout the year.

Groundnut in Ahmednagar is grown between April to June-July and June -October.

Source: ISS Field Survey.

Table 2: Progress of EGS in sampled districts

District	No. of EGS works in progress as on 15.11.75	Expenditure incurred during 1975-76 (Rs.Lakhs)	Total expenditure on EGS works 1972-73 to 1975-76 (Rs.Lakhs)	No. of persons working on EGS works May 1976	Expenditure on wages to unskilled labour in 9 month period April 1974-Dec.74	Man-days of employment generated in 9 month period April 1974-Dec.74*	Average No. of days for which employment generated by EGS for target labour force**
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Dhulia	190	122.50	156.62	37 721	10.04	5.02	2.0
Ahmednagar	335	283.55	494.03	78 214	113.97	56.98	19.1
Bhandara	50	527.45	718.85	46 074	29.65	14.82	4.5

(on 31.10.75)

\* Man-days of employment have been based on average wage of Rs, 2/- per day.

\*\* "Target" labour force refers to column 5 table 1.

Source: For cols. 2, 3, 4: Statement No. 7, Joint Evaluation of Employment Guarantee Scheme of Maharashtra, PEO of Planning Commission and Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Maharashtra.

For. col. 5: Statement 8 as above.

For cols. 6, 7, 8: Rural Employment in Maharashtra, Study Group of Estimates Committee of the Parliament, Planning Department, Govt. of Maharashtra, 23.9.77 (cyclostyled).

Table 3: Wages component in EGS investment in the three sample districts

	<u>District</u>		
	Dhulia (a)	Ahmednagar (b)	Bhardana (c)
Total expenditure on EGS 1976-77 (Rs. lakhs)	162.2	459.4	316.6
Wages 1976-77 (Rs. lakhs)	126.7	287.7	221.7
Wages percentage of expenditure 1976-77	78	63	70
Medium irrigation (canals)	67	91	
Minor irrigation works			43
Percolation tank	46	223	
Village tank		18	
List irrigation		1	1
Nala bunding		146	
Soil conservation	19		
Forest works		38	
Road works	159	8	
Kharland development			
Flood control			
Rural housing			
Work in "C" class municipalities			
Others			1
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>291</b>	<b>525</b>	<b>45</b>

Percentage expenditure on different categories of EGS works in selected districts in 1976-77  
percentage expenditure on:

District	Irrigation	Soil conservation and land development	Road works	Other	Total
Dhulia	24.4	41.8	21.2	12.6	100
Ahmednagar	77.4	20.2	0.3	2.1	100
Bhandara	61.9	26.6	3.6	7.9	100

Source: Planning Department, Government of Maharashtra,  
Courtesy Shri V.V. Karjatkar (Assistant Manpower Officer)  
21 September 1977.

Block selection

Three blocks were to be selected from each district under the modified sampling design, on the basis of four criteria (viz. magnitude of expenditure on EGS 9 cumulative) as well as in the year 1977-78, drought-proneness, extent of drought in 1977-78 and existence of large pools of women in a regular or semi-regular income generating activity. It was proposed to distribute the sample across the districts in a manner that the selected blocks included one block which was severely drought prone in 1977-78, one block which had a high cumulative expenditure on EGS works in the foregoing years and one where women had a dominant and identifiable non-EGS source of income.

Investigations at the district level revealed the following details about blocks in each district in respect of the variables listed earlier:

Table 4: Dhulia district - block-wise selected characteristics of drought - proneness, EGS works and female employment

District	Drought prone blocks	Blocks with severe drought in 1977-78	EGS works				Blocks with a dominant non-EGS activity in which females are engaged regularly	
			Block	Completed works as in Mar.'78 Nos.	Works in progress in Mar.'78 Nos.	Cumulative expenditure on EGS works 1972-73 to 1977-78 Rs. '000		
Dhulia	Dhulia	Dhulia	Dhulia	179	26	7 822	Sakri and Shahada: migratory labour on sugarcane farms	
	Sakri	Sakri	Sakri	196	181	11 442		
	Sinkhede	Sinkhede	Sinkhede	118	30	2 492		
	Nundurbar	Nundurbar	Nundurbar	Nundurbar	131	46		3 558
				Shirpur	156	203		3 784
				Nawapur	335	79		3 875
				Talode	46	31		2 124
				Shahada	131	123		1 991
			Akkal-kuwe	1	2	266		
			Dhadgaon	9	3	578		

Source: EGS Department, Office of the District Collector, Dhulia, November 1978.

In Dhulia district there appears to be a correspondence between drought proneness of a district and cumulative expenditure on EGS works. The blocks that are drought-prone were severely affected by drought in 1977-78, and have recorded a high cumulative expenditure on EGS works, are Sakri and Dhulia (both high EGS expenditure blocks), and Nundurbar (medium EGS expenditure block). Of these blocks Sakri block has a predominant female participation in migratory labour on sugarcane farms. On the basis of a qualitative assignation of weights to the multiple criteria of magnitude of EGS expenditure and severity of drought, two blocks were selected, viz. Sakri and Sinkhede. Dhulia block was rejected on account of its having the district headquarters which was considered to distort the normal incidence of EGS works. The selection of Sinkhede in preference to Nundurbar was based on the declaration of Sinkhede as a severely drought-hit block in summer 1978 followed by the proposal of the district authorities to initiate several EGS works on the block.

For the third block in Dhulia district a departure from the above selection criteria was made in view of a unique peasant movement in Shahada block, where rural workers have demanded and obtained higher wages. The block is predominantly tribal where women have displayed a certain boldness and lack of inhibition in their personal lives, as well as in their dealings with landlords in the area.

Data on the number of works in progress was not considered as a variable for block selection. There appeared to be a lack of correspondence between the number of completed works and the cumulative expenditure incurred on EGS works. The disparity between Sakri and Nawapur blocks in this respect is illustrative of this. Our investigations showed that where a block had a high number of completed EGS works against low cumulative expenditure, the works were often short-term, providing employment for only two weeks to two months at a time. For the present investigation the selection was biased in favour of those works which had long-term EGS works and were therefore semi-permanent sources of employment.

Table 5: Ahmednagar district: Selected block-wise characteristics of drought-proneness, EGS works and female employment

District	Blocks with drought conditions in 1977-78	Block-wise average rainfall (1972-73 to 1975-76) (mm)	Outlay on EGS works			Blocks with a dominant non-EGS activity in which women engage regularly	
			Expenditure incurred in 1974-75 Rs. '000	Expenditure incurred in 1976-77 Rs. '000	Cumulative expenditure in period 1974-75 to 1976-77 Rs. '000		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Ahmednagar	Nagar	Akola	457.0	4 094	2 671	9 864	Rahuri: migratory labour on sugarcane farms (immigrants) Shivrapur  - do - Kopergaon: agricultural labour on irrigated farms
	Rahuri	Rahuri	474.0	1 072	3 867	8 000	
	Parner	Sangamner	345.0	781	4 324	7 229	
	Shivgaon	Newasarsar	534.0	735	2 798	5 220	
	Newasa	Alagar	514.0	5 449	4 834	14 627	
	Shrirampur	Pathardi	550.0	1 107	3 594	7 367	
	Kopergaon	Shrigonda	470.0	976	4 234	7 903	
		Karjat	569.0	1 145	4 719	8 833	
		Jamshed	652.0	1 165	3 141	5 662	
		Parner	507.0	1 296	4 715	9 203	
		Shrirampur	345.0	456	671	1 959	
		Kopergaon	442.0	673	1 108	2 509	
		Shivgaon	628.0	730	3 306	8 988	

Source: For col. 3: District Agricultural Officer, Ahmednagar.

For cols. 4, 5, 6: EGS Department, Office of the District Collector, Ahmednagar.

For col. 2: Annewari data on area under cultivation in rabi and kharif in 1977-78, ranked according to severity of drought in 1977-78.

Courtesy: District Agricultural Officer, Ahmednagar.

For col. 7: ISS Field Survey.



In order to select blocks which satisfied the twin criteria of drought proneness and high expenditure on EGS works, the two sets of data on average rainfall and cumulative expenditure on EGS works were examined. A review of the data showed that there was no significant association between rainfall and cumulative expenditure on EGS works in the three-year period, 1974-75 to 1976-77.<sup>1</sup> The lack of coincidence in the two variables led to the inference that either deficient rainfall was not a determinant of the declaration of a block as drought-prone, or that drought and magnitude of expenditure on EGS works were not closely associated in Ahmednagar district. As an alternative, the Annewari data on the distribution of villages by the extent of area under cultivation was used. This data appeared to provide more accurate information on the current state of drought proneness and thereby indicated the scarcity pockets in which labour would be most needy in terms of employment opportunities for wage labour. Of the seven drought-prone blocks in 1977-78, identified on

Block	Cumulative expenditure on EGS works Rs. '000	Average rainfall mm
Nagar	14 627	514
Akola	9 864	457
Parner	9 203	507
Karjat	8 833	569
Rahuri	8 000	474
Shrigonda	7 903	470
Pathardi	7 367	550
Sangamner	7 229	345
Jamkhed	5 662	652
Newasa	5 220	534
Shevgaon	4 988	628
Kopergaon	2 509	442
Shrirampur	1 959	628

the basis of Annewari data,<sup>2</sup> two blocks, viz. Kopergaon and Shrirampur were among the most highly irrigated blocks in the State (percentage of gross irrigated area to cultivated area (Census 1971) was 56.04 per cent for Kopergaon and 55.3 per cent for Shrirampur compared to - so for Ahmednagar district as a whole). In the ranking by cumulative expenditure on EGS works (1974-75 to 1976-77) these two blocks rank last in the district, leading to a tentative inference that occasional drought conditions in highly irrigated blocks might not lead to a compensatory increase in EGS works.

<sup>1</sup> Ranking of blocks in Ahmednagar district by cumulative expenditure on EGS works (1974-75 to 1976-77) and corresponding average rainfall data.

<sup>2</sup> Annewari data is compiled at the Panchayat Samiti level on the basis of Patwari records for each village in respect of area under cultivation in each Rabi and Kharif season. The records are available with a lag of one agricultural season.

Nagar and Parner blocks appeared to satisfy two criteria viz. drought conditions in 1977-78 as well as high cumulative expenditure on EGS works (1974-75 to 1976-77). However, Nagar block was rejected on account of its "urban characteristics" and special conditions introduced by its position as the district headquarters. Parner block was selected field survey.

For the other two blocks in Ahmednagar district it was decided to use criteria not related to EGS on account of the importance and significance of non-EGS employment for women in the district. Rahuri block, which is also a highly irrigated block (38 per cent gross irrigated area as a proportion of cultivated area), has intensive sugarcane cultivation in which hired migratory labour from adjoining blocks participates. Since almost half this labour is constituted of women, Rahuri block was selected for field survey.

In order to capture dominant activity in which women engage in Ahmednagar district, agricultural labour on irrigated farms, Kopergaon block was selected.

#### Bhandara district

Block-wise information on the progress of EGS in Bhandara district was not available in a form comparable to the consolidated information available at the district headquarters in Dhulia and Ahmednagar. Each implementing authority, such as the Executive Engineer's office in the PWD, Soil Conservation Officer, Divisional Forest Officer and divisional authorities in charge of minor and medium irrigation, maintained their own records of the works started under EGS. Given the constraints of field staff and time, this information was not compiled to provide a comprehensive picture of the EGS in Bhandara district.

The absence of block-wise information on EGS hampered a comparative review with the other two selected districts Dhulia and Ahmednagar. However, in respect of block selection the major criterion of selection in this case was coincidence with the survey conducted by the Joint Evaluation Team of PEO and the Planning Department of the Government of Maharashtra. This team had visited two blocks, viz. Sakoli and Salekasa in Gondia tehsil. Both blocks were re-selected for the present survey. At each of the villages or EGS sites selected for this survey, it was attempted to select those households which had been selected during the earlier survey. Here it was found that some of the households which had reported EGS as their dominant occupation and had been selected on that basis by the Joint Evaluation Team had by now moved away from EGS work and were, at the time of the present survey, engaged in agriculture and allied occupations, or in salaried rural employment. In the case of women of these households the shift had often been from EGS work to Bidi rolling.

For the third block in Bhandara district Derari block was selected on the basis of knowledge of the high expenditure on EGS as gathered from discussions with district officials.

#### Reduction in size of block sample

Thus in each of the selected districts, Dhulia, Ahmednagar and Bhandara, three blocks were selected on the basis of criteria mentioned earlier. However, certain external conditions made it necessary to scale down the sample size at the level of block selection. The major consideration was the unavailability of an adequate number of qualified investigators on account of the preoccupation with examinations of graduate students in November-December 1978 of the Tirpude College of Social Works, Nagpur, Poona University, Poona and Centre for Studies in Rural Development, Ahmednagar College, Ahmednagar. At certain stages of the field survey, as in mid-November 1978 there was an acute scarcity of investigators due to the disruption of normal state transport services due to the imminent arrest of prominent politicians. This affected female investigators in particular, since they feared being stranded in remote villages.

Reviewing the situation in the context of the limited field staff and the time constraints it was decided to confine the field survey to one EGS/intensive block in each selected district plus one other block with a dominant non-EGS

category of women's employment, if such a block existed. In the final selection, the following blocks were included in the field survey:

<u>District</u>	<u>Initially selected blocks</u>	<u>Finally selected blocks</u>
Dhulia	Sakri, Shinkhede, Shahada	Shahada
Ahmednagar	Parner, Rahuri, Kopergaon	Parner, Rahuri
Bhandara	Sakoli, Salekasa, Devari	Sakoli, Salekasa

#### Site selection

Sites for field survey were to be selected with a view to capturing a variation in the major work options open to women in the poorest sections of the rural population in the selected blocks. The work options relevant to women workers were: work on EGS projects, migratory wage labour on sugarcane plantations and household manufacturing of Bidi for private contractors.

Investigation of conditions in the field in the selected works in November 1978 suggested that in most areas of the selected blocks, women workers generally engaged in at least two income earning occupations during the year on a usual status basis. For example, the common work combinations were casual agricultural labour plus work at EGS sites or agricultural labour plus work on sugarcane farms, or bidi rolling plus agricultural labour. The meshing of multiple occupations seemed to be the standard pattern of work for females and to a certain extent, for males. This resulted in the adoption of less strict criteria for site selection such that the quest was not for identifying an exclusively "EGS site" or "bidi site", but to select sites where the dominant occupation of female workers, either in the present or recent past, was EGS/Bidi rolling/migratory wage work in sugarcane cultivation..

On the basis of information collected from blocks headquarters in respect of on-going EGS works,<sup>1</sup> and information regarding the location of other non-EGS pools of female labour, seven sites were selected in the five blocks. The selected sites were either actual work sites as in the case of on-going EGS works, or actual labour camps as in sugarcane plantations or villages in which work is in the household as in Bidi rolling, or feeder villages which had supplied workers to any of these work projects. Although each of the selected sites had a preponderance of the three work categories mentioned above, women workers at three sites also commonly appeared to engage in other work categories.

Consequent on the mixed pattern of work it was found necessary to extend the scope of the field investigation from the "special interest" occupational category prevalent at a site (whether EGS work, Bidi rolling or migratory labour on sugarcane farms) to other occupations in which women engaged on a usual status basis. As most of the workers at selected sites seemed to have engaged in EGS works on a sporadic basis, this wider investigative frame appeared specially relevant to capturing the true nature of their participation in EGS works.

#### Respondent selection

Under the recast sampling design it was proposed to select 25 female respondents at each site on the basis of classificatory variables that would help analysis of the labour supply behaviour of women workers of the bottom derile of the rural population, particularly in respect of their participation in wage work on EGS sites. The variables to be used included caste/resource base of the household, age, marital status, family size, dependency ratio in the household, types of wage/non-wage work performed by the female.

For a primary stratification of the population according to variables, it was proposed to conduct a quick census of households in the study area. The shortage of qualified investigators made it impossible to conduct such a census.

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<sup>1</sup> Detailed schedule of EGS works in progress in selected works are provided in the statistical appendix.

As a substitute two sources of information were used for the preliminary classification exercise. These were the Muster Rolls of EGS workers maintained by private contractors. Information available from these registers was supplemented by discussions with village officials such as the workers of the Revenue Department, extension workers. These interviews were held as preparatory to the scan of the muster rolls and were in the nature of qualitative probes of the cultural, ethnic and occupational characteristics of the population at the selected site (or feeder villages).

On the basis of the details available in the muster female respondents were selected such that they represented a variation in the following variables: caste, age, marital status, landholding of the household, and occupational categories.

Conditions in the field caused modifications in the proposed sample size of 25 respondents at each work site. Among the factors which caused unevenness in the sample canvassed at each selected site were the variety of occupational combinations represented at a particular site, the actual attendance at EGS sites, or the size of workers groups as at sugarcane sites.

A small sample of non-working women was also taken at several of the selected sites. For this selection, the muster records provided a basis of elimination. In other words, women who had worked in the given EGS/Bidi works were naturally excluded in the selection of women whose usual status occupation is non-gainful. In the case of EGS muster roll, the information was used to select a few respondents whose male family members had participated in EGS works while they themselves were not engaged in any gainful occupation or worked occasionally in a non-EGS occupation.

A special case had to be made in the sampling methodology at the selected sugarcane cultivation sites in Ahmednagar district. Here workers appeared to form small groups on the basis of a common contractor, although they represented a heterogeneity of castes and native villages. Muster records were not available; it could not be ascertained whether the contractor maintained such records at all, or whether he withheld them from the field personnel. Consequently, at these sites one adult female from each household in the group was selected for survey.

Preliminary investigations showed that there appeared to be an association between the labour supply behaviour of the female respondent and certain characteristics of other members of the household. The depth of the enquiry was consequently modified to include a separate questionnaire for details of the household, in addition to the questionnaire designed specifically for the respondent.

The following tabulation summarises some characteristics of the final sample selected for the present field survey.

The field survey was held at a total of nine work sites distributed across the three selected districts. Together the selected sites represented combinations of four major occupational categories in which women of the poorest rural households of the area engage viz. agricultural labour, skilled manual work at EGS sites, contract labour in sugarcane plantations, and contract labour in Bidi rolling. Of the 12 investigated work sites, there are on-going EGS works at eight sites, recently concluded works at two sites and two exclusively non-EGS sites where there has been no record of the establishment of an EGS work in the area or the immediate neighbourhood.

The total sample size was 180 the respondent being an adult female in each case. Of the total samples, 80 were engaged in EGS works at the time of interview, 46 had participated in EGS works in the past and 38 had not participated in EGS (14 Bidi + 24 Cane) works at any time in the past. Thirteen were no workers, and three were non-participants in any selected work patterns.

Ranzangaon detailed report

Ranzangaon. R Table 1: Association between size of landholding and respondents' participation in EGS currently or in the past

Land* (acres)	Number of months in the last year during which worked on EGS					
	1 month and less	2 - 3.0	3.1 - 4	4.1 - 6	6.1 - 8	More than 8
Landless	-	-	-	-	3	11
0.1 - 2.5	1					1
2.6 - 5.0	3				1	2
5.1 - 7.5				1	1	2
7.6 - 10.0		1		1	1	
10.1 - 12.5					2	
12.6 - 15.0	1					
15.1 - 17.5						
17.6 - 20.0			1			
20.1 - 29.5						
Above 29.5				1		1

\* Irrigated acre = (1.5 x 1) unirrigated acres.

Total respondents: 39; no response: 4 ; valid responses: 35

Quality of interview: reliable.

Analysis

Of valid respondents, 7.2 per cent (26/36) worked at EGS sites for six months and over; of these, 53.7 per cent (14/36) are landless, which leads to the inference that serious long-term workers on EGS sites are predominantly landless. Those who work more than 6 months and own land are clustered around the landholding classes, 2.6 - 12.5 acres being 27.8 per cent (10/36) of all respondents. However, 5.5 per cent of all respondents (2/36) are those who have land in excess of 20 acres (for a possible explanation, see R table 2). Of valid respondents, 27.8 per cent (10/36) worked at EGS sites for less than 6 months. Of these, none is from a landless household, confirming the above inference. Of all respondents, 19.8 per cent (7/36) are in the landholding classes - 0.1 - 10 acres. Small and medium landholding classes, viz. 0.1 - 12.5 acres, appear to supply with categories of female labour to EGS works, both less than half-year workers and more than half-year workers. A comparison between the less than half-year workers and more than half-year workers shows that the latter constitute a larger proportion of the respondents in these land categories, implying thereby that the small landholders also send "serious" female workers to EGS sites.

The above data appears to point to an association between landholding and the duration of participation of female workers on EGS sites, viz. an inverse relationship appears to exist between landownership and participation by females on EGS sites as "serious" workers, working for six months and more on these sites during the year.

Ranzangaon. R Table 2: Relationship of EGS worker respondent to head of household in landholding households by land sizes

Land	Wife	Co-wife	Self head of household (i.e. widow)	Unmarried daughter	Sister	Sister-in-law	Total
Landless	7 (41.2%)	1 (5.9%)	6 (35.3%)	3 (17.6%)	0		17 (100)
0.1 - 2.5	1	1					
2.6 - 5.0	5		2	1			
5.1 - 7.5	1						
7.6 - 10.0	1			1			
10.1 - 12.5				1			
12.6 - 15.0				1			
15.1 - 17.5							
17.6 - 20.0							
20.1 - 29.5				1			
+ 29.5				1	1		
Landed	8 (44%)	1 (5.8%)	2 (11.1%)	6 (33.3%)	1 (5.8%)		= 18
Landless	7 (41.2%)	1 (5.7%)	6 (35.3%)	3 (17.6%)			= 17
	<u>15</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>1</u>		<u>35</u>

Number of respondents: 36  
 Non-worker: 1  
 Valid responses: 35

Analysis

In landholding households, there are two dominant categories of female relatives among the respondents, viz. wives, who constitute 44 per cent of all respondents in the landholding category, and unmarried daughters, who comprise 33.3 per cent of such respondents. Data shows that wives who participate in EGS are drawn from households with a relatively small landholding (0.1 - 10 acres, with preponderance in the 0.1 - 5 acre range), while unmarried daughters from virtually all land classes participate as EGS workers. This distribution appears to dominate the relationship between EGS and supplies labour in agriculture, viz. in the smaller landholdings, wives who might have been underemployed on the family patch, as well as similarly underemployed unmarried daughters, avail themselves of the offer of wage paid work on EGS. However, as the landholding of the family increases, it is the wife who tends to participate as unpaid labour on the family farm, while the unmarried daughter, who continues to be "surplus" on the family holding, participates in EGS work. The withdrawal of the wife from wage work on EGS rather than the daughter might be due to the added dimension of the wife's greater potential to domestic work with help on the family farm in relation to the daughter. The above pattern of wife-daughter participation in EGS work in relation to landholding indicates an attempt at optimum deployment of the female workforce in the family by the household between unpaid family labour and wage-earning work. In other words, a household appears to make a choice of females who will participate in EGS work on the basis of the net benefit to the household by such participation, where "benefit" is calculated by taking account of the trade-off between a woman's unpaid contribution on the family farm and as domestic worker, and wage earnings in EGS work.

There is another category of female who participates in EGS work in landed households, viz. the dependent female relation. In the sample, a widowed sister from a household with land over 30 acres was working on the EGS site, probably to secure her position in the household through an economic contribution.

In landless households, there are marked differences in the distribution of female respondents across the various categories of relationships to the head of household. Whereas wives comprise 41.2 per cent of all respondents in the landless category (this proportion is fairly close to 44 per cent in the landholding

category), widows are 35.3 per cent of the landless respondents (the corresponding proportion in the landed category is 11.1 per cent), and unmarried daughters constitute 17.6 per cent of the landless sample (corresponding proportion in the landed sample is 33.3 per cent).

The markedly high incidence of widows among landless EGS female workers might point to two phenomena: one, that widows are prone to landlessness due to land-grabbing by relatives; and two, that EGS appears to provide a special opportunity for earning a survival wage in comparison to widows with some land.

The phenomenon of much lower participation of unmarried daughters in EGS work in landless households might be related to one or more of the following factors: that more unmarried daughters stay behind at home to mind infant children on the assumption that wives (i.e. mothers of the unmarried daughters) participate in EGS work for longer hours than other wives or in other supplementary occupations, or that the unmarried girls of landless households find relatively better paid service (as maid/servant) in the village, or that subtle obligations of bondedness operate on the girls tying them to the landlord's household, or that in fact there are fewer unmarried girls in landless households on account of earlier second marriage (or higher female infanticide?). At this stage of analysis of field survey results, these are open-ended questions.

Ranzangaon. R Table 3: Age of EGS worker and landholding of household age of respondent (EGS worker)

Landholding acres	Below 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Landless	3				2	3	6	2	16
0.1 - 2.5			1						
2.6 - 5.0	2		1		1	2	2		11
5.1 - 7.5				1		1			
7.6 - 10.0	1					1			
10.1 - 12.5	1		1						
12.6 - 15.0	2								
15.1 - 17.5									11
17.0 - 20.0	1					1			
20.1 - 29.5	1								
+ 29.5			1				1		
	= 11 (28.9%)	= 4 (10.5%)	1 (2.6%)	3 (7.9%)	8 (21.1%)	9 (23.7%)	2 (5.2%)		38

Number of respondents: 40  
 Non-worker: 2  
 No response:  
 Valid responses: 38

Landless	0	18.8%	0	0	12.5%	18.8%	37.5%	12.5%
Small and marginal (0.1 - 7.5)		18.2%	18.2%	9.1%	9.1%	27.3%	18.2%	0
Medium (7.6 - 30+)		54.5%	18.2%	0	0	18.2%	9.1%	

Approximately 50 per cent of the sampled respondents reported themselves in the age group 35-39, while an equal proportion was in the age group 15-34. It may be noted at the outset that respondents' response to the query about their age did not always elicit a reliable response, probably on account of the genuine lack of knowledge about their age. However, since errors in the recall of age was a universal phenomenon, unrelated to landholding of the household, it is presumed that the field survey data on age is valid for intra-site, and possibly intra-district, comparisons.

For the site sample as a whole, the age group that accounted for the highest percentage of respondents was 15-19 with 28.9 per cent, followed by 40-49 with 23.7 per cent, 35-39 with 21.1 per cent and 20-24 with 10.5 per cent. (There were no respondents below the age of 15 years, or of the age of 60 and above.) The percentage distribution of the sample across the age groups presents a U-curve, with high proportions in the pre and post child-bearing and child-rearing years, and lower participation during these years. Thus there is a downward trend in the proportional share of respondents across the age groups 15-19 to 25-29; from the next age group, 30-34, there is a reversal in the downward trend, and there are increasing proportions of women in the age groups 35-39 to 40-49. In the last age group, 50-59, there is a decline in the proportional share, although it probably remains close to the age-wise incidence of the 50-plus female population in rural Maharashtra (check this). This analysis points to the tentative inference that EGS does not attract women who are tied down with responsibilities of child-rearing, albeit these are perhaps amongst the most needy women in terms of disposable income for survival necessities such as food and medical care.

Cross-classifying the age-wise composition of female EGS workers in the sample with landholding of the household, variations in age compositions are noticed across land classes. The older women of age 40-plus who participate in EGS work appear to belong predominantly to landless households, and a lesser number to small farmer households (0.1-7.5 acres). The incidence of older women is negligible in the higher land groups. On the other hand, the younger women workers in the age group 15-19 are predominantly women from the medium-to-big landholding classes, 7.5-30-plus acres.

To illustrate from intra-land class distribution of women workers by age, in the landless households 50 per cent of the respondents are in the age groups 40 and above, and 18.8 per cent are in the age group 15-19. In the small farmer households, the proportion in the 40-plus age group is 18.2 per cent, and the same in the age group 15-19. In the medium-to-big landholding classes, there are only 9.1 per cent respondents in the 40-plus age group, while 54.5 per cent in the younger age group 15-19.

What are the inferences from the above disparities in age-wise composition of female workers across land classes? Firstly, among the landless female workers in the villages, the elderly women appear to find employment in EGS in greater numbers than the younger females from their own class, possibly because private agricultural labour (or other occupations) are open only to younger women either on account of their superior productivity, or because they are able to present themselves as a component of a male-female pair (which might be more market-worthy than a single woman). Or again the older women might be paid a lower wage in agriculture, so that EGS wages are relatively higher for them. Whereas this requires to be probed further, the data points conclusively to a special attraction of the EGS for older women, a sort of succour.

Secondly, the fact that older women (40-plus) in the landowning families do not engage in EGS work in the same proportion as landless women in the same age group, perhaps points to a certain strain or physical burden in EGS work which they can afford to avoid by virtue of the landownership of the household. They might continue to engage in higher work on the family patch, or might even retire from physical gainful work and engage in domestic chores only. In other words, older women of the landless households might be engaging in manual labour on EGS works at a harsh physical cost to themselves, although at the same time, employment in EGS perhaps staves off starvation.

Third, the fact of landowning households sending younger women (15-19) to work on EGS sites in larger numbers than other age groups might be caused by the same factors mentioned in the analysis of wife-unmarried daughter (R Table 2), i.e. the deployment of surplus female labour, surplus in respect of work on the family lands as well as domestic work, wage earning employment on EGS sites.





a tendency to work for a long duration of months during the year in EGS (the majority work at EGS sites for more than six months), and also report four to six months in the other gainful occupations. In sum, these women probably work at two occupations simultaneously, one of them being EGS. The question of physical burden may be raised here, since all the additional occupations reported during the survey involve manual work. The fact that a large proportion of multi-occupation EGS workers work more than six months in both EGS as well as the other occupation (55 per cent of all multi-occupation works) underlines the extent of the problem.

There are four major categories of work in which women EGS workers engage in addition to their work at the EGS site. These are unpaid help on the family farm, wage paid agricultural labour, wage paid non-agricultural manual work and other activities such as dairying (cattle are owned by the household), or domestic service in the richer households of the village. Of the reported incidence of non-EGS work, 40 per cent is in unpaid service on the family farm, 28 per cent in agricultural labour, and 16 per cent each in non-agricultural manual work and other activities.

Ranzangaon. R Table 5: Single and multi-occupation respondents by landholding

Land	Only EGS	Multi-occupation (in addition to EGS)			
		A	B	C	D
Landless	9	3		2	
0.1 - 2.5		2			
2.6 - 5.0	5	1			1
5.1 - 7.5			2		
7.6 - 10.0	1		1		
10.1 - 12.5		1	1		
12.6 - 15.0			2		
15.1 - 17.5				1	
17.6 - 20.0			1		
20.1 - 29.3	1				
+ 29.5	1				

A = Age	Total respondents = 39
B = Self-cultivation (unpaid help)	Non-worker = 2
C = Non-age manual work	No response = 3
D = Other activities	Valid responses = 34

### Analysis

Of the respondents, 50 per cent worked only in EGS in the last year, while 50 per cent combined EGS work with other occupations. Examining their occupational mix against the landholding structure of the households it is seen that 26.5 per cent (or a quarter) of all respondents are landless, purely EGS workers. Their reliance on EGS for income appears to be absolute, since they do not have family lands to fall back upon. It is further noticed that, in the landless group, the majority of the respondents (9 out of 14, or 63 per cent) work exclusively in EGS, while a smaller number mix EGS work with agricultural labour or non-agricultural construction work. The inference may be drawn that for landless women workers, EGS is a preferred source of employment.

Another category of women workers who appear to be largely reliant on EGS for their own income (or gainful contribution to the household) are women in the land-owning categories 2.6 - 5.0 acres. The phenomenon of "surplusness" on the family land appears to drive them to EGS works. Only a minority appear to engage in either agricultural labour or non-agricultural manual work. These women therefore are also (critically) dependent on EGS work.

In the higher land categories, i.e. 5 acres and above, there is a preponderance of multi-occupation women workers. In addition to EGS work these women engage in three types of occupations, viz. helping on the family farm (most common), agricultural labour, and other activities such as dairying. Whereas the natural conclusion from this data may be that the landed women are less dependent on EGS for gainful employment, a deeper probe might suggest that in fact EGS is the only source of cash employment for them. In other words, if these women are deprived of EGS work their survival might not be threatened but subtler issues of loss of status and locus standi might arise.

Ranzangaon. R Table 6: Infant children in the household and respondents in single/multi-occupations (by marital status of respondent)

Number of children of age 12 and below	Only EGS				Multi occupation (i.e. EGS and others)				Total
	Wife and co-wife	Unmarried daughter	Widow	Other	Wife and co-wife	Unmarried daughter	Widow	Other	
0	1				4		2		7
1	3				4	2	1		10
2		3		2	1				6
3	4	1			1	1	1		7
4			1			1	1		3
Above 4						1			1
									<u>34</u>
Total respondents:	39								
Non-workers:	2								
Not:	<u>3</u>								
Valid responses:	34								

### Analysis

Of the female respondents, 20 per cent do not have children of age 12 and below, while 30 per cent have only one child in this age group. Thus, half the women who work on EGS do not have young children, confirming the finding of R. Table 3 (age distribution). Indicating again that women with immediate responsibilities of child-bearing and child-rearing per se do not seem to accept the work offer by EGS. (This statement must be reinforced with rural figures for the proportion of women in child-bearing/rearing age groups (19-30) in the labour force.)

Fifty per cent of the female respondents have two or more children of age 12 and below; above 32 per cent have three or more young children.

Analysis of the occupation-mix pattern of female respondents reveals that women who have light responsibilities with respect to children (none or one child only) tend to participate in multi-occupations to a greater extent (11 out of 17 such women have multi-occupations) than women who have two or more children. These latter women seem to show a preference for EGS work as an exclusive income-earning occupation. Data shows that a majority of women with two or more children (11 out of 17) work only in EGS.

With the narrow data base available for this analysis, a trend in women's participation in EGS has become visible, viz. young mothers with several small children do not seem to avail themselves of the offer of employment at EGS as a group, but when economic imperatives compel them to seek work they appear to prefer a single occupation - EGS work. Women with lighter child-related responsibilities tend to mingle EGS work with other income-earning occupations, and it may be presumed that this is done in order to maximise savings.

The limitation or bend to a single occupation on account of young children seems to operate on respondents in the category of "wife" and "widow" more severely than "unmarried daughter". Daughters from large families with several young mothers and sisters appear to choose between single and multi-occupations in almost the same manner as daughters from families with a fewer number of small children. The significance of EGS to women with several children, both wives and widows, is thus reiterated by this finding.

Ranzangaon. R Table 7: Respondents' participation in EGS in last year and occupation of head of household in last year

Major occupation of head of household (with respect to maximum months during the year)	Respondent in EGS for less than 6 months	Respondent in EGS for 6 months and more
Self-cultivation	6	8
Self-cultivation and agricultural labour	1	3
Agricultural labour		3
Non-agricultural manual work		
Artisan, i.e. blacksmith, sonar	1	1
Household industries (woodcutter and sale), fisherman, sale of rabbits	1	2
Professional service		1
Livestock (stock breeding and/or milk)		
Trading*		1
EGS		2
EGS + age		1
Respondent self head of household	1	5
* Sells eggs.		Total respondents: 40
		Non-worker: 2
		No response: 1
		Valid responses: 37

### Analysis

Of the respondents, 16.2 per cent are themselves head of their households - all widows. For 13.5 per cent of them, EGS work is the dominant occupation in terms of time allocation in gainful activities. There are other widows who live with grown-up children, but in these cases the eldest son is considered the head of the household by the respondent. (Although the data has not been so analysed, a probe might reveal that female-headed households casually comprise young widows with small children and/or elderly dependants.)

Of the remaining 85.8 per cent of the respondents, 38 per cent belonged to households where the head of the household was engaged in cultivation on self-owned lands for the major part of the year. This is the largest group of females in the classification adopted in R table 7. The fact of extended participation in self-cultivation by the head of the household might suggest that these are the bigger landowning families amongst the sampled households, albeit most of them are probably subsistence farmers.

However, accepting the existence of levels of poverty even amongst the poorest, the numerical dominance of the sample by respondents from self-cultivating households raises a doubt about the access of EGS to women of landless households, a category which is usually considered at the bottom of the scale of rural poverty. Field survey data shows that women EGS workers from households which are exclusively dependent on wages from manual labour (i.e. where the head of the household is an agricultural labourer or works in EGS) constitute 16.7 per cent of the respondents. This proportion is less than half of the proportion of women from self-cultivator households.

Is it not reasonable to expect that an employment guarantee scheme would be constituted of rural classes in such a manner that there is a higher proportion (in its participants) of the poorest than the corresponding proportion in the State? In other words, the share of the poorest in such a scheme would be expected to be higher than their occurrence in the population.<sup>1</sup> A possible explanation of the low proportion of women from landless households might be the wage disparity in agriculture and EGS. But as a later table, R table 8, shows, wages in EGS are higher than in agriculture for female workers.

Of the respondents, 10.8 per cent belong to households where the head of the household is engaged in subsistence cultivation and also agricultural labour; 8 per cent of the respondents are drawn from households where the head engages in small household business such as fishermen, woodcutter and sale of wood, sale of rabbits, etc.; 5.4 per cent of the respondents have artisan heads of household, viz. blacksmith, craftsmen of jewellery, etc.; 2.7 per cent reported that the head of the household was a petty trader, while an equal proportion reported that the head of the household was employed in a salaried job away from the village.

The distribution of respondents across the two intensities of EGS work, viz. less than half a year and half a year and more, does not appear to show a significant association with the dominant occupation of the head of the household. Thus, for instance, women from households of self-cultivators are as likely to spend less than half a year on EGS work as to spend a longer period each year. It is only in the case of exclusively wage-earning households (viz. where the head of the household is an agricultural labourer and/or EGS worker) that the women respondents report uniformly that they work for a greater part of the year in EGS work. Once again, the significance of EGS in the lives of the pure wage earners is revealed - here it is probably the only regular source of income, if not the dominant source.

Ranzangaon. R Table 8: Daily wages in EGS and other wage paid occupation in which respondent engaged previously or continues to work

Daily wage in other occupations in which respondent engaged or engages	EGS: Daily wage (rupees)							
	Less than 1	1-1.49	1.50-1.99	2-2.49	2.50-2.99	3.00-3.49	3.50-3.99	4 and over
Less than 1					1			
1 - 1.49					1			
1.50 - 1.99				1	1			
2.00 - 2.49					4			
2.50 - 2.99								
3.00 - 3.49								
3.50 - 3.99								
4 and over								
Not specified				2	2	2		
Only EGS				3	17	4		

Note: When respondent has specified a range outside one class interval, the mid-point of that range is considered as the wage.

<sup>1</sup> The share of the poorest in a scheme such as the EGS would be expected to rise because of increase in the size of landless workers.

Analysis

"Wage-earning" respondents include all those who work on EGS or in agricultural labour, construction work or other paid services, but excludes the unpaid family helper in agriculture or in family enterprise.

With the exclusion of the unpaid female helper there is a significant reduction in the number of respondents available for a comparison between wages on EGS and other relevant occupations. The number is further reduced on account of non-specification of wages, either in the "other" occupation or in EGS.

Using the residual data it is seen that in each case the double-wage respondent has reported a higher wage in EGS than in the "other" occupation. For about half the valid responses, the wage difference between EGS and the "other" occupation is a minimum of 50 paise per day. For the other half, the differential ranges from Rs.1.50 to Rs.1 per day. A respondent who works as a maidservant has reported the highest difference of Rs.1.80, while the wage difference between agricultural labour and EGS is approximately 50-75 p. per day. The difference in wages between EGS and non-EGS nala bunding works is Rs.1.25 per day.

The average daily wage in EGS in the Ranzangaon PT work reported by the respondents is Rs.2.50 - 3.00, excluding the value of coupons. This value of wages in kind has not been imputed because, one, at this stage of the analysis little is known about coupon use and the benefits derived from this facility and, two, agricultural labour also often receives some part of the payment in kind.

Women's daily wages in agriculture average Rs.2, varying in the range Rs.1.50 to Rs.2.00.

On the basis of the inadequate data it may be stated that for women wage workers in general, the wages in EGS are higher than in other wage-earning occupations. For the unpaid female helper, the EGS wage is generally the only cash earning by the female, although her assistance on the family land/enterprise must necessarily generate output/service which is difficult to quantify.

Ranzangaon. R Table 9: Daily wages of males of respondent's household in EGS and other income-earning occupations

Males' daily earnings in other major occupations (average for all those who have reported)	Daily wage in EGS							
	Less than 1.50	1.50-1.99	2-2.49	2.50-2.99	3.00-3.49	3.50-3.99	4 and above	Not specified
Agricultural labour								
Self-cultivation (imputed)								
Blacksmithy								
Fishermen								
Village salaried service								
Egg seller								
Livestock								
Non-age manual labour (e.g., nala bunding)								
Plantation								

At Ranzangaon it is reported that male and female workers earn a similar wage. In other words, wages of EGS workers are not a function of sex but more likely of the male-female composition of gangs (to be investigated in a later table).

Therefore, the average daily earnings for males in EGS work may be taken to be the same as reported for female workers in R Table 8, viz. Rs.2.50 - 3.00.

Analysis

At Ranzangaon it is reported that males' and females' wages on EGS works are similar. However, this is a qualitative finding, based on the statement of the muster clerk. The actual response to the question on males' earnings in EGS in the questionnaire was poor and most of the questionnaires were blank in this respect.

Yet there is evidence to show that for male workers, the earnings on EGS are amongst the lowest in comparison to earnings in other occupations. Specifically in relation to earnings to self-employed workers, such as village artisans, dairy farmers, petty traders, etc., the EGS wages are 40-50 per cent lower.

For males who are wage earners in other manual occupations, for instance, agricultural labour, non-agricultural construction work, earnings in EGS are about 20-40 per cent lower. Therefore, these workers would tend to prefer working in non-EGS wage occupations in order to maximise their earnings. Their participation in EGS might therefore be expected to be in the nature of a last resort, as in agricultural lean periods when agricultural work is not available. The EGS appears to operate as a gap-filler for these male workers, providing a lower income than in the usual status occupations, but ensuring a minimal wage. Field survey data shows that the offer of employment in EGS is largely accepted by those males who are usual status wage workers.

Ranzangaon. R Table 10: Landownership and participation in EGS by male heads of households of respondents

Land	Less than 6 months	6 months and more
Landless		1 <sup>(9)</sup> , 1 <sup>(2)</sup> , 1 <sup>(7)</sup> , 1 <sup>(6)</sup>
0.1 - 2.5	1 <sup>(7)</sup>	
2.6 - 5.0		1 <sup>(6)</sup>
5.1 - 7.5		
7.6 - 10.0		1 <sup>(4)</sup>
10.1 - 12.5		1 <sup>(6)</sup>
12.6 - 15.0		
15.1 - 17.5		
17.6 - 20.0	1 <sup>(7)</sup>	
20.1 - 29.5		
+ 29.5		

Analysis

Of the nine heads of households who participate in EGS work, four, or 44 per cent, are landless, and two, or 22 per cent, are from households with five acres or less of land. Those males who have larger landholdings than five acres tend to have large families, often six to seven members. (The association between family size and participation of males and females in EGS work will be probed in later tables.)

However, for most of the EGS male workers the attachment to EGS work is for six months or over, indicating that although from the point of view of earnings EGS might be a second preference for males, the higher-paid first preference occupations, such as agricultural labour/non-age manual work, etc., are available for less than six months in the year. Therefore, male workers have to take recourse to EGS work for over half the year although here they earn less for a similar work input. The fact that even males from the "larger" landowning groups in the sample work in EGS for more than half the year might again point to the catch-all nature of EGS in respect of surplusness in agriculture; since these male workers belong to large families (separate issue of too many workers on land from a large family) with a high dependency ratio pushing males into EGS work to supplement income (but data base very slim).

Reviewing the landless group of male agricultural workers belonging to households of landless respondents<sup>1</sup> it is seen that a relatively small proportion, 36.3 per cent or 4 out of 11 of the male landless engage in EGS work in addition to manual work in agriculture or other activities. The others include migrant workers who have found a job in Bombay (thereby implying that landlessness tends to push adult males out of the village in search of work, since fewer of the landed households report an emigrated head of the household) or are petty traders. Yet there remains a small group of agricultural labourers who report 12 months in agriculture and/or non-age manual work and do not work in EGS. Whereas this might be a plausible labour supply phenomenon of landless males, there is one additional dimension of land relations in Ranzangaon which might be thwarting access of male landless labourers to EGS. The "Saldaar" system of attached labour operates in this area of Ahmednagar, and although the present investigation did not probe this aspect of the employment of males, a question may be raised whether the "attachment" of this labour to landlords impedes male labourers' participation in EGS. It may be noted here that the labourer might be free to work on EGS but might voluntarily reject it in favour of the security of his attached status. The "Saldaar" system does not extend to female agricultural labourers.

Ranzangaon. R Table 11: Family size and respondents' participation in EGS by duration of months (also males)

Size of family of respondent	1 month and less	2-3.0	3.1-4	4.1-6	6.1-8	Over 8	Not specified	Total
1								0
2					2	2		4 (10.5%)
3					2	3		5 (13.2%)
4	2*			1		3		6 (16.0%)
5				1		2		4 (10.5%)
6					1	5		6 (16.0%)
7	3*		1		1	3		8 (21.1%)
8 and over		1		1	1	1		5 (13.2%)
								(1 = female EGS workers)
								(100%)

\* Just started on EGS

No. of female respondents: 40  
 Non-workers: 2  
 Valid responses: 38

### Analysis

There is large variation in family size of the respondents, with an equal proportion of respondents in the family size groups two to five members and six to nine members. There was no respondent who constituted a household just by herself, and none who had a family exceeding nine members. There was a somewhat even distribution of respondents by family size across family size groups two to eight and more, the highest incidence being in the family size group of seven members.

Classifying female EGS workers by family size, it is seen that there appears to be no association between the number of members in a family and the duration of women workers' participation in EGS work. In other words, whereas attributes such as landholding/age/number of family workers per unit of land/number of children of age 12 and below/marital status/differential of wages in EGS and other occupations, etc., are associated with an adult female's participation in EGS, the size of her family does not appear to exercise an influence on the duration of her employment in EGS. The distribution across family size groups of the female EGS workers who work in EGS more than eight months is indicative of the lack of an association. Therefore, a "small family" is as likely to send out its adult female to EGS sites as a "large family".

<sup>1</sup> Total landless respondents: 17; landless workers: 6.



The case of males of these households who work in EGS might be slightly different. On the basis of the responses obtained from the nine males who work in EGS it would appear that males from large families with six members and over work a minimum of four to six months in EGS. However, there is also some counter-evidence in that one male from a four-member household also reports working four to six months in EGS. If subsequent analysis of field survey data from other sites reveals an association between family size and the males' attachment to EGS in terms of duration of months of work at EGS, the inference can be drawn that adult male workers seek to augment income through work in EGS to support a large family (regardless of the number of workers in the family), whereas the adult males from smaller families might not have to undertake the physical burden of inter-agricultural work at EGS. Another inference could be that since the male worker is sure of a regular income in EGS, such a worker from a large family might feel more secure in EGS employment for the maximum number of months during the year.

Ranzangaon. R Table 12: Respondents' educational attainment and participation in single or multi-occupations in manual labour

Respondents' educational attainment	Single occupation, viz. only EGS		Multi-occupation, viz. EGS and other occupation	
	Less than 6 months	6+ months	Less than 6 months	6+ months
Illiterate	5	16	1 <sup>ns</sup>	11 (27)
Classes I-III		2		1 (3)
IV, V and VI		2		1 <sup>ns</sup> (3)
VII, VIII and IX		1 <sup>ns</sup>		1 <sup>ns</sup> (2)
Above IX		1		(1)

Note: ns = not sure.

### Analysis

Seventy-five per cent of the respondents are illiterate; 8.3 per cent have primary-school education (classes I-III); an equal proportion have middle-school education (classes IV-VI); and another 8.3 per cent have secondary to high-school education. This is coincident with/contradictory to the state average for rural female literacy rates (check the rates).

The distribution of respondents between EGS-only and EGS-plus gainful occupations does not seem to be related to the educational attainment of the respondents. For instance, the respondents who have no educational attainment appear to opt for EGS-only or EGS-plus occupations in about equal proportions. Among the illiterate who work for less than half the year there appears to be a preference for EGS work only as against multi-occupations. A majority of these latter workers are young girls, 15-16 years old, who appear to be entering the labour force for the first time and seem to exhibit a preference for EGS work as their first wage-earning job.

Respondents with some educational attainment - primary level to high-school level - are more numerous in EGS-only work than in multi-occupations. The sample is too small to eliminate an element of chance in the distribution of literate respondents between EGS-only and EGS-plus occupations, yet the findings of the Ranzangaon survey point to a tentative association between literacy of the female worker and preference for EGS-only work. This might indicate the assessment of EGS work by women workers in terms of comparative evaluation between alternative opportunities of gainful work. However, it may be noted that such an assessment is not unique to the literate females only, but is probably a natural process conducted by illiterate women too.

Ranzangaon. R Table 13: Respondents' caste and dominant occupation (in terms of time allocation during the last year)

Caste	EGS	Agricul- tural labourer	Student	Help on family farm	Salaried manual services	EGS++ 6 months each	EGS + unpaid help in family enterprise
Maratha (16)	1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1, 1,1***,1***			1,1		1,1	1
Muslim (6)	1,1,1,1,1,1						
Mali (1)	1						
Harijan (6)	1,1,1***,1,1,1						
Kaikade (1)		1					
Chamar (3)	1**,1			1			
Bhil (2)	1**				1		
Lohar and Sonar (2)	1**		1				
36 + 1 = 37	Incomplete response: 1						

\*\* Reported nothing but EGS; however, this is less than or equal to 2 months.  
 \*\*\* Reported nothing but EGS; however, this is 6 months only.  
 = Low on EGS.  
 = Mixing other work with EGS.

Note: "Occupation" refers to the dominant reported gainful occupation in last year. However, only in case of a respondent having been engaged in studies for a major part of the year is a non-gainful activity considered to be an "occupation". It may be noted that a respondent's dominant gainful occupation does not necessarily imply that she engaged in it for six months or more. "Dominant" refers to the occupation in which she spent the maximum number of days/months last year.

### Analysis

Of the respondents, 75.7 per cent reported EGS work as their dominant gainful occupation in terms of maximum time spent in gainful employment. For the other 24.3 per cent, the dominant gainful occupation is non-EGS work.

There are eight caste groups to which the respondents belong reported in the following proportions:

Maratha:	43.6 per cent
Muslim:	16.2 per cent
Harijan:	16.2 per cent
Lohar and Sonar:	6.6 per cent
Chamar:	6.6 per cent
Mali:	3.3 per cent
Bhil:	3.3 per cent
Kaikade:	3.3 per cent

Cross-classifying caste and dominant occupation, it is seen that some caste groups exhibit an exclusive attachment to EGS work; others show a "spread" of respondents across EGS as well as non-EGS occupations; while others still tend to show a higher incidence in non-EGS than in EGS work.

Muslim and Harijan women report EGS work only as their dominant occupation. Maratha women cluster in the EGS-only occupation group, although about a third of these women are predominantly unpaid helpers on the family farm/enterprise. The Marathas are the landowning community in the surveyed villages, and it appears that all adult women help on the family farm but that there is a withdrawal from unpaid help and a compensatory entry into wage-paid work in EGS.

Bhils, who are the only Scheduled Tribe group in the sample, show a lesser attachment to EGS work and a preference for other employment such as salaried manual employment in the village.

Ranzangaon. R Table 14: Respondent's wages in EGS and percentage proportion of women in gang

Percentage proportion of women in gang	Daily wages in EGS							Not specified
	Less than 1.50	1.50-1.99	2-2.49	2.50-2.99	3.00-3.49	3.50-3.99	4 and above	
0-20%								
20.1-40%								
40.1-60%				1				
60.1-80%				1	1			
80.1-99%			1	4	1	1	1	
100%								
Not specified								

Note: Sl. Nos. 1-20 did not answer gang composition - it was not asked on that schedule.

No response: Sl. Nos. 21, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32.

Analysis

Response on gang size was limited because the questionnaire canvassed on respondents Sl. Nos. 1-20 did not include a query on gang size. Of the rest, Sl. Nos. 21-40, there were 9 who did not respond to the question.

From the data available there does not appear to be evidence of an association between female workers' wages on EGS and the proportion of females in the gang. Seventy-two per cent of the valid responses indicated that women constituted 80-99 per cent of the gang, and 28 per cent of the respondents belonged to gangs where the proportion of females ranged from 40-80 per cent.

In the women-intensive gangs, with 80-99 per cent women members, there is a distribution of respondents in the wage group range Rs. 2-2.49 to Rs.4 and above.

Analysis of the consolidated data of all EGS workers might be revealing in this respect. But while working on that, remember to differentiate between wages for different works, e.g., percolation tank, nala bunding, etc. Also, make allowances for the differences in time periods of the reference period of employment on EGS.

Ranzangaon. R Table 15: Average daily time disposition in gainful occupations and respondents' participation in single or multi-occupations

	Single occupation	Multi-occupation
2 hours		
2-4.0 hours		
4.1-6 hours		
6-8 hours	1(4), 1(NR), 1(2)*, 1(4), 1(2), 1(4), 1(2), 1(5)*, 1(5), 1(2), 1(4), 1(3)*, 1(3), 1(1), 1(2), 1(5), 1(2), 1(6), 1(3), 1(4), 1(4)	1(6), 1(4), 1(2), 1( $\frac{1}{2}$ ), 1(3), 1(3), 1(4), 1(3), 1(3), 1(1), 1(4), 1(3), 1(2), 1(4)*, 1(3), 1(4), 1(4)

8.1 hours and above

2 is 40, 0 gainful, 27 no response

No response: 5

\* Not reported about second occupation.

Figures in parentheses indicate respondents' time disposition in domestic work.

Analysis

Of the valid responses to daily time disposition in gainful work and respondents' participation in single or multi-occupations, there is 100 per cent reporting a 6-8 hour working day. In other words, women who work in two or more occupations tend to work the same number of hours in gainful work as those who work in one gainful occupation only.

Time disposition in domestic work, however, varies in the range of 1 to 6 hours. Here again there appears to be no association with respondents' participation in one or more gainful activity. Analysis shows that time disposition in domestic work is associated with respondent's age. In general, time disposition in domestic work increases with age. Therefore, it is likely that women in the age group 40+ do more domestic work than young girls, and these same women in the landless group also do more gainful work than women in their age group in other land classes. (Develop with more data.)

Ranzangaon. R Table 16: Respondents' age and time disposition in domestic work

Age	Number of hours in domestic work				Observations: (i) 15-19 age group, the median is 2-3 hours; range: less than 2-4-5; (ii) 20-34 age group, median is 2-3; range: as above; (iii) 35-39 age group, median is 4-5 hours; range is 2-3 hours to 6+ hours; (iv) 40-49 age group, median is again 4-5 hours; range is 2-3 to 6+; (v) 50-59, median is 4-5 hours; range is 2-3 to 4-5.
	Less than 2	2-3	4-5	6+	
15-19	2	5	2		Tentative conclusions: Older women tend to spend a greater number of hours in domestic work than younger women. Since 95 per cent of these women are workers who work 8 hours in gainful activities, it is apparent that the older women have a higher burden of "work", i.e. domestic work plus gainful work.
20-24		2	1		
25-29		1	1		
30-34	1	1	1		
35-39		3	6	1	
40-49		4	5	1	
50-59		1	2		
	3	17	18	2	
Number of respondents:	40				
Valid responses:	40				

Ranzangaon. R Table 17: Respondents' family size and time disposition in domestic work

Family size	Number of hours in domestic work				Observations: 44.7 per cent of respondents spend 2-3 hours in domestic work, while 42.1 per cent spend 4-5 hours in domestic work. 7.9 per cent work for less than 2 hours in domestic chores, while 5.2 per cent spend 6 hours and over in domestic work.
	Less than 2	2-3	4-5	6+	
1-2		2	2		Tentative conclusions: There does not appear to be an association between family size and respondent's time disposition in domestic work. This could be due to one or more of the following reasons: first, a large family implies potential for work-sharing in the house because of the presence of more adults and also children above the age of 12; second, respondents are drawn from a variety of marital statuses, viz. wife, unmarried daughter, widow as head of the household, etc., and each status imposes a different set of responsibilities of home management and income earning on the respondents.
3-4	1	4	7		
5-6		5	4	1	
7	1	2	2	1	
8 and over	1	4	1		
	3	17	16	2	
Total respondents:	40				
Valid responses:	38				

Table 1: The field survey design

District	Block	Work category at surveyed site	Feeder villages (dates of survey)	No. of interviews		No. of respondents by EGS/non-EGS occupations		
				Household	Respondents	Present	Usual status	Whether EGS work in past
Bhandara	Sakoli	EGS works percolation tank	Lakhori (14-21 Dec.1978)	46	46	Agricultural labour	Agricultural labour and Bidi	Yes
	Saleksha	EGS works percolation tank	Kawadi (14-21 Dec.1978)	28	28	EGS (to be completed soon)	Casual agricultural labour* and Bidi	Yes
Dhulia	Shahada	EGS works road work at Katharde-Parivardha	Katharde (14-21 Nov.1978)	11	11	EGS work	Casual**1 agricultural labour	No
			Parivardha (14-21 Nov.1978)	22	22	EGS work	Casual** agricultural labour and one non-worker	Yes
		EGS works road work Vaijali-Karmadi	Karnakhed (14-21 Nov.1978)	6	6	EGS work	Casual** agricultural labour	Yes
			Vaijali (14-21 Nov.1978)	1	1	EGS work	Casual agri-agricultural labour	Yes

\* Respondents household has some attached agricultural labourers.

\*\*<sup>1</sup> One respondent was attached labour engaged in household work at the landlord's house.

Table 1 (cont.)

District	Block	Work category at surveyed site	Feeder villages (date of survey)	No. of interviews		No. of respondents by EGS/ non-EGS occupations		
				Household	Respondents	Current	Usual status	Whether EGS work in past
Ahmednagar	Parner	EGS works percolation tank	Razangaon Madhidiete	16 (+15) (June-July 1978)	16 (+15)	EGS work	Casual agri-cultural labour and participation in subsistence agriculture	Yes
			Astegaon	3	3	EGS work		
			Astegaon	3	3	EGS work	Casual agri-cultural labour and participation in subsistence agriculture	Yes
	Rahuri	EGS works Nala bunding Palwe-Budruk	Pimpri Gowli (24 Nov.1978 to 2 Dec.1978)	1 (+1)	1 (+1)		"	Yes
			Palwe-Budruk (June-July 1978)	3 (+3)	3 (+3)	EGS work	"	No
			Migrated wage labour in sugarcane plantations	Rahuri (interviews in sugarcane fields)	15	15	Wage labour in sugarcane plantations	Wage labour in sugarcane plantations and/or agri-cultural as also subsistence agri-culture
		Interview at night camp (24 Nov. to 2 Dec. 1978)	8	8	"	"	No	

\* Figures in parentheses indicate No. of interviews conducted during pilot field survey in June-July 1978.

Classification of respondents (A)

<u>Past EGS</u>		<u>Non-EGS</u>	
<u>No. of old EGS participants</u> (Presently not in EGS)	<u>Site name</u>	<u>No. of non-EGS workers</u>	
46	Lakhori	14	Bidi
+ 28	Kawadi	24	cane
- 10	(Non-workers)	<u>38</u>	
- 14	Bidi (NP)		
- 4	Present EGS		
<u>46</u>			
<u>Total No. of interviews</u>		<u>Category</u>	
80	Present EGS		
46	Past EGS		
14	Bidi		
24	Cane		
13	Non-workers		
3	Non-participants		
<u>180</u>			

Classification of respondents (B)

<u>Present EGS</u>			<u>Site</u>
<u>No. of workers on EGS ongoing work</u>			
(i) 16 + 3 + 1	= 20		Ranzangaon
(ii) 15 + 4 + 1 + 3	= 23		
(Minus) (iii) Non-workers	= -2		
Total I	<u>41</u>		
<hr/>			
(i) 11 + 22 + 7	= 40		Shahada - Dhulia
(Minus) (ii) Non-workers	= 2		
(iii) Cane workers	= -		
	<u>38</u>		
(Minus) (iv) Non-participants	= -3		
Table II	<u>35</u>		
<hr/>			
Table III	4		Bhandara
<hr/>			
Total I + II + III	= 41 + 35 + 4	=	40
<hr/>			

No. of workers interviewed on ongoing sites = 80

Site reports

(a) Ranzangaon - Ahmednagar district

Type of work	:	Percolation tank		
	:	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Workers on muster roll	:	234	52	182
Workers present on day of field survey	:	226	47	163
No. of respondents	:	40		
Date of field visit	:	24 November 1978 to 2 December 1978		

This is a site which is difficult to reach since there is no direct State transport bus connection from Ahmednagar. There is a small railway station at Ranzangaon, another one at the nearby village of Astegaon. Ranzangaon village is 3 km from the station. Our field investigator had taken a train from Ahmednagar to Ranzangaon.

The percolation tank (PT) from the EGS work site is 2-3 km from the village. The said tank was started 2 1/2 years ago as one of four major percolation tank works in the neighbourhood of Ranzangaon. Since 1972, two PTS have been built already and the Ranzangaon PT is the third in the series.

This site draws people from 3-4 villages in the neighbourhood of Ranzangaon village, within a radius of about 5 km. The sample included persons from three of these villages.

The dominant caste in Ahmednagar district is Maratha. A large proportion of the land is held by Marathas, Harijans and Muslims are the other two numerically significant castes. These communities have smaller land holdings than the Marathas and it is estimated that their share of the total land holding in the area is less than their proportion in the population. The major occupation of the people is agriculture either on self-owned lands or as wage labour or as tenant or share cropper labour.

Ranzangaon is 20 km from Ahmednagar town. Some younger people of the prosperous families in the village come to Ahmednagar for higher education, some even commute daily on the local trains. The village has a high school.

Marathas dominate the local political posts at the village and taluk level. The M.P. from the area is also a Maratha.

There is an even occurrence of small, medium and major land holdings in the village. Well irrigation is common. The proportion of land under irrigation could not be ascertained during the field visit. Also, it could not be investigated whose lands are irrigated, whether the big landlord holdings or the smaller holdings.

A co-operative milk dairy was established in the village about five years ago. This village was covered by the IADP and the livestock population is high. Another occupation/trade in the village is the cultivation and export of small yellow flowers, which are used in production of oil.

Details of EGS site

This site was started in March 1976 and the date of completion was March 1979 (at the time of survey in November 1978, there was only a small component of earth work left and most of the work had moved to the skilled masonry work). As of that time, it appeared that the site will be completed according to schedule.



Catchment area : 1.60 sq. miles  
Average annual rainfall : 22.2", 50 per cent dependable  
Type and length of dam : Eastern 420 m  
Highest flood level of tank : 102.00 m  
Full tank level : 100.70 m  
Outlet sill : 95.30 m  
Top of dam : 103.50 m  
Nala bed : 92.70 m  
Height of dam in nala : 10.80 m  
Capacity : 14.13 in cu. ft.  
Storage between FSL and site level : 12.67 in cu. ft.  
Type of length of weir : Clear overfall 36 m  
Max. flood discharge over weir : 3,414  
Land submerged up to FSL dam fall (3 hectars) approach and borrow pit  
Estimated cost of project : Rs. 578,322/-  
Source : Dy. Engineer, Z.P. Major Irrigation, Sub-Division, Parner.

From here down the information was provided by the Muster Clerk.

Distance from site: Ranzangaon : 3 km  
Arvegaon : 2 km  
Pimpri Gowte : 2 km

On day of visit attendance: 163 F, 49 M + 226

Total number of workers on muster rolls = 182 F  
52 M  
234

55 per cent marginal and small peasants - 45 per cent middle peasants.

Total gang at site = 9 each, constituted of 45-60 workers.

Activities at the site include:

- (i) carrying of earth from the dag portion of the site and its disposal at a distance from the PT. Both males and females are engaged in this and use shallow metal trays for the purpose;
- (ii) digging the pit, an operation which is carried out by males and females both, using spades;
- (iii) bringing drinking water for the workers engaged at the site from a well 1-2 km away. This operation is carried out by men and women, commonly unmarried girls. Two to four persons were engaged at the site in this activity. They use brass pitchers for the purpose and carry water on their heads. The average wage for this activity is Rs. 3/- per day, and these workers work the same number of hours as the other workers at the site;
- (iv) supervision, an activity which is carried out by gang men, all of whom are males;
- (v) weeding of grass on the bund, an activity which is carried out by females.

With regard to facilities for workers a small flimsy structure was pointed as a shed where workers could rest. The muster clerk also stated that first-aid was available at the work site, although there was no tangible evidence of any medical facility available at the site.

Wages for men and women are equal being Rs. 2.90 per day, with a minimum observed wage of Rs. 2.60 (clarify this from field survey data). In addition to the cash wage there is payment in kind. This is in the nature of coupons, whose value in the total earnings of a worker must be 10 per cent, according to stipulations for the Maharashtra Government. Therefore, if the total weekly wage is Rs. 20/-, the cash component of Rs. 18/- and the value of the coupons is Rs. 2/-. Wages are paid weekly, every Wednesday. Thursday is observed as the weekly holiday and it is also a day for the weekly village bazaar.

Ranzangaon PP site has been functioning for 10 months each year since the time it started. The two months for which it closed are the monsoon months - 15 June to 15 August. The reason for closing the site appears to be the heavy downpour which physically prevents construction or digging work and it may be noted that the closing of the site does not appear to be related to the non-availability of labour, as has been commonly believed. In these two months there seems to be no work available for wage labour in agriculture because the standing crops viz. Kharif jowar does not need any tending or care. It is only for a brief period on the onset of the monsoon that the agricultural workers are employed in ploughing and sowing of the Kharif crop. However, as soon as that operation is over or that activity is over, there seems to be nothing more to do in agriculture. At the same time, the EGS site also closes so that this period appears to emerge as a period of peak unemployment in the Ranzangaon area. The majority of the residents express their desire to return to the EGS site during this time if work was to be restarted.

Field evidence also provided by the date ran counter to the other commonly held belief about the differential participation by men and women in different activities in earth work.

It has been believed that men dig and women carry the earth and, in fact, the view is held that the proportion of males and females in a gang is determined by the relevant mix of male-intensive and female-intensive activities at a particular site. Our investigation showed that men and women engage in all tasks equally, viz. digging, carrying of earth, etc.

As between male and female workers, the EGS appears to have impacted women precipitately. Both field visits coincided with the start of the agricultural season, i.e. June and November which are considered to be agricultural peak months in the Ranzangaon area. This is the period when there is supposed to be a hypothetical peak demand for labour. However, our evidence showed that whereas men appear to have been absorbed in agricultural operations, women were left out of agriculture, and were still engaged in the EGS sites. This could lead to two inferences, one that women were under-employed in agriculture and earned a wage which was lower than the prevailing wage rate in agriculture and paripassu, and that men were not under-employed in agriculture and that their wage in agriculture is higher than the wage in EGS; second, that women preferred EGS work to agricultural work for reasons other than the wage factor (elaborate this from field data about physical burden of work, relative effect on children and relevant contractual arrangements, improved access to their own earnings, etc.). To labour this point it appears that women and men cost benefit their participation in the two options above viz. agriculture and EGS work, whereas they might apply different evaluation criteria. Both sexes appear to compute trade-offs cautiously and then make their choice. On the whole, women tend to opt for EGS work for a long period during the year - they seem to be the stable factor in EGS labour - men tend to use this as a last resort when work in agriculture is scarce. Parenthetically, it may be noted that our field survey in Ranzangaon did not reveal any reluctance by men to engage in EGS work on account of the perceived threat to their market-ability in agriculture because of "branding" by landlords of the workers' acceptance of lower wages in an area.

The women attachments to EGS have had an interesting impact on agriculture. Their semi-withdrawal from agriculture has caused a slight scarcity of labour in the peak seasons and thereby increased the over-all wage in agriculture for

males. However, more data is to be collected on this in order to make a confident claim that EGS does impact wage rates in usual status-occupations such as agriculture, construction work, etc. Here it may also be noted that the higher rates in EGS might have provided a lever for women to press for higher wages in agriculture. The Equal Remuneration Act which has theoretically equalised wages between men and women in Maharashtra might be closer to implementation on account of women's higher wages in EGS.

It may also be noted that wage rates in agriculture vary with seasons, for instance, being higher in the harvesting season than in the sowing season. On the other hand, in EGS wage rates remain more or less constant throughout the year. This fact might also be considered while observing the differential flow of males and females from agriculture to EGS and vice-versa.

The muster clerks at the Ranzangaon site were local persons from Astegaon and Ranzangaon villages, some of whom were graduates. They had worked as muster clerks at EGS sites. Therefore, the order was rescinded and the salaries were lowered to the original level, at present the muster clerks are paying back in instalments the excess of their increased salary over their normal salary for the months during which the State Government had lowered higher salaries. Our field investigation pointed to this very incident as a catalyst of the spread of malpractices in many muster clerks in Ahmednagar district as it was evident that the clerks would try to compensate the cutback in salaries through manipulation of record.

The over-all qualitative impression of the investigation taken about the impact of EGS in Ranzangaon was a favourable one. The EGS has emerged as the stable source of employment for the poorer sections of the population, particularly for the landless, who were absorbed in agriculture for barely 4 months in the year and who are now assured of a minimum wage for at least 9-10 months in the year. For women also the offer of employment at EGS appears to have become a reliable source of income. However, now that the work is complete and the site will be closing down a dependency amongst these sections of the population is there. They regard this as the drawing up of an important source of livelihood. There is no perception amongst these that they can activate another similar scheme and ensure themselves employment by making a representation to the Panchayat Samiti office. It is our qualitative observation that even if it was within their own authority to activate such a scheme, their enthusiasm for a work which is located at some distance from the village would be substantially reduced.

(b) Palwe Budruk, District Ahmednagar

Type of work	:	Nala bunding		
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Workers on muster roll	:	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.
Workers present on day of field survey	:	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.
No. of respondents	:			
Date of field visit	:	26 November 1978		

Palwe Budruk falls in the drought-prone belt of Ahmednagar district. A single crop is raised, the major crops being jowar, bajra and groundnut.

The EGS work is a nala bunding site, and compared to the other percolation tank sites covered in the field survey, this is a small work. Nala bunding work takes 2 to 4 months only for completion, and at the time of survey, this EGS site had been on-going for one or two months.

The activities or jobs performed by workers at the site included digging and carrying of earth. Generally males performed digging operations, while females were engaged in carrying earth.

With the exception of rudimentary medical aid facilities, the site had no other facilities such as drinking water, sheds. Workers fetched their own water from nearby wells.

The field survey team reached this site at about 3 p.m. At this hour of the late afternoon there were less than 10 workers at the site; more women than men. The site is fairly inaccessible since village Palwe Budruk is not served by the S.T. bus service. The field survey team took a bus from Shirur playing on the Poona-Ahmednagar highway, and alighted near Palwe on the main road. Then they walked 3 km to the village. Here they made inquiries about the EGS site from the Talathi (revenue officer). He escorted them to the work site located about 2 km from the village.

At the site the field team had an impromptu discussion with the workers about the system of maintaining attendance records at the site. Since the total weekly wage is linked to the number of days for which the worker has been marked present, the maintenance of attendance record acquires importance. Workers stated that normally the attendance is taken by the muster clerk. However, since the clerk may be responsible for taking attendance at two or three adjoining sites, the attendance may be taken in his absence by the gangman. They also stated that attendance is not taken at any fixed time during the working day, and may be taken whenever the muster clerk finds it convenient.

On the general role of gangmen, the workers expressed no complaints. The gangman is a labourer himself, and therefore belongs to their own class. They tend to exercise some caution in running him down, or in providing illustrations of abuse of authority by him. Their hesitation appears to stem from class loyalty rather than from any fear of reprisal.

(c) Katharde Parivardha, Block Shahada, District Dhulia

Type of work	:	Road construction 5 km to connect village Katharde to village Parivardha		
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Workers on muster roll	:	402	175	227
Workers present on day of field survey	:	389	220	169
No. of respondents	:			34
Date of field visit	:	14-21 November 1978		

The KP EGS road work site is a relatively short-lived site, with a total span of 4-6 months. The site attracts rural labour in its immediate neighbourhood, so that when the work started at Katharde, the offer of employment was a reality only to workers in Katharde and one or two adjoining villages. As the work progressed and the road headed towards Parivardha, there was a change in the composition of workers at the site in respect of their village of origin. The road seemed to draw workers in a dynamic flow, with workers engaging in the work for 3-4 months at a time and then opting out as the distance from the village to the work site increased.

KP falls in a predominantly Adivasi area of Shahada block. Of the workers registered at the site, almost 75 per cent are Adivasi tribals, 13 per cent are Harijans, 6.5 per cent are Kohlis, 1.3 per cent are Gujar and 1.6 per cent are Vadar (ISS Field Survey).

The area receives good rainfall, and is traversed by two major rivers which flow for 7-8 months in the year. The land is undulating with some hilly areas. Several bridges have been built across the rivers, but despite these, large parts of the block are inaccessible during the monsoon months.

Two crops are raised during the year - Kharif paddy and a second crop of sugarcane/bajra/jowar/groundnut, etc.

The landholding pattern is skewed with a large proportion of the land concentrated with a few big landlords and the residual land being held in small fragmented holdings by Adivasi peasants.

In a historical process extending over five to six decades of the present century, there has been a systematic usurpment of Adivasi-held lands by immigrant Gujars and Rajput Dajis from Gujarat. These Gujars and Rajputs entered the district as traders in the last decades of the 19th century, and used their superior mercantile skills to acquire the lands of the native tribals and consign them to subordinate positions in the peasant hierarchy. In course of time, the tribals became attached labourers on the lands which they had previously owned.

Shahada block of Dhulia district has been a focus of reformist movements since the 1940s. Social workers, both from Maharashtra and other parts of the country, have organised some tribal groups against selected "evils" such as liquor consumption ("Daru Bandi" movement of 1942). Baba Amte's group of social workers was among the earliest "outsiders" to work intensively with the Shahada tribals. This group involved local tribal leaders, including Gulab Singh Maharaj and Amber Singh Maharaj. These persons had a popular base in the area, and their involvement in the activities of the groups of outsiders attracted mass interest and involvement.

The movements came in "waves", waxing and waning according to the strength of the organisers' personality, their ability to stimulate mass interest and the extent of transfer of organising capacity to local leaders. The existence of these interest-cum-pressure groups had one direct consequence, viz. the politicisation of the local population. Tribal society, with its relatively loose hierarchical structures, appeared to appreciate the core message of the reformists to alter status quo in respect of infructuous socio-economic and political systems which had become entrenched over the decades.

It was against this background that the small group of militant activities formed the Shramik Sangathan of Shahada in the early 1970s. This was the first organisation of labourers ("Shramik"), predominantly landless agricultural labourers in the block, formed with the specific purpose of challenging some of the "traditions" in agriculture created by the rich landlords.

Shramik Sangathan has precipitated many confrontations with landlords, and also called some general strikes of agricultural workers in the area. The attack is concentrated on the "saldar" system of attached labour which deprives workers of the minimum wage and at the same time fixes them in a contract of bondedness to the landlord. Identification of the workers with the activities of the Shramik Sangathan has caused dismissal of workers by the landlords. During the field survey, the investigators met such dismissed workers, including women, who were barred from agricultural employment on the landlords' farms in the neighbourhood.

In several cases where landlords had dismissed workers, the Shramik Sangathan has activated the local machinery and initiated an EGS site. The KP site was also started on the initiative of Shramik Sangathan. This site was reportedly started when a zamindar (landlord) of Parivardha had tried to assault an organiser of Shramik Sangathan, and the Adivasis of the village had given him shelter and saved his life.

Field investigators also reported that local workers were traditionally not hired for sugarcane harvesting, and that labour was imported for the purpose. Local labour is not considered adequately trained for the "specialised" job of sugarcane harvesting.

Adivasi women have played a special role in the Shramik Sangathan. Adivasi society is lacking in feudal subordination of women and there appears to be a manifestly greater sexual equality operating in this community than in caste Hindu households. Women from five to six Shahada villages where the

Sangathan operates formed a sub-organisation specifically to combat alcoholism among the men. Reportedly, whenever a man came home drunk and misbehaved with his wife and children, women from other households in the village immediately trooped out of their homes and threw a ring around the house where the incident was taking place. In time they dragged the offender out and beat him. Reportedly this action has yielded successful results so that now drunkenness is not a severe problem in the community.

Survey shows that there is a trend towards Sankritisation in the Adivasi community with improvement in their access to "development goods" such as roads, schools, health care, etc. This trend appears to be affecting women's status more keenly than most other aspects of tribal life and sexual equality appears to stand threatened.

The respondents were interviewed on holidays, commencing at about 6.30 a.m. A few interviews were conducted at the site, while some persons were interviewed at the house of the supervisor who helped the investigating team by providing information about the site and the workers, all of which helped in sample selection.

(d) Lakhori site, Block Sakoli, District Bhandara

Type of work	:	Percolation tank		
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Workers on muster roll	:	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.
Workers present on day of field survey	:	24	12	12
No. of respondents	:			45
Date of field visit	:	17 December 1978		

The EGS site of percolation tank is located at a distance of about 1-2 km from village Lakhori. The village is situated 25 km from Bhandara town, which is the district headquarters town. From Bhandara the field investigators took an ST bus to Lakhori, a small town, which is a half-hour ride away from Bhandara. Lakhori village lies about 6 km away from this place, and the field survey team walked 1 1/2 hours to reach the village.

The work at the percolation tank was started 3-4 years ago and the types of job tasks available for male workers at the site included digging, fetching drinking water and supervision, while for women the major task was disposal of earth. There were no amenities or facilities available at the site, not even a shed for resting. The site seems to draw workers from three villages, viz. Samalwara (located at a distance of 5 km), Lakhiro (1-2 km), and Goundsawari (5 km). Wages were paid on a weekly basis on Tuesday which was also the bazaar day in the area, and also happens to be the rest day at the site. Coupons had been introduced recently at the EGS site.

Lakhori village is located in Sakoli block which was one of the blocks selected by the joint evaluation of the EGS by the Planning Commission (PEO) and the State Planning Department in 1974 (Report published in January 1978). The percolation tank site at Lakhori had been visited by the joint evaluation field survey team, and a sample was drawn from the village in accordance with the sampling framework postulated for that survey.

The original proposal of the present investigation was to match the sample drawn for the present study with the households sampled in the earlier survey. Accordingly, the investigators visited the office of the joint investigating team in Bhandara, and obtained identification details of 30 sampled households. Of these households, a large proportion were not relevant for purposes of the sampling design drawn for the present study, as they included households with salaried employees in non-manual service, and without any member of the family in EGS.

On arriving at Lakhori village, the investigating team first identified the "PEO households". They were assisted in locating these households by a young boy who runs a tea-shop in the village, a business which reportedly comes alive only during the elections. He introduced the team to the Talathi (village revenue officer), who not only helped in pruning the PEO list on the basis of emigration of families or change of occupations, but also obtained the register of bidi workers from the two bidi contractors in the village. These registers contain identification details of all bidi workers, and the Talathi selected those names from the register which fulfilled the twin criteria of participation in EGS as well as Bidi. A few households were also selected on the basis of the women's exclusive participation in bidi.

Mahar (Harijan) is the dominant caste in the village, as also in the district as a whole. Other caste groups are Kunbi, Gound (Adivasi tribals), and non-Mahar Harijans. Kunbis are generally regarded as land-owners, while Harijans are commonly landless. Bidi workers are dominated by Harijans.

Bhandara district does not have a tradition of attached labour. Landholding of various sizes exist in the district - large, medium and small, with a preponderance of small holdings. The level of irrigation is relatively high, and paddy is the major crop of the area. Sakoli block in particular has a markedly high level of irrigation.

The following rough figures provided by the Talathi present a profile of the landholding pattern in Lakhori village:

(i) Total No. of households	650
(ii) No. of households having:	
30 acres and above	8
20-29 acres	12
5-19 acres	100
Less than 5 acres	267
(iii) Landless households	263

Landlessness is thus rampant in Lakhori village, with almost half the household population in this category.

The Talathi also provided qualitative estimates of literacy levels in Lakhori village, as shown below:

(i) Total population	3 500 persons
(ii) Population below 15 years	1 000 "
(iii) Male literacy rate as proportion of total male population	80%
(iv) Female literacy rate as proportion of total female population	50%
(v) (a) No. of male graduates	17
(b) Unemployed male graduates	15
(vi) Highest educational attainment by a female in the village	Class X

The dominant occupation of the women who worked on EGS sites is not EGS work but bidi or agricultural labour. This is despite the fact that the percolation tank site at Lakhori was current for 3-4 years. The site had been completed three months prior to the date of the field survey.

A majority of the respondents in Lakhori had worked for a short duration on EGS, one to four months, and abandoned it afterwards in favour of their traditional occupation, commonly bidi or agriculture. Wages in EGS averaged 60 paise to Re.1 for an 8-hour work-day. This rate was almost half of the earnings in bidi and slightly lower than the prevailing wages in agriculture. Those who had worked more recently, in the year preceding the field survey, reported EGS wages of Rs. 2. Respondents also rejected EGS work on account of the reportedly severe physical burden of EGS work as compared to other occupations.

The respondents had no consciousness of the guarantee attached to the work under EGS and, in fact, they drew no distinction between different works under plan expenditure and EGS works. They referred to the EGS site as "Lakhori Talao", a simple identification of the tank by its location.

Field investigators reported that after they had approached interviewees in Lakhori and they were returning to Bhandara they passed a small road construction site undertaken routinely in the development plan of the area, and workers at this site displayed genuine anxiety to be interviewed by the team so that they would not be left out of any "benefits" that the team's visit might bring to the workers at the Lakhori site.

The EGS percolation tank at Lakhori was not executed departmentally but, in fact, had been given out to a private contractor. When the relevant department was contacted at Bhandara they acknowledged that the site had been given out to the contractor because of their experience that labour is drawn to sites managed by private contractors rather than those which are executed departmentally. It was not possible to ascertain during the present survey whether this was the only reason for the subletting of the Lakhori site to the contractor, or whether in fact the department made a small net profit in doing so. There was some awareness among the workers about the mixed supervision of this work, since they reported that they received some wages from the department and the rest from the contractor.

Lakhori village falls in the bidi-intensive belt of Bhandara district, and represents a microcosm of the putting out or the dispersed factory system of manufacture. A large private bidi "factory" is located in Gondiya town and serves as a centre of finishing and marketing, linking several smaller field units in a hierarchy of contractual arrangement. The factory owners had appointed field contractors in various villages of the block, and those persons, in turn, have mobilised workers in two to three adjoining villages. The rolled bidis are taken back to the contractor who lives in a central village within a radius of 2-4 km of the other villages from where the workers are drawn. The contractor weighs the rolled bidis, checks for short weight, and also for quality. There is a substantial amount of rejection at this stage. The wages of bidi rollers are determined on the basis of the quality of the finished product. On the average, wages for bidi rolling are in the range of Re.1 to Rs. 1.50. Each contractor has about 200 workers working under him in various shapes of informal to formal, contractual arrangement. The contractor supplies each worker with Tendu leaves, tobacco and thread, in fixed quantity on the basis of a quota system. The workers take the raw materials home for processing. They cut the leaves to size, powder the tobacco, fill it with tobacco and then roll bidis and secure them with thread. Reportedly, the rate of bidi rolling wages has not been revised upward for several years and has remained constant at Rs. 4.50-5.00 per 1,000 bidis rolled. Wages are paid daily and there were no complaints about delays in payments.

Women are in the majority in bidi rolling and this is a traditional occupation for women of the Mahar community. They are inducted into this occupation early, and girls start by helping their mothers when still very young. Bidi rolling is generally intermeshed with domestic work, and is continued into the late hours of the night. Although accurate estimates of time distribution in bidi rolling could not be made in the course of the present investigation, it was inferred from the respondents' statement that this occupation is conducted for 8-9 hours daily.



Bidi rolling takes a heavy toll of women who are engaged in it continuously for a long period. The respondents reported that their fingers hurt and they develop a chronic backache. Also they expressed some dissatisfaction with the wage payment arrangements whereby any member of the family could collect wages for the family for bidis rolled from the contractor. This has led to intra-household problems of access to income and control over it. However, the workmen were not forthcoming on this subject and this might either indicate a desire to withhold information of a personal nature, or on the other hand, might suggest that this is not a critical problem in the women's perception.

Two problems were mentioned repeatedly by respondents in relation to their participation in bidi rolling. One, the contractor reported a shortage of raw material so that the quota per worker was reduced and caused a significant decline in the women's earnings. The women reported this as a severe deprivation since most of them did not think they had any other viable work option which would help them to supplement their earnings. Their dependence on earnings from bidi rolling appeared to be absolute in those cases where their men had migrated to other areas in search of employment. In the sample canvassed in Lakhori this appeared to be a common phenomenon. Whereas the absent male did repatriate some earnings, the brunt of the household expenses appeared to be borne by the female respondents themselves. Parenthetically, it may also be noted that the workmen did not seem to have a clear idea of where their men had migrated to, nor even whether they were in a rural or urban area. The second problem associated with bidi rolling was the impermanence of the employment. Workers who had worked without interruption for six months were made card-holders by the bidi contractor and this qualification entitled them to priority ranking in allocation of raw materials for processing. Therefore, this group enjoyed some permanence in employment in bidi rolling. For the others, work in bidi rolling is casual, chancy and irregular. These workers strive to work a continuous span of six months for the contractor but generally come up against personal crises, such as sickness which forces them to interrupt work for the contractor for a few days. This interruption is enough to disqualify them, and their month-count begins afresh each time.

Respondents were asked to express the difference between bidi rolling and EGS work in a hypothetical situation when both types of offers of employment existed. Their response was mixed, since the memory of the low wages at the Lakhori site was fresh in their minds. However, they clearly stated that they wished to continue their bidi rolling for as many months as work was available, and in the interim months they were eager to find employment in any type of work where the wage met the minimum nutritional requirements of the workers themselves and their families. Even as they said this they expressed doubts about the Government's intention to provide them a guarantee of employment throughout the year, especially on a basis of take-it-and-drop-it-when-you-like.

(e) Kawadi, Block Salekasa, District Bhandara

Type of work	:	Percolation tank
Workers on muster roll	:	Not available
Workers present on day of field survey	:	Not available
No. of respondents	:	28
Date of field survey	:	14-21 December, 1978

Kawadi village is located in the interior of Salekasa block at a distance of about 40-50 km from Gounda town and 16 km from a smaller town, Amgaon. The nearest bus stop is located 2 km away at village Sakritola. A kuchha road, which is only a fair-weather road, links Kawadi to the ST bus transport. Kawadi is small with 225 households and a total population of approximately 1,200. A registered multi-purpose co-operative society is located in the village as also a primary school and a middle school. The village has recently received electricity and now has provision for some street lighting. It does not have

a post office. Paddy and wheat are the Kharif and Rabi crops respectively. It is possible to raise two crops a year because Salekasa is a well-irrigated block, as it falls in the catchment area of two medium irrigation projects (reportedly the whole of Bhandara district is highly irrigated with 40 per cent cultivated land under irrigation. There are an estimated 1,500 village tanks, 700 minor irrigation tanks, and 276 small irrigation tanks.)

The caste composition in Kawadi included various lower order castes such as Dhobi, Kunbi, etc. and also had a sizeable Adivasi population.

The dominant income-earning occupation of women in Kawadi is agricultural labour and other manual work such as at construction site. Bidi rolling work is a negligible source of employment for women in this village.

The EGS PT site was started three years ago and at the time of survey the unskilled portion of the work had finished only four days earlier.

At Kawadi, too, the investigating team checked out the sample canvassed by the earlier joint investigation of the Planning Commission and the Maharashtra State Planning Department. The team was helped by the son of a big landlord in the village who was reportedly very co-operative and also well informed.

At this EGS site wages had averaged Rs. 2.50-Rs. 3.00 a day and had in general been higher than corresponding wages in agriculture, especially for women. The respondents have had a happy experience with EGS and requested, not demanded, that another EGS work be started in the village. However, they did not show undue anxiety since the field survey coincided with the post-harvesting season when grain bins were full in most houses.

On the whole, the investigating team had the distinct impression that EGS was a welcome and important source of employment in Kawadi, both for men and women. Whereas for the women it had emerged as a full-time offer of employment, for the men it seemed to have provided an avenue of supplementary employment during the inter-agricultural months. Although the role of EGS in setting a floor wage in manual and physical work was not probed during the current investigation, the qualitative impression of the investigating team was that agricultural wages for men had, in fact, increased in the three years that the Kawadi PT was under construction.

IMPACT ON WOMEN WORKERS

MAHARASHTRA EMPLOYMENT GUARANTEE SCHEME

- A study

VOLUME II

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Emergency Employment Schemes Branch,  
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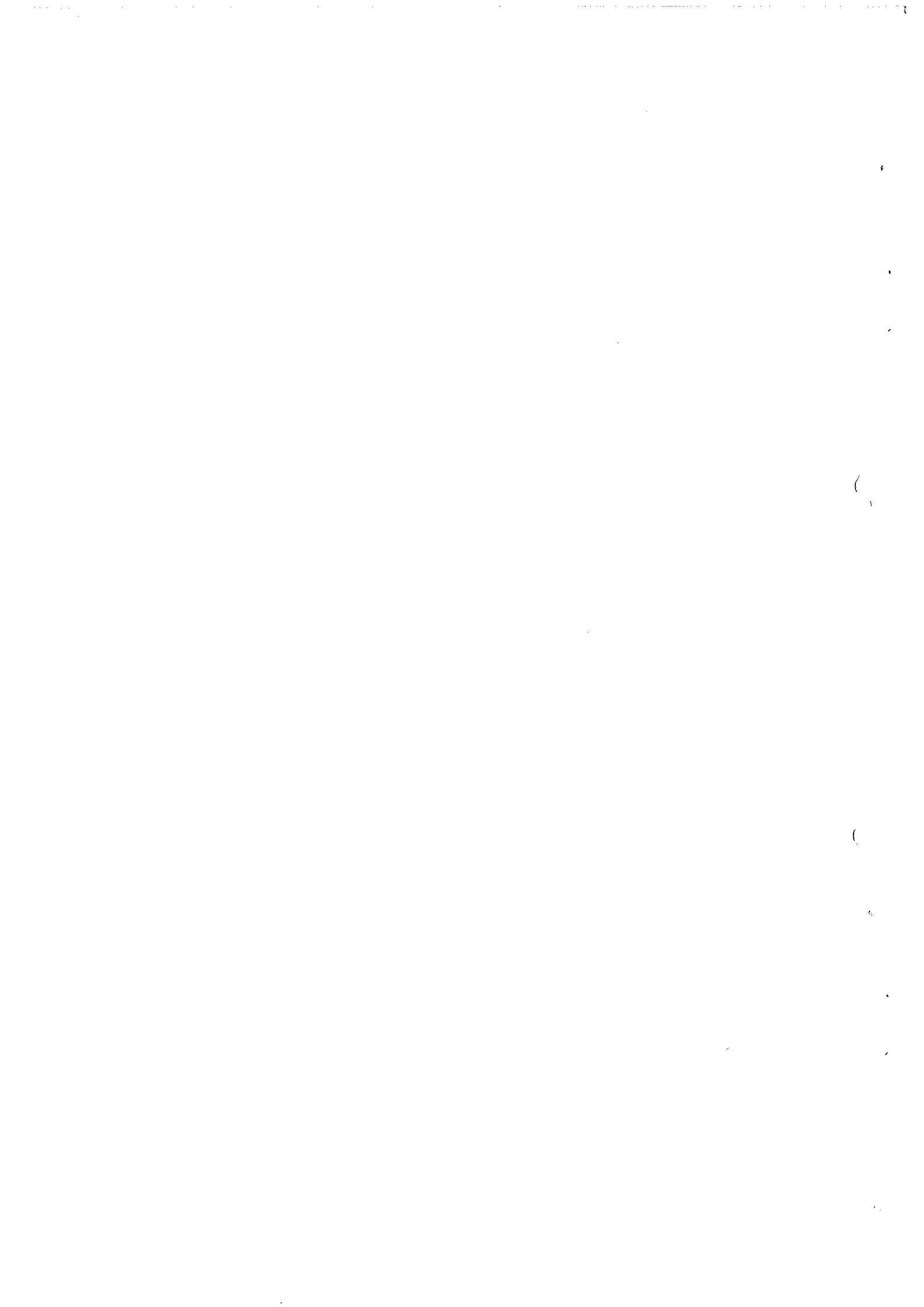
APPENDICES TO VOLUME I

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REPORT OF FIELD VISIT

Date: May 1978

Devaki Jain

During May 1978, Maharashtra was visited and several leaders of the programme were interviewed as follows:

Section 1

1. Shri V.S. Pagey: Currently Chairman of the Maharashtra State Khadi and Village Industries Commission.

It was Shri Pagey who initiated the employment guarantee scheme in Maharashtra in 1974 when he was a member of the Legislative Assembly.

Shri Pagey outlined the social philosophy of the programme. He said that this was an attempt to test a hypothesis which prevailed even in Mahatma Gandhi's mind namely, that Indians do not wish to work. Another hypothesis was that giving the unemployed some kind of relief work was wasteful as it did not build up assets or add to the value of the goods and services produced in an economy. The idea behind this programme was to prove that the unemployed, if given the right to demand work, would work; and what is more they could in fact improve the asset base of the economy if the works are properly planned.

However, in order to by-pass or avoid conflict with the core of any employment programme, namely the provision of durable long-term economically viable employment, certain conditions would be built into the programme.

Shri Pagey referred to the experience of the socialist countries and the conditions which have been imposed there in giving the right to work. He mentioned that since the socialist economic system was organised in order to avoid economic cycles but at the same time attain steady growth; an additional objective was abolition of unemployment. Hence they had very rigorous conditions in order to be able to give the right to work, namely a centrally controlled economic system where the State took the decisions.

He contrasted the Soviet experience with that of the USA where he said the question the administration posed was how much unemployment is necessary to keep down inflation while generating the growth. In other words he argued that a full employment programme was not consistent with the American economic system. He then took the illustration from Yugoslavia where other attempts had been made to sort out the problem. He concluded that some amount of trade-off may become necessary and by and large in all these countries there was a trade-off between equality and efficiency. In other words to achieve the target of efficiency there had to be certain surrender of equality.

He said a challenge in India was to see how to link a full employment programme with a mixed economy, i.e. that is neither socialist type economy nor of the American type economy.

2. He also described the origins and history of this programme. In 1958-1959 a 19-man committee of the All India Congress Committee was set up as a planning group. They had in fact suggested that some kind of employment guarantee should be built in to policy in India as a high priority. Then in the fourth plan period, i.e. 1966-1971 Prof. D.R. Gadgil, then the Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission, had supported a pilot project for a testing scheme which would guarantee employment for rural labour. Pilot schemes were undertaken under the Pilot Intensive Rural Employment Programme, or commonly known as PIREP in several parts of the country. The functioning of these programmes was assessed by independent academic institutions both in terms of the value they had added to national resources as well as the impact they had on the unemployment situation.



There have been several other attempts to mop up the unemployment amongst the rural poor, for example the small and marginal farmers' scheme, then the IADP and so on.

However, it is Shri Pagey's view that the employment guarantee as a scheme should not be merged with the general employment generating programmes but should be kept as a separate line of action designed to take care of a certain type of unemployment.

3. Outlining the major aims of the programme in the context of a social philosophy as well as its growth Shri Pagey laid down the following aims:

- (1) extracting more out of labour;
- (2) building national assets;
- (3) not violating minimum wage rules;
- (4) reaching the poorest, the lowest 5 per cent of the labour force;
- (5) providing a daily wage to this labour.

Describing the payment system which is on a piece rate basis he said that piece rate schedules are made up on the basis of experiments on 100 persons for 7 days. The average rate is derived from this experiment.

Ideally he would expect that there would be 50 men and 50 women in every site. However, he found that women and Harijans come in larger numbers. The wages are too low for men and non-Harijans. He said the Harijans have no staying power and therefore need this income.

4. In fulfilling these aims it is Shri Pagey's view that:

- (1) the employment should be available only when there is no other pull of regular employment;
- (2) the wage should be lower than the market wage so that it mops up only those who cannot reach for regular employment; and
- (3) the minimum wage should be equal to that minimum wage which is available in the poorest zone in Maharashtra. This would also ensure that the programme is available mainly and solely for the poorest. In his view the programme was mainly geared to eradication of destitution and hunger.

He argued that labour being the main and dominant resource in India, this labour could develop national assets if put to work with proper planning.

Shri Pagey mentioned some of the prevailing problems of the programme, for example:

- (1) that there was some lapse in the utilisation of the resources built up by the workers on the EGS;
- (2) that several works are left incomplete. He said these are not problems which are impossible to overcome. The point is to analyse the reasons for this kind of breakdown in planning and to improve it through evaluation.

Shri Pagey mentioned that he had interviewed a woman at the site. He asked her if she went to the ration shop. She said no. She said: "When I get wages the ration shop does not have the ration. When he gets the ration I have no wage with which to buy it. Hence I go to the moneylender. The moneylender gives me maize for Rs. 10/-." When the muster roll clerk is ready to pay her the wages she makes him pay the moneylender Rs. 12/-.

In other words Rs. 10/- in 15 days becomes Rs. 12/- in terms of debt for this worker. Shri Pagey calculated that for one year this would be Rs. 48/- and would yield an interest rate of 480 per cent per annum. He showed how the poor were paying the highest interest rates in the country and how vital it was to develop programmes and supporting facilities which made them less vulnerable.

## Section 2

1. Shri V.S. Tungare, formerly Executive Chief of the Employment Guarantee Site Programme - now Managing Director of the Land Development Bank, Maharashtra Government.

Shri Tungare feels that the employment guarantee scheme should not be looked at as an employment scheme. The job created for this scheme would not fall into the definition of "job", of the International Labour Organisation. It is just that manual work is made available to those who are physically able. EGS is expected to fill the void and must wither away when jobs or employment become available.

It is because of this conception of the programme that Shri Tungare thinks that there is no point in getting either the Khadi and Village Industries Commission or other such development agencies to come into the picture and develop employment schemes.

He emphasised that local level planning for full employment is different from EGS. Manpower budgeting requires mapping of skill and planning employment to absorb the skills of different groups. He thinks that once block level planning for full employment comes into operation then employment guarantee would be drawn. Hence he adds that the criticism of some economists that the employment guarantee schemes are not viable, is beside the point.

2. In terms of analysing the labour who come to the site, Shri Tungare mentions that apart from the predominance of scheduled castes and Harijans, small farmers also come to the site. He thinks that the small farmers come to work on the sites for capital accumulation whereas the poor or the landless would work for survival.

3. Shri Tungare has observed that women come to the site to work because the men drink. When he visited the site on the border Bijapur he found that 60 per cent of the men drunk and left the site at 12 noon but women work until the evening.

4. In drought-prone areas such as Sholapur and Ahmednagar; women are used to working in open sites but in Vidherba and Marathwada, women never have worked in the open, hence Marathwada women did not come to the site. However, Harijan women came in these places also. Marathwadadas will not mix with Harijans.

5. He would suggest schemes such as horticulture, dairy and handicrafts for artisans as schemes which should be included in the package of schemes for EGS. He feels that the major weakness of the scheme lies in the administrative machinery system. Most administrators are frightened by the magnitude of the task. Secondly it is not easy to find viable useful schemes which could be completed in two or four months. It is this kind of servicing that is required from the planning group. They should provide technical services to the administrative officers. The irrigation department has to bear the burden for providing this kind of technical service. However, other departments should also provide some services. During the drought, 1971-1973, all works were exhausted so metal breaking was started as a work. Between 1973-1977 the programme moved, but mainly concentrated on relief work which is unproductive work. In 1975 there was stagnation because of the emergency. The administration would not fill vacancies in the irrigation department.

6. In answer to the criticism that many works are incomplete, Shri Tungare pointed out this is due to lack of local level administration efficiency. Works are started just 15 days before the agricultural season begins. Once the agricultural season starts the labour goes away and the work remains incomplete. At this stage it is not fair to blame the workers, it would be the collector's responsibility to plan it properly. The collector should wait until 150-200 workers register themselves, take note of the problem and reorganise the work accordingly.

7. He added that EGS works could be misused by exploitative elements and gave an illustration from the district of Bhandara where bidi manufacture is a predominant activity for women. The bidi contractor had closed down this operation in retaliation for a demand for higher wages by the workers. The

pressure on the contractor from the public was mounting as the distress of the women workers increased. When asked to join the EGS, the women refused saying they demand the right to work on bidi, to be given leaves to roll. However, the collector opened the site and thereby the women lost their strength. The contractors found this a simple way out of the confrontation.

8. Shri Tungare sees in this programme a great opportunity for labour to come together. Fifty persons coming together, working together and when there are distances travelling together can be a source of solidarity. However, if they are organised into any form of unions Shri Tungare fears they will be exploited by politicians. Regarding labour co-operatives as an alternative form of organisation Shri Tungare feels that these become the victims of Panchayat leaders.

9. In Shahada of Dhulia district the landlords or owners of the sugarcane plantations, have organised plant protection armies with fire arms. While they are growing sugarcane they wish to keep away the Adivasis. Sugarcane does not need continuous tending therefore does not offer more than intermittent peak employment for a few months in the year. It is against this kind of terrorism that Shramik Sangathan is attempting resistance. He also mentioned one person who out of consideration for the Adivasis had employed only Adivasis in a Khandsari factory. But he felt that this gentleman also would be threatened.

### Section 3

Shri Hakim, Deputy Secretary in the Planning Department, gave figures for 1977-1978 for some of the districts in Maharashtra. These were labour attendance figures totals, backward classes and female attendance. From his figures it emerged that in Ahmednagar females were 48 per cent of total workers, and backward classes 33 per cent. The expenditure in Ranzangaon for one year was 379 lakhs. The total number of workers per day in the month of March 1977 was 25,000.

In Bhandara females were 38 per cent of the labour force, backward classes 28 per cent, expenditure 171 lakhs and total labour on any day in March was 14,000. In Dhulia females formed 42 per cent of the labour force, backward classes 47 per cent, the expenditure 110 lakhs and the total number of workers on any one day in March 28,000.

Mr. Hakim inferred from this that wherever there was a large number of workers reporting, females were an important proportion of the total number of workers. Secondly, Dhulia being a district with a higher percentage of Adivasis the backward caste percentage is very high. Otherwise women as a sub-set of the labour force provide a greater percentage than backward classes.

### Section 4

Shri V.S. Dhumal, Chief Executive Officer of the Dhulia Zilla Parishad mentioned how the Shahada movement had been started initially by a Sarvodaya leader known as Baba Amte. Now it had moved to Marxism. He described the organisation Shramik Sangathan as being organised for fighting for minimum wages as well as the return of the land to the Adivasis. The Sangathan also struggled not only against the private employer, but also against the PWD, because the wages in PWD were often lower than the minimum wage.

The Sangathan often comes to the block officers and requests that a site be opened in order to provide some immediate subsistence for the workers when they strike work at peak.

Seasons varied depending upon crops, for example October and March were peak seasons for Jowar, October for planting and March for harvesting. Lean seasons were end of June to September-October.

In Ahmednagar in Parmer Taluka the structure is as follows:

There is a Zilla Parishad which is in charge of irrigation works. There is the Tehsildar. Under the collector there are the following departments:

- (1) Works Department;
- (2) Irrigation Department
  - minor irrigation,
  - medium irrigation,
  - project engineer.
- (3) Public Health Department, including Environmental Department;
- (4) Forest Department.

The Executive Engineer for the EGS is located in Ahmednagar.

Shri Hakim, describing the reasoning for the EGS said that it was estimated from the 27th round, that 99 crores of man-days are unemployed. However, the 27th round does not give how many unemployed require work for how many days and at what period. The employment guarantee scheme guarantees work within 15 days of its being demanded.

In Maharashtra 89.8 per cent of the males of about 18 are in the labour force and 66.2 per cent of females about 18 are in the labour force, he said.

#### Section 5

1. Dr. Sulabha Brahme, Fellow of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics held the view that the employment guarantee scheme is by and large a way of keeping the labour supply for the employer in a cushion or in a stock, ready for seasonal use by the farmers. She was critical of programmes of this kind as it lowered the power of the unorganised agricultural labourers in improving their working conditions with the employers.

2. Speaking about women, she said that since women are working anyway manual work on the site does not add to their physical burden. So the question of burden does not arise.

3. But the reasons why so many women work on the site is because, while men do small-size self-employment type of work, while they engage in trade and not skilled and semi-skilled agricultural operations, women do not have this access. They have to work on the sites to survive. She added that women actually report in much larger numbers on the site. Sometimes 70 per cent of those who turn up for work are women but they do not get the work as the engineer preferred to have a ratio of 50:50 males and females for opening a work.

4. Dr. Brahme suggested that rather than try to cover a whole State and see the problems, it would be best to concentrate on one gang and try to find out the amount of work, the wages and the way they are distributed both by the Mukkadam as well as the gang head.

5. Another pattern that she suggested was to take labour working under different conditions. In other words, a pool of female labour working in an ordinary village, a pool working in a drought-prone area where there is much unemployment, a gang of labour working under contract at sugarcane plantations and then a gang working under the EGS programme. She said a comparative study of these groups of labour would help in understanding alternative working patterns and identifying which are the most sympathetic supporters of women workers.

Section 6

1. A visit was made to a site in the Poona District. The name of the site is Sanaswadi via Shikrapur. The following persons were met:

- (1) M.B. Jadhav, Circle Officer, Telegaon Dhamdhere, Taluka-Sirur.
- (2) K.L. Dhumal, EGS Assistant Collector
- (3) Mukkadam-Shilke.

The name of the project was Sanaswadi project, the nature of the work was nala bunding. The work was supposed to belong to the area Pimple-Jagtap. The labourers came from two nearby villages Sanaswadi and Jategaon. The time was about 10 a.m. There were only 9 persons on the site, 6 females of whom 2 were small girls aged 11 and 14 and 3 males supervised by a Mukkadam. The men, women and children were working in separate parts of the site in smaller groups. Each group was digging its own pit. Each group had its own pitcher of water. One man was working alone carrying earth from his pit and throwing it where it is supposed to be thrown. The men looked old and tired and extremely unkept. The women were relatively young girls and much less destitute looking.

2. One male labourer who looked sick and under-nourished when interviewed said that he had worked with the same Mukkadam for nearly three years. He pointed with pride to the Mukkadam (foreman) who was supervising the whole site and said he had kept him in employment for the last three years. This labourer moved with the Mukkadam who made sure that the labourer always found a site and got the work. This comment raised the question whether the labourers were not in some way bound by a contract to the Mukkadam. If so, he could be as much a moneylender as well as take commission for organising them in which case the wage rates actually reaching the labourers would be even less than what it was then.

3. One woman about 35 years old was also interviewed. She was separated from her husband who she said was a drunkard, would beat his wife and then married another woman. She lived with her father, and two other sisters. Her sisters she said had weak eye-sight and could not work but she and her father both worked at the site and earned Rs. 15 to Rs. 25/- per week. If three persons work she said they could earn nearly Rs. 45/- to 50/- a week which was an ample income.

4. She reported that the family owned 30-35 acres of land but unirrigated. They were a joint family with 4 brothers and their wives, in all 14 persons.

5. They grew Jawar and Bajra on their land, Jowar October to December and Bajra June to August. She added that they had work on their own land only when the monsoon was favourable; otherwise they were unemployed.

6. Regarding employment on other people's land, she said the males got Rs. 4.30 per day while the females Rs. 2/- to Rs. 2.50 per day and had to work from 9 a.m. to 7 p.m. On the other hand on EGS site she said the working hours were 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. They lived three miles from Sanaswadi and took one hour to come to the site, she said. She claimed that she has been working on the EGS for nearly three years.

7. Regarding indebtedness she said they usually borrow money from the money-lender or wheat from the shopkeeper until she gets the wages. She added that her father had borrowed Rs. 3,000-4,000 for the marriages of the daughters but had not yet been able to repay it. While she could not remember the exact rate of interest he paid, she felt it was about Rs. 50 to Rs. 100/- per month.

8. They have already sold their animals and therefore, cannot work on their land. They had no money to buy labour or animals.

REPORT OF A VISIT TO AN EMPLOYMENT AFFIRMATION SITE

Date: 19 June 1979

Devaki Jain

The Karnataka Government has initiated an employment scheme somewhat similar to the Employment Guarantee Scheme of Maharashtra. They call this scheme the Employment Affirmation Scheme. It was started in 1979. The sites were opened on 1 March and closed on 8 June.

Two blocks have been chosen in Karnataka for experimenting with this programme. One of them is Nelamangala; this block was visited.

The programme is managed jointly by the Taluka Development Board, which is a local body at the block level composed of officials and non-officials and the PWD. At this Taluka, the registration of jobs in the beginning of the period, i.e., March, was in the range of 7,000 under each organisation (TDB and PWD). However, the number of persons who actually turned up for work was much less, and it is claimed that the TDB has given employment to about 2,700 persons and the PWD to about 3,000 persons.

The composition of the labourers who report for work varies, but it is estimated that 75 per cent of them come from the Scheduled Castes or AK (Aadi Karnatakas), as they are called in Karnataka.

Nelamangala is a dry area where employment for those not owning land is neither regular nor available. The minimum wage in the State is Rs.4.62 per day. It is said by the Block Development Officer that the wage for agricultural work varies from Rs.6/- to Rs.8/-. The PWD usually pays Rs.5/- for males and Rs.4/- for females per day.

Table N (Nelamangala) attached gives a breakdown of the data available at the block on employment, expenditure, food-grains distributed and the work undertaken.

There are 43 villages in the block and consequently the 43 sites which have been opened provide employment for about 5,000 persons in a three-month period. The average duration of work at a site, it was said, was for about 60 days. It was also claimed that in this period 80 per cent of the work initiated has been completed.

It seems that part of the approach with the works is that they must be completed by the community in continuation of the Government's initial assistance under the Employment Affirmation Scheme. For example, 12 community irrigation wells are incomplete.

The data from the three sites show the following ratios of men and women:

<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
367	286	
445	364	
1 205	972	

In other words, the ratio of men to women is 10:8 or, to put it another way, women formed about 40 per cent of the labour force at the site.

Attendance is taken at the site twice a day. Wages are distributed both in cash and kind. Food-grains are stored in the block office as well as in local site offices. Labourers are given food-grains along with cash payment by the department itself and not through ration shops, etc. As and when the labourer comes to the office he is identified from the muster roll and given the cash wage and food-grain wage.

Progress report of Employment Affirmation Scheme in Nelamangala Taluk for the year 1978-79

S. No.	Particulars		For the month of			
			March	April	May	June
1	Number of registered jobseekers as on	TDB PWD	7 378 7 378	- -	- -	- -
2	<u>Employment</u>					
	(a) Number of persons benefited	TDB PWD	974 1 696	1 160 2 775	2 018 3 018	1 082 1 664
	(b) Number of man-days of employment guaranteed	TDB PWD	11 587 29 019	11 968 39 195	14 958 62 959	10 937 6 655
3	<u>Cash expenditure (Rs.)</u>					
	(a) Wages (1/3 paid in cash)	TDB PWD	15 518.80 38 959.00	14 677.10 47 634.00	20 289.50 65 459.00	14 663.70 8 652.00
	(b) Capital costs (purchase of tools, implements, materials, etc.); hire charges, storage and transportation of food-grains, incidental charges, wages for skilled labour, etc.	TDB PWD	16 253.80 12 751.00	12 507.00 166 779.00	9 072.25 186 375.00	11 332.35 21 805.00
	(c) Total cash expenditure	TDB PWD	31 771.60 165 710.00	27 184.10 214 413.00	29 361.75 251 834.00	26 496.55 30 457.00
4	<u>Food-grains distributed (in quintals)</u>					
	(a) Wheat	TDB PWD	296.38 720.43	203.62 395.85	- -	- -
	(b) Rice	TDB PWD	- -	51.83 -	135.56 600.36	148.80 119.70
	(c) Ragi	TDB PWD	- -	- 420.00	234.36 80.06	108.37 -
	(d) Jawar	TDB PWD	- -	- -	- -	- -
5	<u>Works undertaken</u>					
	(a) <u>Number of works completed</u>					
	(i) During	TDB PWD	3 -	8 -	6 26	16 -
	(ii) Since inception	TDB PWD	3 -	11 -	11 -	33 -
	(b) <u>Number of works under progress as at close (30 April 1979)</u>	TDB PWD	25 48	49 48	37 63	22 37

(Signed)

Block Development Officer,  
Development Block,  
Nelamangala.

Some impressions from the field visit

During the field visit the Block Development Officer as well as the Vice-President of the local Taluka Development Board were interviewed (the Vice-President happens to be a woman).

It was the women's impression that there were more women labourers at the sites than men. This is somewhat contradictory to the data that has been given by the block office. On further investigation, it was revealed that the data generated by the block office comes from the registration of wage distribution at the department's office. It is possible that, although a male may register and give his own name as the worker and later collect wages at the office, the work at the site is performed by members of his family. Hence the conflict between the visual impression of a majority of women workers and the official statistics.

One of the villages which was part of the scheme was visited. This was a Harijan village and also the home village of a minister in the Karnataka Cabinet.

Women interviewed in the village had all participated in the Employment Affirmation Scheme. About 10-12 of them who lived in the colony stated that, after the site had been closed about 11 days before, they were out of work. Though the farmers had activated agricultural work after the rains, they only called for male labourers. They had no use for female labourers except occasionally to weed the fields and do other odd jobs. They regretted that this source of employment had been denied to them and said they had no other source of income. They wanted the sites reopened.

Another interesting aspect of the Karnataka scheme was that the cleaning and repairing of Harijan villages is also included as one of the schemes that can be undertaken by the authorities. Hence, this particular village had had all its roads built and old ones repaired, all the houses had been repaired, whitewashed, etc. The village looked extremely smart.

The work had been done by the labourers under the scheme. Since a majority of the persons who sought work were from the Harijan community, it was simple to deploy them on their own home state and village improvement.

This particular kind of innovative, constructive activity is missing in the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme, yet it offers an excellent and tangible method of making the labourers help themselves while being paid by the State.



RAHURI, PARNER TALUK, AHMEDNAGAR DISTRICT  
(Sugarcane plantations)

Sandhya Naik

Rahuri is an irrigated area. Sugarcane farmers are usually middle and big landlords. Rahuri town has a sugar factory - Rahuri Krishi Vidyapeeth - a railway station and a State Transport bus stand.

Males do cane cutting and females tie bundles and load it into bullock carts or trucks.

The site had 30 persons, i.e. 15 pairs. All pairs were under one contractor. They were from Aurangabad district, Jalgaon (Chalisgaon). There was no labour from Parner. Labour comes from other blocks in the Ahmednagar-Pochadi drought-prone area.

Labour starts coming from October to November for harvesting, which takes three months. The labour moves from one farm to another farm with the contractor for a period of about six months. The contractor sends them to a campsite. At times when there is no work on the farm, no daily payments are made, so these workers are not fully employed even for six months. Camps are made with sugarcane stakes. It rained heavily one day, all domestic work stopped and the camps were flooded in water. No work was done at the sugarcane farm as the labourers could not go to work.

Normally each contractor has 20-40 labourers. Every contractor has different contracts with owners. Contracts have to be renewed each year with the factory. The factory owners issue them a card; they then go to the agricultural experts of the factory at each site. Contractors report to the unit office.

The output (harvest) of each toli is weighed and payment is made on the basis of average. The rate is Rs.9.45 per tonne of harvested cane per pair. The payment is made by the contractor. In addition, workers also receive a fixed quota of grains from the factory. Older children look after young children. Sometimes they are taken to the worksites.

The factory owners provide no drinking water, shed, medical aid, etc. There is an officer who has to take charge of permanent workers but he does not look after these workers. The contractor is an outsider who receives a commission of 9 per cent. If the contractor has a bullock cart, he is also entitled to receive wages. Generally the contractor owns at least one of the ten bullock carts at the site. The sugar factory has one main centre or Gadi centre. Here big bullock carts are used for transporting the sugarcane bundles. From there they are loaded onto the trucks and taken to the sugarcane factory. There ten pairs of labourers carry the sugarcane bundles (per bullock cart) on their heads and lay them at the roadside. They also help in loading the sugarcane onto the truck. The per-acre sugarcane yield ranges from a minimum of 60-70 tonnes to a maximum of 100 tonnes.

There are no laws protecting these workers. Working hours are not fixed. One of the respondents stated that he received Rs.75/- for a period of 15 days from which he has to buy food-grains. Generally, each couple receives a sum of Rs.500/- in advance from the contractor which is later deducted from their salary.

These workers work until 5.30 p.m. and if the lorry comes late they have to remain to load the lorry. Children are left behind. Men go early to cut sugarcane while the women come a little later.

In most cases a pair of labourers belong to the same household but, in cases where they do not, they are supposed to share the wages. In other words, men and women get equal wages. However, the women say that the men earn more though, according to the rules, they should be paid equally. In contrast, they claim that in EGS they get paid separately and receive their full amount. Unfortunately, EGS works are not established in a big way in irrigated blocks such as Rahuri.

Even though in an area not far from Rahuri there is a tendency to drought, very few EGS works are opened as there is a vested interest in making labour available for the sugarcane farm. Co-operative sugarcane factories do not want local labourers because of higher wages. If EGS works are started in places such as Katharde, then workers may not migrate. At least women could then stay in their village and the children can go to school, etc., but the payment of wages should be commensurate with the occupation that they are giving up - namely sugarcane work.

In the view of the women, their first preference is for good wages, then comes the duration of the job and only last comes concern for the family and the children's schooling. There is a good amount of exploitation of labour on the sugarcane farms. On the EGS, at least the labourers stay in their own homes. Because of the constant move they are more vulnerable. There are no fixed rules for the sugarcane workers. No industrial act exists to protect their rights, but the wage rates are reasonable and the advance they they receive is extremely attractive.

Women respondents - sugarcane cultivation  
(Site: Rahuri, Ahmednagar district)

1. Classification by age

<u>Age group</u>	<u>Number of respondents</u>	<u>Percentage distribution</u>
14 and below	None	0
15-19	2	9.0
20-24	6	27.3
25-29	8	36.4
30-34	3	13.6
35-39	1	4.5
40-44	None	0
45-49	None	0
50-54	2	9
55-59	None	0
60-64	None	0
65-69	None	0
70+	None	0
	22	99.9
No response	1	100
Total	23	

Sixty-four per cent (or two-thirds) of the respondents are in the age group 20-29; 18 per cent are in the age group 30-39. Of the remaining 18 per cent, an equal proportion are found in the smallest and higher age groups, viz. 15-19 and 50-54 respectively.

2. Classification by marital status

<u>Marital status</u>	<u>Number of respondents</u>	<u>Percentage distribution</u>
Married (in husband's home)	21	91.3
Unmarried	1	4.4
Widow	1	4.4
(No other category is relevant)	23	100.0

Almost all the respondents are married and, at the time of survey, were with their husbands in the labour camps visited during the survey. In the prevailing employment system on sugarcane farms, husband-wife pairs are hired on a piece-rate basis.

3. Classification by ethnicity

<u>Caste</u>	<u>Number of respondents</u>	<u>Percentage distribution</u>
Mang (SC)	4	18.2
Chamar (SC)	3	13.6
Bhil (ST)	2	9.0
Banjara (ST)	6	27.3
Dhangar (?) shepherds	2	9.0
Maratha	4	18.0
Muslim	1	4.5
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	22	99.6
No response	1	
	<hr/>	
Total	23	

Thirty-two per cent of the respondents belonged to Scheduled Castes, 36.3 per cent were tribals, including Adivasis. Eighteen per cent of the respondents belonged to caste-Hindu households, while a small proportion, less than 5 per cent, were Muslims.

4(a) Classification by landholding

<u>Landholding (unirrigated acres)*</u>	<u>Number of respondents</u>	<u>Percentage distribution</u>
Landless	10	43.5
0.1 - 2.5	2	8.8
2.6 - 5.0	4	17.6
5.1 - 7.5	3	13.0
7.6 - 10.0	1	4.4
10.1 - 12.5	1	4.4
12.6 - 15.0	1	4.4
15.1 - 17.5	None	
17.6 - 20.0	None	
20.1 - 29.5	None	
29.5+	1	4.4
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	23	99.5

\* 14 per cent of the land owned by respondents' households is irrigated while the rest is unirrigated. In the above frequency distribution, irrigated land has been converted to its equivalent in standard unirrigated acres by using a conversion factor of 1.5 unirrigated acres to 1 irrigated acre.

The above frequency distribution shows that immigrant labour on sugarcane farms is not predominantly landless. Well over half the respondents belonged to households that were landowning: 8.5 per cent of the sample had holdings of 2.5 acres or below; 35 per cent of the respondents' households owned land in the range of 2.6-10 acres; 8.8 per cent of the respondents' households owned land in the range 10.1-15 acres; while 4.4 per cent of the respondents' families owned 30 acres of land.

Commonly, land was held in or around the respondents' native village (in this case the village of the husband or head of the household), and was cultivated by members of the family who had stayed behind in the village. Only 4.4 per cent of the respondents reported leasing out of the land.

4(b) Two-way classification by caste and landholding

<u>Landholding</u> (acres)	<u>Castes</u>						
	Mang	Chamar	Bhil	Banjara	Dhangar	Maratha	Muslim
Landless	3 (75%)	2 (66%)	2 (100%)		1 (50%)	1 (25%)	1 (100%)
0.1 - 2.5	-	-	-	1 (17%)	1 (25%)		
2.6 - 7.5	-	1 (33%)	-	3 (50%)	1 (25%)		
7.6 - 15.0	-	-	-	2 (33%)	1 (25%)		
15.1 - 29.5	-	-	-				
29.5+	1 (25%)	-	-				
	4 (100%)	3 (100%)	2 (100%)	6 (100%)	2 (100%)	4 (100%)	1 (100%)

In the caste groups Mang, Chamar, Bhil and Muslim, a larger proportion of the respondents belonged to landless households in comparison with other caste groups. However, the largest landholding of 30 acres belonged to a Mang household. All the Banjara households held some land. A large proportion of Maratha households also held land.

On the whole, there did not appear to be a significant association between caste and landlessness.

5. Classification by family size

<u>Number of</u> <u>family members</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>respondents</u>	<u>Percentage</u> <u>distribution</u>
1	None	
2	4	20
3-4	6	30
5-6	7	35
7-8	1	5
9+	2	10
	20	100
No response	3	
Total	23	

Fifty per cent of the respondents reported small families of up to four members. There were no single-member households, which implied that widows, unmarried women, etc., live with relations. Forty per cent of the respondents had moderate to large families of five to eight members, while 10 per cent of the households have large families of nine-plus members, the largest reported family size being of 12 members.

6. Classification by proportion of earning members to total family size

<u>Proportion of earning members to total number of members in the household</u>	<u>Number of respondents</u>	<u>Percentage distribution</u>
25 per cent and below	None	
26-50 per cent	8	40
51-75 per cent	2	10
76-100 per cent	10	50
	—	—
No response	20	100
	3	
Total	23	

Fifty per cent of the respondents belong to households where members engaged in gainful activities account for three-quarters and more of the total family members. One-tenth of the respondents reported that earning members constituted one-half to three-quarters of the whole family. The remainder of the respondents, 40 per cent, reported that one-quarter to one-half of the family members contribute to family income. There are no respondents who reported that there were no regular income earners in the family.

The average worker/non-worker ratio in the households of sampled women workers was 2:1. This would imply a low dependency ratio as compared to the average for rural areas of the State.

Qualitative information gathered during the survey suggest that there is a tendency for respondents to interpret the question on family size narrowly in terms of family members present at the campsite. At these sites it is not uncommon to find small nuclear family units who have temporarily moved away from the extended family in the native village. This might explain the low dependency ratio since adult couples tend to take only young children with them to the labour camps in sugarcane plantations. At the same time, the pressure of small unescorted children at the labour campsites, where all adults work away during the day in sugarcane farms (located at a distance of 3-8 km), might point to another dimension of the problem, graver than that reflected by the low dependency ratio.

7. Number of months of gainful employment of respondents during the year

<u>Number of months of employment during the year</u>	<u>Number of respondents</u>	<u>Percentage distribution</u>
6 sugarcane + 3-4 agriculture	19	86.4
6 sugarcane + 5 agriculture	0	
6 sugarcane + 6 agriculture	3	13.6
	—	—
No response	22	100.0
	1	
Total	23	

There were two major income-earning organisations by the respondents, viz. average labour on sugarcane farms and agricultural activities, both wage-paid casual labour and unpaid labour on family farm.

All respondents reported working at sugarcane farm sites for an average of six months during the year. The months are continuous, usually in the period. Operations performed during these months are under the existing pattern; migratory labour is hired for other operations such as land preparation. All the respondents' households were migrated labour.

In addition to work on sugarcane farms, all the respondents reported working in agriculture, either as paid helper on family farm or casual wage labour on lands near the native village. There is some variation in the number of months for

which the respondents are engaged in agriculture, although field survey data is not satisfactory in this regard. Respondents tended to provide vague estimates of employment/engagement in agriculture within a wide range of months employed. Those with land in the household reported helping on the family farm for three to four months during the year. There appeared to be little variation in respondents' time allocation on self-owned land with the size of landholding. Only in two of the largest farms - of 30 acres and 10 acres respectively - did the respondents report six months in helping on the family farm. However, other respondents with family lands exceeding 10 acres reported fewer months in agriculture - not exceeding four months.

In the absence of data on other adult family members in the family, viz. those who stay behind in the native village, it is not possible to identify the months that affected the respondents' involvement in cultivation on land held by the household.

8. Classification by average daily income in different occupations of respondents

(a) Sugarcane

<u>Average daily earnings* of respondent (Rupees)</u>	<u>Number of respondents</u>	<u>Percentage distribution</u>
Less than 1.50	None	0
1.50	2	10
2.00	10	50
3.00	7	35
4.00-5.00	None	0
Above 5.00	1	5
	20	100
No response	3	
Total	23	

\* Three dominant systems of wage payment were introduced at the sugarcane sites visited during the current survey. Each system was based on piece-rate work, payable once a week. Wages were calculated on the tonnage of sugarcane harvested or otherwise handled. Under the first system, each man-woman pair was paid Rs.9/- for a ton of sugarcane harvested, a task which was usually accomplished in a day by a pair of workers. Next, a man-woman pair was paid on the local bazaar day, partially in cash and the rest in food-grains. Under the third system, where labourers hired themselves out together with the use of self-owned bullock carts, the rate of payment was Rs.25-30 per day per bullock cart with three labourers.

Fifty per cent of the respondents reported daily earnings of Rs.2. This refers to individual earnings in the respondent's own capacity. Since the earnings are pooled for a man-woman pair, these are imputed earnings based on estimates provided by the respondents.

For 35 per cent of the respondents, the average daily income in sugarcane is Rs.3, while for 10 per cent of the sample the income averages Rs.1.50 per day. There are no respondents with daily earnings below Rs.1.50. The highest earnings reported during the survey by respondents were Rs.7-8 per day. The respondents belong to households where bullock carts are also hired out with family labour.

(b) Agricultural labour

Response on earnings in agriculture was unsatisfactory due to two reasons: one, respondents tended to mix wage-paid casual labour with unpaid help on the family farm and in most cases did not regard wage labour as a significant source of income, and two, in their present activity on sugarcane farms, agricultural labour appeared to be a distant and uncertain occupation, details about which were not recalled willingly or with enthusiasm.

Only one respondent provided information on wages in agriculture. She reported daily earnings of Rs.2 when work was available.

9. Classification by family income

<u>Annual family income</u>	<u>Number of respondents</u>	<u>Percentage distribution</u>
1 000 and below	1	4.4
1 001- 1 500	3	13.0
1 501- 2 000	9 + 1	43.5
2 001- 2 500	3	13.0
2 501- 3 000	2	8.7
3 001- 5 000	2	8.7
5 001- 8 000	None	-
8 001-10 000	2	8.7
Above 10 000	None	-
	<u>22 + 1</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The above frequency distribution of respondents by annual family income is based on estimates made from the employment data provided by the respondent with respect to her own income-generating activities during the year as well as those of other members of the household.

Approximately 75 per cent of the respondents' households have an annual income below Rs.2,500, and 17.4 among these fall in the range of Rs.1,000-1,500. Households in the income range Rs.2,501-10,000 per annum do not show a direct association with landownership (or size of holding), as the following tabulation shows:

Sub-classification of households with income in range Rs.2,501-10,000 with landownership

<u>Annual income</u>	<u>Landownership (acres)</u>								
	Landless	0.1- 2.5	2.6- 5.0	5.1- 7.5	7.6- 10.0	10.0- 12.5	12.6- 15.0	15.1- 29.5	30 and above
3 000	2								
5 000					1				1
8 500						1			
10 000				1					

Rahuri - Cane workers' (now EGS) time disposition chart

Age	Total work time	Domestic	Gainful	Percentage in domestic	Percentage in gainful	
<u>16-19</u>						
18	13 hours	4	9	30.7	69.2	2 workers
	13 "	4	9	30.7	69.2	
<u>20-29</u>						
20	12 "	4	8	33.3	66.6	13 workers 2 no responses (not included)
25	13 "	5	8	38.0	61.5	
26	13 "	4	9	30.7	69.2	
22	11 "	2	9	18.0	81.0	
25	12 "	4	8	33.3	66.6	
20	12 "	4	8	33.3	66.6	
23	12 "	4	8	33.3	66.6	
22	12 "	4	8	33.3	66.6	
26	10 "	2	8	20.0	80.0	
26	15 "	3	12	19.8	80.0	
25	12 "	3	9	25.0	75.0	
26	12 "	3	9	25.0	75.0	
23	12 "	3	9	25.0	75.0	
<u>29-30</u>						
30	13 "	4	9	30.7	69.2	4 workers 1 no response
30	13 "	4	9	30.7	69.2	
35	12 "	4	8	33.3	66.6	
30	12 "	3	9	25.0	75.0	
<u>50-59</u>						
50	11 "	3	8	27.5	72.7	2 workers
50	- "	0	8	-	100.0	



Date: 14 June 1978

Sandhya Naik

IMPACT OF "MEGS" ON WOMEN

A note on the pilot field study

1. Background and objectives

The Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme (MEGS) of the Government of Maharashtra State is one of the most ambitious on-going employment programmes in the country. It is committed to providing full employment to those who are in need and desirous of rendering manual work but are unable to find it. It is directed towards the creation of durable productive assets so that the work offered is gainful to the individual as well as to the community in the long term. A study on the impact of the Scheme (MEGS) on women in particular is currently being conducted by the Institute of Social Studies, Delhi.<sup>1</sup> The study intends to understand the socio-economic factors which govern the participation of women in the labour market and the effect of such participation on their lifestyle, family relations, social relations and individual attitudes, caused directly or indirectly. The entire study is planned to be completed in five phases, viz.: desk research; sample selection; field survey; data collection; and preparation of report.

The present note is a review of the pilot field survey, carried out during the end of April 1978 and the first week of June 1978 as a part of the second and third phases of the study, with the following objectives:

- (i) to collect information on the general background/socio-economic profile of the area and population for the selected sample areas;
- (ii) to collect information on the past history and present status of the EGS in the sample areas with respect to expenditure, employment created and implementing organisation, etc.;
- (iii) to visit a few worksites to get a closer look at the Scheme in operation and to obtain preliminary data on the socio-economic profile of the women workers on the Scheme, their problems and the effect of such participation in the Scheme on them.

2. Scope of the pilot study

2.1 For the sake of the pilot study, one district from each of the four administrative divisions of Maharashtra was selected in the beginning in order to obtain a representative sample of the State as a whole. They are given below:

- (i) Dhulia - Bombay division;
- (ii) Ahmadnagar - Poona division;
- (iii) Aurangabad - Aurangabad division;
- (iv) Bhandara - Nagpur division.

Incidentally, these four administrative divisions represent different socio-economic regions of Maharashtra, namely Khandesh, Western Maharashtra, Marathwada and Vidharbha.

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<sup>1</sup> Proposal on the MEGS, "Impact on Women", by the Institute of Social Studies.

Out of these selected districts, the headquarters of only the first three have been visited so far to collect the district, taluka and village-wise information on the socio-economic profile of the area and population as well as the past history and present status of the MEGS in these districts. The information obtained from the district collectors' offices was classified in three schedules and the status is summarised in Annex I.

2.2 During the pilot study tour, nine worksites were visited altogether. One site each from the districts - Dhulia, Ahmadnagar and Poona, viz., Vani-Vidgaon Shirdhane road works, Arangaon percolation tank and Sansawadi nala bunding near Shikrapur in Shirur tehsil, respectively - were paid short visits. While in Aurangabad, six sites were visited - three sites in Vaijapur taluka, one site in Khuldabad taluka and two sites in Gangapur taluka. Sites from Aurangabad were surveyed somewhat in detail.

Vaijapur, Khuldabad and Gangapur talukas have the following EGS characteristics:

- Vaijapur: maximum expenditure, maximum employment;
- Khuldabad: less expenditure, less employment;
- Gangapur: medium expenditure, medium employment.

Information under various categories, as specified in objectives (section 1), was collected at various worksites to the extent possible. A few female workers were personally interviewed. All these observations are presented as a note in Annex II.

### 3. Discussions

The pilot study was a guide survey of all the aspects of the entire project (EGS) with respect to small, manageable samples. It was intended also to become familiar with the operation of EGS and the problems involved in carrying out a research study of the present nature.

As the sample selected for interviews was inadequate in size and was representative, at best, of Aurangabad district, the observations mentioned in Annex II cannot be generalised unless substantiated and confirmed in the later part of the study. No statistical analysis of any value was possible with the small sample.

### 4. Future work

The Phase III programme of field study will commence in a short time. It has been decided now to concentrate on three sample districts: (i) Ahmadnagar district; (ii) Dhulia district; (iii) Bhandara district. The reasons for this particular selection are as follows.

Each represent totally different socio-economic conditions: north of Ahmadnagar is an irrigated area and a number of sugar factories are located there, while south of Ahmadnagar is an acute scarcity area. Therefore, three types of female labour patterns can be studied in that district:

- (i) workers on EGS sites;
- (ii) migrated labourers - usually working in sugar factories;
- (iii) workers on farms - irrigated areas.

Dhulia was selected because the problems associated with Adivasis or tribals can be studied there. Bhandara has altogether different surroundings and conditions, and it is very far from the rest of Maharashtra - on the border of Madhya Pradesh.

Before starting our field study in these areas, it was decided to make a quick study near Poona in order to test our questionnaire for workers and villages.

ANNEX I

Status of pilot study

Given below is the status of information about socio-economic profiles of the area and population for the selected sample areas (districts selected for the pilot study).

1. Schedule I - District-level information

Questions 1 to 7

Data for 1971 is available in "District Census Handbooks". The data needs minor computation and rearrangement. Updated data was not available as it had not been compiled.

Question 8

Most of the information is available in the "District Statistical Abstract", "Socio-Economic Review" and "Seasons and Crops Report". These are supposed to be annual internal reports.

Question 9

This information could not be obtained. Even if it were available, it would be classified under different headings. Either the schedules should be modified or the figures would have to be computed especially for this purpose.

Question 10

This information was not available.

Question 11

This information was not available. An attempt may be made to collect this information for selected blocks later.

Question 12

This information was not available in a comprehensive form in any of the districts.

Only in the case of Ahmadnagar district, the DPAP (Drought-Prone Area Programme) was enforced by Maharashtra State through a specially instituted department; some information on the associated schemes was available.

Question 13

Taluka-wise/block-wise information was partially obtained for Ahmadnagar, Dhulia and Aurangabad districts for 1974 to 1977. Earlier information was not available with the EGS departments as they were not instituted until later.

All this information was available in a summary form. Also, all the information could not be broken down under the headings of the schedule.

2. Schedule II - Block-level information

This information will be collected for selected blocks.

3. Schedule III - Village-level information

This information will also be collected for selected villages. It has also been decided to change the proforma of Schedule III.

ANNEX II

Observations on worksites

1. Background information on the worksites and surroundings

1.1 Aurangabad district

A. Vaijapur taluka

Vaijapur taluka has been identified by the Fact-Finding Committee<sup>1</sup> as prone to scarcity conditions once in 10 years, and for the last 4-5 years there has been acute scarcity in this area. The total population is 103,295 according to the 1971 census, out of which 21,734 are landless labourers. The total number of villages under the Vaijapur taluka is 160. Communication facilities are very poor in the rural areas under this taluka.

The taluka represents maximum expenditure on EGS during the year 1977-78 and 1978-79, and also a very high expenditure from the beginning of the EGS works.

Another factor which weighed in the choice of this taluka was that a major irrigation project on the Godavari River - Nandur-Madhmeshwar Project - is located in this taluka. This canal project has recently been sanctioned under EGS. The work started during November 1977 and is likely to continue for 10 more years. It may bring nearly 60,000 acres of land in Vaijapur and 40,000 acres of land in Gangapur under irrigation. There are 12 centres in this project - 9 in Vaijapur and 3 in Gangapur taluka - and in each centre there are 2-3 sites. Labour potential at each centre is nearly 1,000 (total: 12,000). Rs.15 lakhs have been sanctioned in the budget for the year 1978-79; out of that, expenditure of Rs.9 lakhs has been incurred to date.

Three sites from three centres were visited on this project, namely Surala, Mhaski and Hanmantgaon.

Surala: Beneficial to two villages in Vaijapur - Belgaon and Surala - and three more villages from Kopergaon taluka in Ahmadnagar district. Actual labour strength on this site was 650. One lady was interviewed at the site near Surala.

Mhaski: Beneficial to three villages - Mhaski, Virgaon and Satana. Actual labour strength was 750.

A visit was paid to one of the villages, viz. Virgaon, which is 3 miles away from the site. It is a small village with a total population of 889, according to the 1971 census. There is no electricity supply to the village. An ST bus service is available to this village twice a day. There is a post office in the village but no ration shop. People buy their rations from Vaijapur (18 km) or purchase the grains from private shopkeepers. Eighteen household interviews were conducted in Vaijapur.

Hanmantgaon: Beneficial to five villages, namely Jambhargaoon, Chinchangaon, Bhagur, Hanmantgaon and Chor-Waghalgaon. Actual labour strength is 750.

A visit was paid to a village, namely Chor-Waghalgaon, which is nearly 2 km from the site. The total population of this village is 1,035 according to the 1971 census. There is no electricity supply or ration shop in the village, but there is a post office. Ten persons were interviewed on the site near Chor-Waghalgaon. Out of a total number of 275 persons present on the site, 153 were women and 123 were men.

In all, 28 interviews were conducted amongst the workers (23 females and 5 males).

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<sup>1</sup> Report of the Fact-Finding Committee for the survey of scarcity areas in Bombay State, 1960, Vol. I.

B. Gangapur taluka

This is a drought-prone area as recommended by the Fact-Finding Committee. It is one of the bigger talukas in Aurangabad; there are 224 villages under the Gangapur taluka. The total population is 139,011, out of which 19,376 are landless labourers.

Until last year, very few works were undertaken under EGS in this taluka. Expenditure was comparatively low. The Nandur-Madhmeshwar Project was started under EGS six months ago, and the total number of workers on the site and total expenditure have both increased. The two worksites visited in this taluka were as follows:

Whyegaon: Beneficial to Whyegaon and a few more villages. Actual labour strength was 250. One female worker was interviewed on the site near Whyegaon.

Ranjangaon: Beneficial to Ranjangaon, Pirpoi and Shingi villages. Actual labour strength was 500. One female worker was interviewed on this site.

C. Khuldabad taluka

One site was visited near the village of Yesgaon, namely the Girija Project. This is a major tank works. This project is likely to be sanctioned under EGS, and yet it is conducted on a contract basis. Most of the workers were immigrants who had been brought there by a contractor. They were not provided with housing arrangements or sheds, drinking water (except during working time), medical aid, etc. Four female workers were interviewed on this site.

1.2 Poona district

Shirur taluka

One site was visited at Sanswadi, near Shikrapur district. It was a nala bunding works. In all, 60 persons were registered at the site, but on the day of the visit only 9 persons were in attendance (3 male workers and 6 female workers). This was because the monsoon rains had started and the workers had returned to their agricultural operations. The Mukadam (supervisor) said that attendance would improve after a week as seeding would be over. One female worker was interviewed on the site.

1.3 Ahmadnagar district

Nagar taluka

A percolation tank site was visited near Arangaon village. On the day of the visit, 13 persons were present. Out of those, 10 were female workers and 3 were male workers. Apparently only 15 workers were employed at the site, in spite of the fact that the works had continued because of local demand.

The attendance was poor because construction work was going on in the neighbourhood. This was military work given on a contract basis, and the wages paid there were much higher than on EGS works (up to Rs.7/- per day). A few general questions were put to the female workers about their work and working conditions. The gangman of the team of workers was an 80-year-old man.

1.4 Dhulia district

Dhulia taluka

One site was visited near Vadgaon - the Vani-Vadgaon-Shirdhane roadworks. Only three male workers were present because the visit was paid at 5 p.m. in the evening. It was said that, due to the prevailing heatwave, workers were coming early in the morning (at 6 a.m.) and leaving early (by 2 p.m.).

Analysis of household interviews

2. Socio-economic background of EGS workers

Altogether 35 persons were interviewed, out of which 30 were females and 5 males. From among 30 females, 3 were gangmen and the rest were workers. From among the 5 males, 4 were gangmen while one was a worker.

2.1 Age composition of female workers

15-30 years: 44 per cent  
31-45 years: 44 per cent  
45 and above: 12 per cent

2.2 Marital status of female workers

Unmarried: 10 per cent  
Married: 80 per cent  
Widowed: 7 per cent  
Divorced: 3 per cent

One widow from Chor-Waghalgaon village in Vaijapur taluka complained that she was not allowed to enter a gang since there was no male worker in her family accompanying her. It is usually considered that males will do the relatively laborious part of the work, and therefore husband and wife are taken as a paired unit in a gang. Husbands do digging and wives carry away the soil. So that widow formed a separate gang of women who were not having male support. In this gang, women do all sorts of work.

2.3 Family size

Most of the families were divided. The majority of elderly married women had had six or seven confinements. Because of poor health and hygienic conditions the survival rate of children was poor and, on average, four to five children were alive.

2.4 Occupational distribution

Landholders: 65 per cent  
Landless labourers: 35 per cent

Landholding pattern

<u>Acres</u>	<u>Percentage of persons</u>
0- 5	20
5-10	30
10-15	30
15-20	10
20-30	-
30-40	5
40-50	-
50 and above	5
Total	100%

Most of the workers hold unirrigated land. Those who did hold 3-4 acres of irrigated land had been unable to cultivate it for the past 2-3 years because of the severe drought conditions in this area.

## 2.5 Other occupations

Some of the workers did have alternative occupations: Mahar, Matangs and Chamars performed their traditional caste duties; some looked after cattle; but this did not provide them with year-round full-time occupations.

Even those having land of their own were generally marginal farmers or small farmers with unirrigated land, and hence apply for wage work on the farms of rich peasants or big landlords. Such employment was, of course, seasonal and lasted for 2-3 months of the year.

## 2.6 Indebtedness

All landholders were in debt. Landless labourers were comparatively free from debt. The larger portion of debts were incurred by small/marginal farmers for the cultivation of their land. Workers require loans or credit for other reasons, such as marriage ceremonies and to satisfy their day-to-day requirements.

The credit or money was obtained from credit societies, rich peasant employers, moneylenders or shopkeepers.

Very few of the workers were aware of interest rates or of the exact amounts due, and debts were endlessly perpetuated. In a few cases, family members were offered as bonded labour for the repayment of debts.

## 2.7 Wages

- (a) In agricultural operations, wages for female workers were very low and amounted to less than half the wages of male workers (e.g.: women - 12 annas minimum, Rs.2 maximum; men - Rs.1.50 minimum, Rs.4 maximum).
- (b) For other occupations such as bunding, nala bunding or village tank works, etc., the wages paid also differed between men and women (e.g.: men - Rs.3-4; women - Rs.2-3).
- (c) Private contractors gave Rs.2-2.50 to women and Rs.4-4.50 to men.
- (d) In sugar factories, the wages were paid on a piece-rate basis; usually a man/woman pair was paid Rs.10/- per tonne of sugarcane.

Usually on such jobs the wages were received by the head of the family, so the women did not get their wages in their own hands.

## 3. Employment Guarantee Scheme

### 3.1 Duration of employment

MEGS works have been going on for the last 2-3 years, and in a few areas the works continued for the whole year. In some areas, the works were started only recently (5-6 months ago). Most of the works were in operation for 2-3 months in the summer.

The workers joined the EGS works because usually they had no other full-time occupation.

Out of the workers interviewed, very few had registered their names with the Gram-Sevak or other officials in order to obtain work - they were usually unaware that such procedures existed.

In certain areas, such as Vaijapur taluka, because of local demand (workers were organised by Lok Samiti),<sup>1</sup> officials had started registering the names of the workers on site. Workers had been given cards which recorded their registration number, daily/weekly attendance, wages paid and the signature of the official concerned. Every worker was expected to maintain this card as an identity document.

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<sup>1</sup> Lok Samitis have been formed recently in some areas - for instance, Virgaon in Vaijapur taluka - by followers of Shri Jayaprakash Narayanan.

### 3.2 Working hours

Normally the working hours on EGS were 7-8 per day, but there was no strict rule. As it was piece-rate work, workers could come and go at any time. Usually they reported for work at 10 a.m. and left at 5 p.m.

### 3.3 Wage rates

Piece rates were in force. On average, workers earned (both men and women equally) Rs.2-2.60 per day, with a minimum of Rs.1.30 and a maximum of Rs.7-8. On average, therefore, men and women working on EGS earned between Rs.12 and Rs.25 per week.

Wages were paid in terms of cash and kind. For work of Rs.10 per week they received Rs.9 in cash and a coupon valued at Rs.1 with which they could purchase 1 kg of wheat from a shop named by the officer. It was found, however, that the workers did not purchase wheat with their coupons since the shop mentioned by the officer was far from their villages, and since workers from three or four sites had been told to purchase there, there was always a long queue resulting in a waste of time. In addition, sometimes the supply of wheat at the shop was inadequate.

### 3.4 Amenities at the worksites

Drinking-water facilities were usually arranged, except at one site visited at Nagar where there was apparently a private well nearby.

Sheds were not available on any of the sites visited. At one or two places sheds had been built but had collapsed because of the flimsy construction work.

Medical aid was not available anywhere.

Creches for infants were not provided except at one site - Ranjangaon in Gangapur taluka - where an old woman looked after the children. She was paid a fixed wage of Rs.3 per day and was treated as an EGS worker.

Ration shops were unavailable in most of the villages where the workers stayed. They purchased their rations from larger villages in the neighbourhood or from the taluka place.

### 3.5 Transport (distance)

The workers were living in villages within an average of 3-4 miles from the worksite. They spent 1 to 1 1/2 hours walking to the site every day, each way, as no transport was available.

### 3.6 Nature of work

According to common belief, and in reality, the nature of work for men and women differs. For instance, on EGS, bunding or tank works, etc., males do the digging and females carry away the soil; in agriculture, males do the ploughing and the females remove weeds. But it was found in some areas under EGS work that women used to perform jobs normally considered as men's work. The obvious reason was that the female to male ratio on EGS works was high, and women were obliged to perform these jobs which would normally have been carried out by men.

### 3.7 Organisational set-up on EGS worksites

- 1 junior engineer (overseer), who had to prepare the plan of work for the week, projections of future work, calculate wages for each worker, measure the work done, and guide and supervise the workers;
- 2 or 3 muster clerks under the junior engineer; they had to maintain records of daily attendance, supervise the work and help the junior engineer;
- gangmen, chosen from amongst the labourers, who were in charge of groups of 10-15 persons each and had to supervise the workers in their gangs and solve their difficulties;
- workers on the site.



#### 4. Social impact of the EGS

##### 4.1 Social mobility on the worksites

The workers grouped themselves into different gangs for working. The distribution of workers was invariably caste-wise. Only under forced circumstances were, for instance, Marathas and Mahars found in the same gang.

The drinking-water facilities were common for all, regardless of caste, but the workers were not happy about this. As reported by the workers, there were no common wells for all castes in the villages in which they stayed.

##### 4.2 Economic independence of women

Wages were equal for both men and women, and apparently they were being distributed to the individual and not to the male family members in a lump sum.

##### 4.3 Household work for women

As a rule, there was no change in the responsibility for household tasks and the work on EGS added to the hardships. In some cases, part of the household work, for instance the collection of water, was being shared by households. In a few cases, even in-laws were more co-operative with respect to household work after the women started performing EGS work. According to some women, the nature of household work was undergoing a slight change.

##### 4.4 Status of women in the house

By and large, the status of women in the house has not changed much. However, a few women mentioned certain changes, i.e. they were respected in certain important decisions such as the marriage of their children, etc.

##### 4.5 Political awareness amongst women

Political awareness was very poor amongst women. They were unaware of different political parties or other important events. Most of them voted during elections merely because others did so.

##### 4.6 Miscellaneous

- The majority of husbands were drinking liquor and beating their wives.
- The men had started giving a smaller proportion of their wages for domestic needs because the wages received by women on EGS works were much higher than elsewhere. Women were therefore the major family supporters.
- All the earnings of the women were spent on domestic needs - to buy food-grains, bread, chili, etc. - while men kept part of their wages for their own enjoyment.
- The economic standard of the families had improved slightly - they started having bread twice a day - due to EGS works.
- Almost all demanded that EGS work be continued throughout the whole year.

4 January 1979

REPORT OF THE FIELD TOUR TO DHULIA,  
AHMADNAGAR AND BHANDARA DISTRICTS

Employment Guarantee Scheme and women

1. Objectives

The two objectives of the study were:

- (1) to study the impact of EGS on women;
- (2) to study the impact of EGS on employment.

2. Scope, methodology, etc.

In order to meet these two objectives, it was decided to extend the scope of the study from merely canvassing and analysing the female labour force working on EGS to a comparative study of the rural female labour force employed in large numbers in alternative occupations apart from agriculture. For a meaningful comparison, the alternative occupations should be such that they would absorb the vast amount of unskilled labour working on EGS.

Occupations such as handloom were not taken into consideration, because in these occupations only skilled labour can be absorbed. Also these occupations have certain traditions where some communities are specialised; for instance, in handloom you may find the Muslim community in the majority.

It may further be noted here that the study was not intended to evaluate the aggregate impact on the whole of Maharashtra State where the EGS scheme is being implemented. The sample selection was carried out with the intention of showing prominently what changes EGS would bring about in the life of the population in rural areas where it may be implemented.

Three districts were selected, viz. Dhulia, Ahmadnagar and Bhandara. It was found that in both Dhulia and Ahmadnagar, agricultural labour, including female labour, is engaged seasonally on sugarcane farms for harvesting the sugarcane. Not only a few households but sometimes whole villages migrate to these sugarcane farm areas. In Bhandara, on the other hand, the majority of the labour force, especially women, is engaged in the household bidi industry. Therefore, the selection of the above-mentioned districts made it possible to study EGS labour in comparison with migrated labour on sugarcane farms in Dhulia and Ahmadnagar, and EGS workers in comparison with bidi workers in Bhandara.

In each selected district, two or three blocks were further selected along the lines mentioned below:

- (1) where only EGS provides employment apart from agriculture;
- (2) where bidi work supports agricultural work;
- (3) where both bidi work and EGS work prevail apart from agriculture;
- (4) where sugarcane farms provide seasonal employment to agricultural labour;
- (5) where EGS is an alternative to the migration of agricultural labour to the sugarcane farms, which has occurred on a seasonal basis for the last few years.

For the selection of a block within a district, for EGS work, one or more of the following additional criteria were applied:

- (1) that which has incurred maximum expenditure on EGS;
- (2) that which has introduced the maximum number of works under EGS;

- (3) that which has engaged the maximum amount of labour, especially female labour, on EGS;
- (4) that which may be a drought-prone area and where EGS is started because of scarcity conditions.

### 3. Description of the selected sample

#### 3.1 Dhulia district

In the blocks selected in Dhulia, the following characteristics prevailed:

##### (a) Shahada block

- (i) A sugar industry is located nearby; therefore, a vast number of migrated workers reside in and around Shahada.
- (ii) A large number of EGS works were undertaken two years ago.
- (iii) EGS workers have been politicised by Shramik Sanghatana.
- (iv) It is one of the irrigated blocks in Dhulia.

##### (b) Sindkheda block

- (i) A maximum number of EGS works have been undertaken this year.
- (ii) It is being declared as a scarcity area this year.

##### (c) Sakri block

- (i) A maximum number of works and expenditure on EGS.
- (ii) One of the two sugar factories in Dhulia is located here and, therefore, migrated labour on sugarcane farms resides for six months of the year in this area.

#### 3.2 Ahmadnagar district

##### (a) Parner block

- (i) A maximum number of EGS works has been undertaken in Parner, which is a drought-affected region of Ahmadnagar.
- (ii) Maximum number of funds spent on EGS.
- (iii) Drought-prone pocket.

##### (b) Rahuri block

- (i) There is a sugar factory in Rahuri and therefore migrated labour resides there and in nearby villages.
- (ii) It is an irrigated block in Ahmadnagar.

##### (c) Kopergaon block

- (i) Maximum irrigated block in Ahmadnagar.
- (ii) Agriculture provides employment for the whole year.

#### 3.3 Bhandara district

In Bhandara it was decided to study the same blocks visited by the Planning Commission, namely (a) Salekasa; and (b) Sakoli. These two blocks have many bidi

workers occupied in the household bidi industry. The major bidi industries are located in Gondia Taluka. Both the above-mentioned blocks belong to Gondia Tehasil.

The third block which can be mentioned here is Devari. A maximum number of works under EGS were being implemented in the current year.

It was planned to visit all the three blocks in each district. Furthermore, it was decided to visit one site from each selected block and to interview 25 households on every site. If possible, it was also planned to visit 7-8 households who were not participating in EGS, bidi or sugarcane farm work.

#### 4. Field investigations

##### 4.1 Sample covered

###### 4.1.1 Dhulia district

Though it was planned to study at least two or three blocks, due to the time limitation and an inadequate number of investigators, only one block was visited, namely Shahada.

In Shahada, one on-going EGS work was visited - the Katharde-Parivardhe Road-works - and in all 40 households were interviewed. Of those, 33 households were interviewed from two villages supplying labour on the above-mentioned works, namely Katharde (Khurde) and Parivardhe. Out of these 33, 29 were actual participants in EGS, while 4 households were non-participants in EGS or any other above-mentioned occupation. The remaining 7 households were interviewed at the time of a demonstration of a group of workers from another worksite at the Tehasil office.

###### 4.1.2 Ahmadnagar district

Two blocks were visited, namely Parner and Rahuri.

###### (a) Parner

An EGS percolation tank works was visited at Ranjangaon and 25 participant households were interviewed. Due to inappropriate accommodation and transport facilities, it was not possible to interview a large number of persons engaged on the same work or the non-participants in EGS.

###### (b) Rahuri

Twenty households from two groups under two contractors were visited at the actual worksite on a sugarcane farm at Rahuri proper. The campsite of the workers was also visited.

###### 4.1.3 Bhandara district

Both the blocks visited by the Planning Commission were visited.

###### (a) Salekasa

In the Salekasa block in Gondia Tehasil, one village suggested by PEO, namely Kawadi, was visited. The actual EGS works near the village were completed recently. However, 25 households were visited who had participated in the EGS works. Out of the 25, there were also some bidi workers.

###### (b) Sakoli

In this block, Lakhosil village was visited, where EGS work is in the final completion stage. Therefore, at present, very few workers are employed on EGS. However, 50 households were interviewed who were participants either in EGS work or bidi work; some of them were participants in both EGS and bidi work.

#### 4.2 Observations and impressions

##### 4.2.1 Employment opportunities in the sample areas

The major possibility of employment in the sample area for unskilled labour was in the agricultural sector. Tractors, crafts, animal husbandry and forestry provided very little opportunity. The seasonal pattern and volume of agricultural employment depended upon the cropping pattern.

##### 4.2.1.1 Seasonal pattern of sugar crops

###### Dhulia district

In Shahada, the major crops are in the Rabi season, i.e. from August/September to February/March. The major crops in Shahada are as follows:

Jawar	Rabi Kharif	August/September to February/March June/July to November/December
Wheat	Rabi	August/September to February/March
Groundnut	Kharif	June/July to November/December
Sugarcane	Whole year	January to October and August to March
Bajra	Kharif	June/July to November/December

###### Ahmadnagar district

The major crops and seasons are as follows:

Jawar	Rabi	August to March
Wheat	Rabi	September to March
Sugarcane	Whole year	January to October and August to March
Groundnut	Kharif	April to June/July and January to October

###### Bhandara district

Paddy is the only major crop. It is a Kharif crop and therefore the season is from June to November/December.

##### 4.2.1.2 Seasonal pattern of agricultural labour requirements

In general, the maximum labour requirements are towards the end of each season during harvesting, and towards the beginning of the season for the preparation of land, sowing, transplanting, etc. In the middle of the year, the workers are almost unemployed.

###### Dhulia district

Shahada, being dependent mainly on the Rabi crops, the lean season is between February/March to August/September, i.e. the end of the monsoons.

###### Ahmadnagar district

Like Dhulia, Ahmadnagar is also dependent mainly on Rabi crops and therefore the lean season is somewhat between February/March to August/September.

### Bhandara district

Contrary to the above two, Bhandara, being a paddy area, which is a Kharif crop, has its lean season from October to May.

#### 4.2.1.3 Employment pattern in agriculture

##### (a) Small/marginal peasants

These peasants usually cultivate their land employing family labour. Only during peak seasons, for certain operations such as the preparation of land, transplantation, harvesting, etc., is wage labour hired. This is also the time when most of the family is fully occupied on the farm. Otherwise, even during the season, the family is underemployed, and some family members, especially women, are prepared for wage labour.

Some of the marginal peasants are prepared to rent their land to moneylenders, and they require employment throughout the year.

##### (b) Landless labourers

For landless labourers, the situation is even worse. The only time when they are more or less sure of employment is during the harvesting season, and partially sure during transplantation, etc. For the rest of the year, the employment opportunities are very scanty.

Thus it can be seen that, whether small or marginal peasants or landless labourers, they are employed for a period varying from two to five months in a year in agriculture. Apart from that, there are very few persons engaged in forestry, animal husbandry, crafts and trades. Their main occupation is agriculture. Therefore, they are fully employed for almost 7 or 8 months. For the remainder of the year, all these people need alternative employment.

#### 4.2.2 Wage demands of women

The wage demands of women must be given special consideration.

Even on family farms, there are times when male members are occupied but women are jobless, even during season periods. This is because the work they do in agriculture is of a secondary nature. Jobs such as digging, ploughing, sowing, crop protection, etc., are all carried out by men. Therefore, if other employment opportunities are available to women, they are willing to take them. This is what was observed and therefore more than 60 per cent of labour strength on EGS works consists of female workers. During the visit to Ranjangaon, when ploughing operations were going on in agriculture, it was observed that even landless labourers occasionally found employment, while women belonging to small and marginal farmers were performing EGS works. They were the surplus labourers.

It was found that the wage-earning male members very often wasted their earnings on liquor and other vices. This was especially so in Bhandara. Therefore, women had to look for jobs to maintain their families.

It was also observed that if a family was half-starved, the male members received more food than the females. Therefore, it was in the interests of women to look for jobs for themselves in order to feed the family.

If a woman is a widow or divorcee, she does not get a share in the property of the family because there is no male member to look after her. Therefore, in order to support her family, she tries to find wage labour. EGS has provided job opportunities for such women, who participate in large numbers in these works.

As mentioned earlier, there are a very limited number of agricultural operations which absorb the female labour force. Also, in traditional occupations, like carpentry, blacksmithy, etc., women have no role or secondary duties in these activities. Therefore, even in their absence, men can easily perform these activities apart from their own work. Therefore, if any other job opportunities are available outside, women can easily take them up to support their family.

#### 4.2.3 Status of alternative wage opportunities

##### Sugarcane farms

The harvesting season on sugarcane farms is generally from October to March every year. It is common practice all over Maharashtra, wherever there are sugarcane farms, for the harvesting of sugarcane to be done by migrant labour and not by resident labour. The ploughing, planting, etc., is done by the local labourers, but they are not employed for harvesting because the sugar factories find outside labour cheaper. The outside labourers are appointed through contractors. Local labourers do not demand this work since they have no tradition in it. Therefore, local labour is either unemployed or underemployed in this season.

Outside this season, migrated labourers who usually work on sugarcane farms work either on their own farm, someone else's farm or on other work, such as irrigation works, etc., because there is no scope for further employment on sugarcane farms. Thus, employment of this kind does not solve the problem of unemployment or underemployment.

##### Bidi work

The household bidi industry provides employment for the whole year. The workers cut the tendu leaves according to the size of the bidi and carry out bidi-rolling. There are no fixed working hours since this is a household industry; the workers perform bidi rolling to suit their own convenience. Piece-rates are applied and the wages depend on the number of bidis rolled by the worker. Though the job is not laborious, it is tiresome because workers have to sit in one position constantly. Even after one whole day of work, the payment received is very small.

Another limitation of the job itself is that it cannot be provided to an unlimited number of people. It cannot absorb all of the underemployed and unemployed labour force in agriculture because there is a limit for bidi production in any economy. Therefore, it cannot be a substitute for agriculture; it can only serve to augment their agricultural incomes.

##### EGS

EGS provides job opportunities to all those who are ready to do normal work in allied agricultural activities, such as minor or medium irrigation works, canal work, bunding, nala bunding, forestry, soil conservation, etc. Brickmaking and house-building are another two additions to the list.

Though the Scheme is very good, its limitations are mainly due to improper implementation. It is well operated in some areas because someone has a vested interest or because of political awareness or consciousness of the workers. For instance, in Ahmadnagar, Dhulia, etc., it is well operated, but in Bhandara its performance is very poor.

The implementing agencies are not very keen to provide job opportunities of every type mentioned in their lists. In some areas where there is a location available for irrigation work, this work is provided sometimes for a two to five-year period. Road works or soil conservation, bunding works, etc., are of short duration (ten days to two or three months). People rarely obtain work under EGS more than two or three times.

For example, in Dhulia (Shahada), the implementing agencies have not found a location for irrigation work (it being an irrigated block); therefore, there is only scope for roadworks (according to them). These works are of short duration, say for two to three months, and so people have found job opportunities under EGS once only and that, too, for a short while. There is barely a trace of brickmaking or housebuilding sites near the areas visited.

Moreover, there are certain loopholes in the law itself which present implementing agencies with an opportunity not to fulfil the law's provisions. The Act says that work must be provided if it is demanded by a group of at least 50 persons. Firstly, the people are not aware that they can obtain work if they demand it; secondly, they do not know that they can demand work; thirdly, they do not know that jobs can be provided by someone; and fourthly, they do not know that they have to demand work.

4.2.4 Response of labour towards  
the alternatives

It was found that there was high demand for any job opportunity available because the workers have been underemployed or unemployed for years.

If they were asked to state their preferences as between work on bidi, EGS or sugarcane, they preferred (i) the best-paid job; (ii) jobs with which they were familiar or which they had traditionally performed (such as sugarcane harvesting or bidi rolling); and (iii) permanent jobs. They would then consider the nature of the job (i.e., whether or not it was laborious) and the distance from home to the worksite. Lastly, they would think about their home, the care of children, etc.

Basically, all these women are working women. Hard work is not something new to them: they have to do it as soon as they grow up.



STATEMENT PLACED ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE BY THE  
HONOURABLE CHIEF MINISTER ON FRIDAY, 20 DECEMBER 1974

EMPLOYMENT GUARANTEE SCHEME IN MAHARASHTRA

Preamble

When the programme is undertaken beyond 5 km from a village, arrangements for camping should invariably be made. The camp arrangements should include humble huts, potable water, sanitary arrangements, i.e. urinals for women, and medical aid. So far as medical aid is concerned, it would suffice if there are first-aid facilities and arrangements for removal of the patient to the nearest medical centres in the case of accidents or illness. Fair price shops are the prime necessity.

Gang-systems may be there, yet there will not be regular contractors as such.

The collector while denying work under the Employment Guarantee Scheme on account of needs of agricultural operations should ensure that the persons diverted from the Employment Guarantee Scheme to agricultural operations get full-time work and minimum wages there.

Fixation of wage rates

As the payment of wages under this scheme has to be made according to quality and quantity of work, there has to be a schedule evolved keeping this aspect in mind. Actual payment would of course go by the measurement and quality of work. All this should be explained to the workers on the spot. The House is of the view that once this is accepted, there would be no question of maximum or minimum. For the present however, this House endorses the uniform norms and the schedules of work evolved last year during the drought period and would not mind if they stayed the same or continued without any cut whatsoever for one year at least. If, however, revision is felt necessary the same could be undertaken strictly on the basis mentioned above. In this respect the House supports the method of the calculation and linkage of the wage with cereal component to be taken as 50 per cent of the total budget of wage-earner mentioned in the Report of the Study Committee on Employment Conditions of Agricultural Labour in Maharashtra State (with reference to minimum wages). The House need not give details here but it may be stated that the House stands by the contents of the side report and the revision of the present schedules should be undertaken strictly on that basis. It is made clear that a minimum wage of Rs.1 and 5 nps per kilo of jowar will be issued through government-approved fair-price shops.

The conditions of 50 persons coming forward for asking for work as mentioned in the Government resolution in question is meant for starting new work. It is made clear inside the House and outside more than once that if less than 50 persons come forward they will have to be absorbed in the continuing work. The condition of 50 persons is only meant for administrative purposes and for the purpose of economic viability of the work.

Official organisation and participation of non-officials

The House welcomes that the revenue wing of the Government is held responsible for deployment and the other agencies for actual implementation of the scheme. In the Block Committee, representatives of recognised political parties should be drafted where they are not represented as non-official members, elected or otherwise, care being taken that the parties effective in a particular local area get such representation.

The House feels that the following points should be included in the government resolution:

- (a) payment shall be made on weekly basis;
- (b) implements for work shall be provided by Government;
- (c) workers residing in "C" class municipal areas shall be given work under the Employment Guarantee Scheme though outside the municipal limits. Their place of residence shall not disqualify them for getting work;
- (d) in exceptional cases where there is no adult earning member in a family, even a minor of the age between 15 and 18 shall be given work and shall be paid according to the quantum of work.

EMPLOYMENT GUARANTEE SCHEME IN MAHARASHTRA

1. Introduction

The elimination of poverty by providing gainful employment to the most disadvantaged section of the community should be an integral part of any programme of economic development. In Maharashtra, therefore, as early as in 1965, a pilot scheme for an integrated area development in Tasgaon block was undertaken to test the possibility of providing productive employment and opportunities for increased incomes for the rural poor, particularly the agricultural labours and the small and marginal farmers. Furthermore, since 1969 a pilot scheme for giving a guarantee of employment was also undertaken on a village basis in selected blocks. The lessons from these pilot schemes have been utilised in formulation of a more comprehensive scheme called the Employment Guarantee Scheme of Maharashtra which was introduced throughout the State with effect from the year 1972-1973, as a part of the 15-point programme for economic development. The State Government has given the statutory support to the guarantee of employment through the Employment Guarantee Act 1977, which has been brought into force from 26 January 1979. Under the Act every adult person in rural areas has acquired the right to work, i.e. the right to get guaranteed employment for doing unskilled manual work.

2. Aims and objectives of the scheme

The aim of the Employment Guarantee Scheme is to provide gainful and productive employment gainful to the individual and productive to the economy on approved works to all unskilled persons in the rural areas including the areas of "C" class municipal councils, who need work and are prepared to do manual labour but cannot find it on their own. The guarantee of work is restricted to unskilled manual work. The participant has no choice of work or the area of work. The guarantee is given at the district level, but operationally work is provided at the Panchayat Samiti level. The operation of the scheme has been so designed as to ensure that labour is deployed to the extent possible on existing construction activities in the area, and care is taken to see that the Employment Guarantee Scheme does not adversely affect agricultural operations and production and that the scheme is not to be activated where work is available on plan or non-plan works in progress. In fact, the scheme is residual in the sense that full provision for plan and non-plan schemes should be made and expenditure on any work should not be incurred from Employment Guarantee Scheme funds unless the budget provision is fully exhausted. Work is to be provided under the scheme within 15 days of receipt of a notice of demand for work. A fundamental objective of the scheme is that the works undertaken should result in the production of durable community assets and that wages paid to the workers should be linked with the quality and quantity of work output.

3. Salient features

The salient features of the Employment Guarantee scheme are:

- (i) A guarantee of unskilled employment is provided to all adult persons residing in the rural areas. Now under the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Act statutory base has been given for this guarantee.
- (ii) The persons demanding work have no choice of work. The guarantee is to provide work anywhere in the district, though operationally work is normally provided within the Panchayat Samiti area.
- (iii) Work is to be provided to any person demanding employment within 15 days of such demand. The work to be provided should normally last for at least 30 days so as to avoid frequent shifts of the labour from one work to another.

- (iv) Only productive works are permitted under the scheme. The major types of works which have been taken up under the scheme are labour intensive components of major and medium irrigation projects, minor irrigation, percolation and storage tanks, soil conservation and land development works, anti-water logging and water training, drains and distributory canals, field channels and afforestation works. Where such productive works are not available, road works are taken up.
  - (v) Only such works of which the cost of an unskilled component is more than 60 per cent of the total cost are permitted under the scheme.
  - (vi) The works are invariably executed departmentally and, therefore, there is no intermediary between the Government and the labour. The only exception is made when skilled items of the tank works are to be executed in the interest of the speedy completion of work. Such works can be executed through piece workers on conditions that the local labour should be used and they should be paid wages according to the schedule of rates prescribed by the Government.
  - (vii) The wages are linked to the quality and quantity of the output or work by the labour.
  - (viii) The wages prescribed for the Employment Guarantee Scheme are so designed that an average person working diligently for seven hours should earn a total wage equal to the minimum wage for agricultural labour in the lowest zone in the State. This will ensure that the operation of the scheme does not affect agricultural operations and at the same time the agricultural labour is assured of the minimum wage.
  - (ix) A blueprint of works which can be taken up under the scheme is kept ready for each Panchayat Samiti so that there is practically no time lag between the registration of the actual demand for work and starting of the work. In order to enable the authorities responsible for implementation of the scheme to plan for the operation of the scheme, a manpower budget is being prepared in each Panchayat Samiti.
4. The main improvements brought about by the Employment Guarantee Act 1977 are:-
- (i) payment of unemployment allowance to any adult person in the rural area who has registered for work under the Act and who is not provided with employment within 15 days of asking for it;
  - (ii) exgratia payment up to Rs.5,000 in case of death or disablement of workers; and
  - (iii) powers of collector to direct the village Panchayat to take up work from the Village Employment Fund in case it is not expedient for the State Government to provide employment immediately on any other work.

5. FFW programme

Government has accepted the assistance in the form of wheat from the Government of India and the CARE authorities for operating the Food for Work Programme. Initially the programme was implemented with CARE assistance on selected works. From 1 February, 1976 all unskilled workers employed on the Employment Guarantee Scheme works in the State have been brought within the purview of the FFW Programme. The unskilled workers employed under the Employment Guarantee Scheme are paid their wages partly in cash and partly in kind. The payment in kind is roughly about 40 per cent of the cash component of the weekly wages.

## 6. Resources

In order to raise resources for the implementation of the scheme, the State Government has levied special taxes and levies as shown below:

- (1) taxes on professions, trades, callings and employment;
- (2) additional tax on motor vehicles for the Employment Guarantee Scheme;
- (3) additional tax on sales tax for the Employment Guarantee Scheme;
- (4) special assessment of irrigated agricultural lands;
- (5) surcharge on land revenue for Employment Guarantee Scheme; and
- (6) tax on non-residential urban lands and buildings under Education Cess Act for Employment Guarantee Scheme.

The State Government has to make a matching contribution equal to the net collection of taxes and levies every year. The net collection of taxes and levies and the matching contribution from the State Government have to be credited to a separate fund called the Employment Guarantee Fund which has been constituted to ensure that the resources raised for the purpose of the implementation of the EGS are utilised for the same only. If there is any balance in a particular year, the same is carried forward to the subsequent year.

## 7. Sanction and implementation of works under EGS

The district collector is in over-all charge of the Scheme. He has to accord sanction to the works from amongst those included in the blueprints approved by the district planning and development councils. The collectors are empowered to sanction the works costing up to Rs.10 lakhs. If works costing more than Rs.10 lakhs are to be undertaken, the collectors have to obtain the prior approval of the Government. Works which are technically feasible and financially viable are only taken up under the Employment Guarantee Scheme. Technical and financial norms applicable to the departmental works are also applicable to the works taken up under the Employment Guarantee Scheme. The works are to be implemented through the several government departments like irrigation, public works and housing, soil conservation and forest departments and Zilla Parishads. Arrangements for drinking water, sanitary arrangements and medical aid are to be provided and whenever work is provided beyond 5 km from the village, arrangements for camping have also to be provided.

## 8. Organisational arrangements for implementing the scheme

Three-tier administrative set up has been evolved for execution of the Employment Guarantee Scheme works in Maharashtra. To ensure close and effective liaison and continuous supervision over the programme, committees for planning, direction, control, co-ordination and evaluation have been set up at the state, district and Panchayat Samiti (Tehsil) levels.

9. At the state level the planning department is in over-all charge of the programme covering all aspects of planning, administration, provision of funds, monitoring and evaluation of the rural employment programme. The collector is in over-all charge of the programme at the district level and looks after the planning, implementation, co-ordination, monitoring, supervision and inspection aspects of the programme. At Panchayat Samiti level besides other related matters, the Tehsildar has been assigned the functions of assessment of the demand for employment and deployment of employment seekers on different works under execution in the Panchayat Samiti.

10. The works programme is invariably executed departmentally and the works are implemented through the agencies of Government. Departments such as soil conservation, public works and housing department, irrigation department, forest department, Zilla Parishads, etc. according to the usual jurisdiction of each of the agencies.

11. Whereas separate nucleus of administrative staff has been provided at the collectorates for providing assistance to the collectors in successful planning and execution of the programme, supporting staff assistance has also been provided at Panchayat Samiti level to the Tehsildar for performance of the functions assigned to him. So far as the implementation aspect is concerned, the works programme is carried out through the normal staff of the departments. The review of the staff available with the implementing agencies is being taken on a continuous basis and redeployment of the staff as well as strengthening of organisation wherever necessary is effected. In order to ensure proper technical supervision of the works and compliance of the government instructions, the inspection cells have been created in the offices of the divisional commissioners.

12. People's participation

Under the Employment Guarantee Act 1977, the State Government has to constitute a district employment guarantee committee in every district and a Panchayat employment guarantee committee in every Panchayat Samiti area. These committees will, within their respective jurisdiction, supervise and review the implementation of the scheme from time to time and will suggest to the State Government and council, such steps as in their opinion are necessary for a more effective implementation of the provisions of the Employment Guarantee Act. Consistent with the extremely keen interest evinced at all levels with regard to the rural employment programme, the State Legislature constituted a special Legislature Committee to go into the working of the State's Employment Guarantee Scheme, to make visits to the works, hold discussions with labourers and implementing officers and present its assessment as well as recommendations for the improvement of the programme both in its concept as well as in its execution. The Committee has already presented in all several reports to the Legislature and the State Government. The majority of recommendations made in these reports have already been accepted and implemented by the State Government.

13. Progress in the implementation of EGS

The expenditure incurred on the scheme since its inception and the mandays of employment generated is given below:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Expenditure incurred (Rs. in crores)</u>	<u>Mandays of employ- ment generated (in crores)</u>
1972-73	1.88	0.45
1973-74	1.89	0.51
1974-75	13.72	4.81
1975-76	34.43	10.95
1976-77	49.88	13.32
1977-78	49.20	11.73
1978-79 (Jan. 1979)	43.39	12.48

14. The maximum labour attendance on the Employment Guarantee Scheme works during 1978-79 (until January) was 8.01 lakhs on 7,907 works in the month of January 1979. Total expenditure during 1978-79 is estimated to be Rs.65.00 crores. In addition, nearly 53,000 M. tonnes of wheat are estimated to be distributed as wages in kind.

15. Under the Employment Guarantee Scheme, top priority has been given to highly productive works like major, medium and minor irrigation, soil conservation and land development and a very small percentage of expenditure is incurred on infrastructure development works like roads. The following table reveals the categorywise trends of expenditure in the past five years.

16. A budget provision of Rs.72.83 crores has been made for 1979-80 which includes provision for wages in kind to the tune of Rs.16.50 crores to be received from the Government of India for the scheme during 1979-80. While a provision of Rs.11.55 crores is expected to be utilised on the labour-intensive components of major irrigation projects, the balance amount will spent on the

district level schemes. The amount provided by the various DPDCs in their annual plans is Rs.16.99 crores. The balance is kept as "reserve" and the allocations from this reserve will be made on the basis of actual needs of each district.

The likely sectoral distribution of expenditure for the year 1979-80 will be as follows:-

S. No.	Sector	Likely expenditure (Rs. in crores)
1.	Labour-intensive components of major irrigation projects	11.55
2.	Labour-intensive components of medium irrigation projects	0.97
3.	Minor irrigation	19.50
4.	Soil conservation	12.00
5.	Land development	13.00
6.	Afforestation	6.00
7.	Roads	8.00
8.	Other works	0.50
9.	Administrative charges	1.31
	<u>Total</u>	<u>72.83</u>

The total provision of Rs.72.83 crores is expected to generate employment of about 15.00 crores of mandays.

EMPLOYMENT GUARANTEE SCHEME:  
SCHEDULE AND REVISION OF  
WAGE RATES

Government of Maharashtra,  
Planning Department

Resolution No. EGS-1075/EMP-EGS -  
Sachivalaya, Bombay - 400 032, dated 3 March 1976

- READ: 1. Government Resolution, Planning Department, No. EGS-1074/3616/P.4, dated 20 September 1974.
2. Government Resolution, Planning Department, No. EGS-1075/P-4, dated 14 February 1975.
3. Government Resolution, Planning Department, No. EGS-1075/EMP-EGS, dated 21 January 1976.

Resolution:

1. In supersession of the orders issued in paragraph B of Government Resolution, Planning Department No. EGS-1075/EMP-EGS, dated 21 January 1976, Government is pleased to revise the schedule of rates appended to Government Resolution, Planning Department No. EGS-1075/P-4, dated 14 February 1975 and to direct that the wages to the labourers on the Employment Guarantee Scheme works should be paid in full (i.e. without effecting any deduction towards the reverse) in accordance with the revised schedule of rates annexed to this Resolution (typed as an accompaniment of this Government Resolution).

2. The revised schedule of rates should be made applicable with effect from 1 March 1976. The revised schedule of rates should also be applied to wages which became due for payment on or after 1 March 1976 but have not already been paid.

3. Orders regarding revised wage rates for soil conservations and afforestation works which are not included in the revised schedule of rates would be issued in due course.

4. This Resolution issues with the concurrence of the finance department vide un-official reference No. 709/76/RES-2, dated 5 February 1976.

By order and in the name of the Governor of Maharashtra.

V. SUBRAMANIAN  
Special Secretary to Government



EMPLOYMENT GUARANTEE SCHEME:  
SKILLED PORTION OF MINOR  
IRRIGATION AND ROAD WORKS

Government of Maharashtra,  
Planning Department

Resolution No. EGS 1577/94/EMP-IV  
Mantralaya, Bombay-400 032, dated 8 June 1977

- READ:-
1. Government Resolution, Planning Department, No. EGS 1074/3616/P.A, dated 20 September 1974.
  2. Government Letter, Irrigation Department, No. EGS/1075/51599/T.16, dated 3 October 1975.
  3. Government Letter, Planning Department, No. EGS/1576/253/EMP-III, dated 28 October 1976.
  4. Government Resolution, Planning Department, No. EGS-1077/283/EMP-III, dated 21 May 1977.

Under the Employment Guarantee Scheme only labour-intensive components of minor irrigation works are normally permitted and exception has been made only in respect of incomplete scarcity works so that such works could be completed by taking up skilled items also. The items like gorge filling and waste weir of the minor irrigation and percolation tanks which were originally started under the scarcity were taken up under the Employment Guarantee Scheme and many of these works were completed with EGS funds only. It has been represented to the Government that if skilled items like waste-weir and gorge filling of minor irrigation tanks and percolation tanks initiated under the Employment Guarantee Scheme are not permitted from Employment Guarantee Scheme funds, works are likely to remain incomplete for a considerably long period as district planning and development councils are not in a position to provide funds for the completion of all these works from the Annual Plans of the Districts on account of competing claims of the different schemes. Similarly, in respect of road works, it has been represented that the skilled items like consolidation and minor CD works are not permitted under the Employment Guarantee Scheme. It has been pointed out that as these items cannot be provided for under the District Annual Plans because of the low priority for roads, there is a possibility that the earth work done on the roads might be washed away during the monsoon and the expenditure incurred might become infructuous unless permission is accorded for taking up the work on consolidation and minor CD works under the Employment Guarantee Scheme.

Resolution:

The Government has carefully considered the suggestion for taking up skilled items of minor irrigation works and roadworks, and is pleased to direct as follows:

- (i) in respect of new minor irrigation tanks and percolation tanks to be taken up under the Employment Guarantee Scheme hereafter the items like waste-weir and gorge filling can be taken up from the EGS funds, subject to the condition that a 60:40 ratio of labour/material, supervision, etc. is maintained for each work and further the work of gorge filling, which is of semi-skilled nature should be done on a muster roll basis as far as possible;

- (11) the items of consolidation and minor CD works in respect of new roads to be taken up under the Employment Guarantee Scheme hereafter, can also be permitted from the Employment Guarantee Scheme funds subject to the condition that a ratio of 60:40 is maintained for each of the road works.

By order and in the name of the Governor of Maharashtra.

H.B. DESAI  
State Planning Officer

EMPLOYMENT GUARANTEE SCHEME  
INCREASE OF WAGES IN KIND UNDER THE:

Government of Maharashtra  
Planning Department

Resolution No. EGS-1678/EMP-III  
Mantralaya, Bombay-400032, dated 26 October 1978

1. The Schedule of Rates applicable on all works taken up under the Employment Guarantee Scheme except soil conservation, land development and afforestation works was prescribed by the Government, vide Government Resolution, Planning Department No. EGS-1075/EMP-EGS, dated 3 March 1976 read with Government Resolution, Planning Department No. EGS-1677/66/EMP-V dated 27 February 1978. For the latter categories of works the departmental rates will apply when such works are taken up under the Employment Guarantee Scheme. At present part of the wages payable to the workers engaged on EGS works is paid in kind, i.e. in the form of wheat. For every Rs. 10/- or part thereof of the wages earned by a worker during a week, Rs. 1/- is deducted from the wages and a coupon for 1 kg of wheat is issued in lieu thereof. The question of increasing the wages in kind payable to the labourers without increasing the cash deduction made from the wages has been under the consideration of the Government for some time past.

2. The Government has now decided that while the weekly wages payable to the labourers engaged on EGS works will continue to be worked out on the basis of the existing schedule and the cash component of wages will continue to be paid at 90 per cent of the wage so worked out, wheat of the value of 40 per cent of the cash component of wages paid should be distributed to the labourers against the cash deduction of only 10 per cent of the wages as worked out on the basis of the existing schedule. The cash to be deducted from the wages and the quantity of wheat for which coupons should be issued against this cash deduction for different slabs of the weekly wages earned will be as follows:

S. No.	Weekly wages earned on the basis of schedule of rates (Rs.)	Cash to be deducted from wages (Rs.)	Wheat to be supplied (kg)
1.	Up to 3.00	0.30	1
2.	3.01 to 6.00	0.60	2
3.	6.01 to 10.00	0.90	3
4.	10.01 to 15.00	1.20	4
5.	15.01 to 20.00	1.80	6
6.	20.01 to 30.00	2.40	8
7.	Above 30.00	3.00	10

3. The accounting procedure when part of the wages of the labourers employed on EGS work is paid in kind, has been laid down in Government Resolution, Planning Department No. EGS-2676/566/48/EMP-V, dated 19 January 1977, according to which the implementing officer should debit the gross amount of wages payable to the labourer to the major head "314-Community Development" and should credit the cash deducted from wages to the major head "114-Community Development". The Government has now decided that hereafter the implementing officers should debit only the cash component of the wages payable to the labourers (i.e. excluding the cash deduction shown above) to the major head "114-Community Development". All the implementing officers should, however, maintain the accounts of wheat coupons issued by them for every muster for each work.

Illustration. Assuming that the total weekly wages earned by a worker on the basis of the existing schedule of rates is Rs. 17/-, the cash to be deducted from his wages according to the table given above is Rs.1.80 and the wheat to be supplied to him is 6 kg. He should be, therefore, given Rs.15.20 in cash and coupons for 6 kg of wheat. The implementation officer should debit only Rs.15.20 to the EGS expenditure head, namely, "314-Community Development".

4. As the quantum of wheat which the labourers will be entitled to has now increased considerably, the collectors should ensure that adequate arrangements for distribution of wheat to the labourers are made. The labourers can lift wheat against the coupons from fair price shops. In order that there is sufficient incentive for the fair price shop keepers to lift wheat from the government godowns for distribution against coupons presented by the labourers, the Government has decided to increase the margin money for wheat distributed under this programme from Rs.3.50 (in addition to the gunny bag) per quintal to Rs. 6/- (in addition to the gunny bag) per quintal.

5. In view of the decision of the Government to increase the wages payable in kind, there will be slight changes in the manner of reporting the expenditure in the fortnightly telegraphic reports and the monthly progress reports. In the fortnightly report, the expenditure during the fortnight and the financial year should indicate only cash expenditure and should not include the value of wheat coupons issued. The monthly progress reports (pro forma EGS III(A)) which the district level implementing officer submits to the collector and pro forma EGS III(B) which the collector submits to the Government, columns 8B, 8C, 9B and 9C should indicate the following.

Col. 8B: Wages paid by implementing agencies in cash (in Rs.)

Col. 8C: Wages paid by implementing agencies in kind (wheat in kg for which coupons are issued).

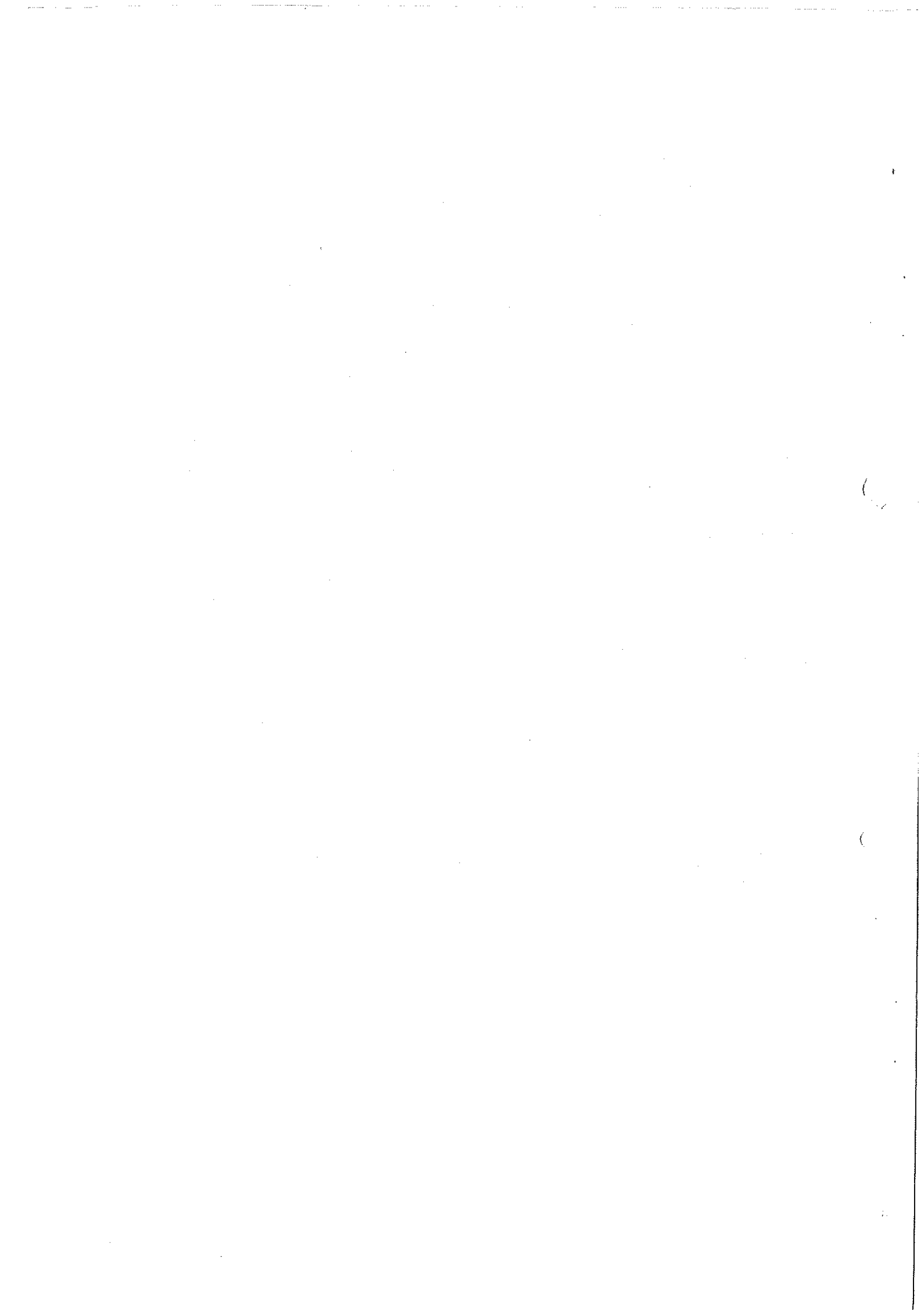
Col. 9B: Wages paid by implementing agencies in cash (in Rs.).

Col. 9C: Wages paid by implementing agencies in kind (wheat in kg for which coupons are issued).

All the collectors and implementing officers should ensure that reporting of expenditure in fortnightly and monthly progress reports from the month of November 1978 onwards be done in the manner mentioned above.

6. These orders will take effect for wages payable in respect of musters started on or after 23 October 1978.

7. This Government Resolution issues with the concurrence of the finance department and the food and civil supplies department, vide un-official reference No. 4301/SFD, dated 22 September 1978 and number nil dated 12 October 1978, respectively.



PROJECT: MAHARASHTRA EMPLOYMENT GUARANTEE SCHEME

Information Schedule I: District

1. District name:
  
2. Population:

	<u>Male</u> <u>1971/current</u>	<u>Female</u> <u>1971/current</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>1971/current</u>
Urban:			
Rural:			
  
3. Scheduled caste (obtain this information for district as well as each block separately)

	<u>Male</u> <u>1971/current</u> (%)	<u>Female</u> <u>1971/current</u> (%)	<u>Total</u> (as % of <u>1971 total</u> <u>population</u> )
<u>Scheduled tribe</u> (obtain this information for district as well as each block separately)			
  
4. Percentage of workers to total population (obtain this information for district as well as each block separately)

	<u>Male</u> <u>1971/current</u> (%)	<u>Female</u> <u>1971/current</u> (%)	<u>Total</u> <u>1971/current</u> (%)
Urban:			
Rural:			
  
5. Occupational pattern: (obtain this information for district as well as each block separately)

	<u>Male</u> <u>1971/current</u> (%)	<u>Female</u> <u>1971/current</u> (%)	<u>Total</u> <u>1971/current</u> (%)
Cultivators:			
Agricultural labourers:			
Livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting, plantations, orchards and other activities:			
Mining and quarrying:			
Household industry:			
Other than household industry:			
Construction:			
Trade and commerce:			
Transport, storage and communications:			
Other services:			
Non-workers:			

- |   | <u>1971</u>                 | <u>Current</u>                           |                             |
|---|-----------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 6. <u>Sex ratio</u> (number of females per 1,000 workers):<br>1901-1971 (from disconnial census data):  |                             |  |                             |
| 7. (a) Geographical area:<br>(b) Number of towns:<br>(c) Number of villages:  |                             |  |                             |
| 8. (a) Cultivated area:<br>(b) Net irrigated area (also specify mode of irrigation):<br>(c) Gross irrigated area:<br>(d) Crop-wise area under crops (specify crops):<br>(e) Crop-wise production of major crops (specify crops):<br>(f) Seasonal pattern of cultivation of major crops (indicate crops calendar):<br>(g) Annual rainfall:<br>(h) Drought-prone pockets (specify names of blocks, sub-divisions, etc., geographical area of each pocket, and the pattern of farming in each pocket):<br>(i) Last year of drought in district (specify year and some index of its severity):<br>(j) Areas in the district which were most severely affected by drought: |                             |  |                             |
| 9. <u>Landholding pattern</u> (for district and each block separately):   | <u>Number of households</u> | <u>Population (Male/female/children)</u> | <u>Area in the district</u> |
| (a) Landless agricultural labour households:  |                             |  |                             |
| (b) Households owning 0.1-2.5 hectares:<br>Households operating 0.1-2.5 hectares:   |                             |  |                             |
| (c) Households owning 2.6-5.0 hectares:<br>Households operating 2.6-5.0 hectares:   |                             |  |                             |
| (d) Households owning 5.0-10.0 hectares:<br>Households operating 5.0-10.0 hectares:   |                             |  |                             |
| (e) Households owning more than 10 hectares:<br>Households operating more than 10 hectares:   |                             |  |                             |
| (f) Total land leased out in the district (give statistics relating to the extent of leasing by landholding classes, e.g., how much of the total area owned by small farmers (categories (b) and (c)) is leased out):   |                             |  |                             |
| (g) Total land leased out of the district:  |                             |  |                             |

10. Traditional division of labour in agriculture (for each block separately)

Block name:

<u>Block operation</u>	<u>Agricultural area in which conducted</u>	<u>Month/s wage rate</u>	<u>Prevailing wage rate</u>	<u>Statutory wage rate</u>	<u>Traditionally conducted by</u>
(e.g.	Ploughing for wheat cultivation	November-December	Rs.3.25 (or kind)	Rs.5	Males only)

(Provide a list of major agricultural operations and fill in details against each. If operation is conducted by both males and females, write "males and females".)

11. Lean season in agriculture in each block (separately)\*

<u>Block name</u>	<u>Months of underemployment in agriculture</u>		<u>Month of unemployment in agriculture</u>	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
1. ...				
2. ...				
3. ...				
4. ...				

\* This information will probably be qualitative and should be obtained from the Agriculture Department or the district statistical officer.

12. Public works schemes, 1972-77, excluding Employment Guarantee Scheme in rural areas

<u>Block name</u>	<u>Name of scheme (state or central scheme)</u>	<u>Administrating department</u>	<u>Nature of scheme (e.g. irrigation works, road construction, etc.)</u>
1. ...	(a) (b) (c) etc.		
2. ...	(a) (b) (c) etc.		



<u>Block name</u>	<u>Total budgeted investment expenditure</u>	<u>Anticipated expenditure</u>	<u>Time frame (months for which the scheme has been operated)</u>	<u>Anticipated number of months before completion</u>	<u>Employment generation</u> <u>Employment generated to date</u> (person days or persons)	<u>Anticipated employment that will be generated for completion of project</u>
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- 1. ...
- 2. ...

13. Public works under Employment Guarantee Scheme - 1972 to present day

<u>Block name</u>	<u>Name of public works and administrating department</u>	<u>Exact location</u>	<u>Date of project commencement</u>	<u>Date of project completion</u>	<u>Nature of public works</u>
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- 1. ... (a)  
(b)  
(c)
- 2. ... (a)  
(b)  
(c)

<u>Block name</u>	<u>Total budgeted investment</u>		<u>Time frame</u>			<u>Employment</u>	
	<u>Expenditure to date</u>	<u>Anticipated expenditure</u>	<u>Original time provision</u>	<u>Number of months for which scheme has been operating</u>	<u>Anticipated number of months before completion</u>	<u>Employment generated to date</u> (persons)	<u>Anticipated employment that will be generated for completion of project</u>

- 1. ...
- 2. ...





6. Village infrastructure:

Electricity: Yes/No  
Drinking water:  
Post office:  
Nearest town:  
Nearest bus stop:  
Nearest railway station:  
Distance from block headquarters:  
Co-operative society (provide details):  
Panchayat (registered? elected?) (provide details):  
Mahila Mandal? Yuvak Mandal?  
Other institutions?

7. Handicrafts and cottage industries:

Description of industry:  
Raw materials:  
Work performed mainly by males or females:  
Period of peak employment:

8. Traditional division of labour in agriculture:

<u>Agricultural</u>	<u>Months in</u> <u>which</u> <u>conducted</u>	<u>Wage</u> <u>rate</u>	<u>Performed</u> <u>mainly by</u> <u>males or</u> <u>females</u>	<u>Agricultural</u> <u>implements or</u> <u>tools used</u>
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1.  
2.  
3.

9. EGS works:

Number of persons in the village who have registered (month-wise) -  
Males: Females:  
Number of persons in the village who have been provided with work (month-wise) -  
Males: Females:  
Daily wage:  
Hours of work:  
Distance to project site:  
Amenities for workers at project site:  
Role of village Panchayat and other village institutions:

10. Classification of persons in the village  
who have been provided with work under EGS:

	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>	
	<u>Those who have worked on EGS projects for 1 year and more</u>	<u>Those who have worked on EGS projects for less than 1 year</u>	<u>Those who have worked on EGS projects for 1 year and more</u>	<u>Those who have worked on EGS pro- jects for less than 1 year</u>
Landless agricultural labour:				
Cultivators owning less than 2.5 hec- tares of land:				
Cultivators owning 2.6-5.0 hectares of land:				



2. Cattle

Bullocks:                      Cows:                      Buffaloes:                      Sheep:  
Poultry:                      Other (specify):  
Milch animals - Cows:                      Buffaloes:                      Sheep:

Do you sell milk? Yes/No.

If so, what is your income per month?

Are there any milk co-operatives in the neighbourhood? Yes/No.

Are you a member of one? Yes/No.

Do you sell eggs/chickens? Yes/No.

If so, what is your income per month?

Who looks after the cattle and poultry?

3. Do you own a well? Yes/No.

4. Do you own a pumpset? Yes/No.

5. Do you own implements/tools? Yes/No. (Specify)

6. Do you have your own house? Yes/No. Kaccha/Pucca?

Are you prepared to leave your house/village for a job? Yes/No.

D. Indebtedness

Are you in debt? Yes/No.

To whom?

For how much?

For how long?

Reason for borrowing: bullocks/seeds/tools/marriage ceremony/death rituals/any  
other (specify).

Rate of interest:

Mode of repayment:

How much have you repaid:

How will the rest be repaid:

Have you mortgaged anything? (Specify)

Is any family member working as a bonded labourer?

E. Traditional family occupation apart from agriculture

Name of occupation:

Names of persons occupied

Part time/full time


How many months a year?

Average yearly income of the family?

Nature of jobs for women:

Nature of jobs for men:

F. Other earning members in the family  
(excluding those working in EGS/bidi works/sugarcane farms)

Sr. No.	Name	Occupation	How many months a year	Nature of job		Wage rate (D/W/F/M)		Mode of payment (money/kind)	Average yearly income
				M	F	M	F		

G. Questions connected with EGS/bidi works/sugarcane farms

How long have you been working on EGS/bidi works/sugarcane farms?

For how many months in a year do you need this employment?

For how many months in a year do you get this employment?

How many members of the family work on EGS/bidi works/sugarcane farms?

Women:

Men:

Total:

H. Income from EGS/bidi works/sugarcane farms

Average daily wages of women:

Average daily wages of men:

Who receives cash from the officers: woman/man/each one his own.

Who retains the cash: woman/man/each one his own/any other member of the family (specify).

Mode of payment: in money/in kind/part money, part kind/any other (specify).

For EGS workers only

Do you buy grains on coupons? Yes/No. Are the grains of good quality? Yes/No.

How much do you receive?

Do you get the grains in your village? Yes/No.

If no, how far do you have to go to get the grains?

Is the grain supply regular? Yes/No.

Do you consume the grains on coupon yourself? Yes/No.

If no, do you sell them?

At what rate?

Any other remarks:



I. Allocation of income from EGS/bidi works/sugarcane farms

How is the income spent? Pooled in common family income? Yes/No

Spent by the woman as she decides? Yes/No.

Spent by the man as he decides? Yes/No.

Spent by the husband/wife in consultation with each other? Yes/No.

Approximate distribution of expenditure on various items

---

Item	Rs. spent per month at present	Rs. spent per month earlier (i.e. before employment on EGS/bidi works/sugarcane farms was available)
Food		
Clothing		
Cattle		
Medicines		
School fees		
Others (specify)		

---

J. Have any major changes occurred since you started working on EGS/bidi works/sugarcane farms?

(I = increased; NC = no change; D = decreased.)

Food consumption of the household: I/NC/D

Food consumption of the respondent: I/NC/D

Health care of the family members: I/NC/D

Availability of clothing: I/NC/D

Attendance at school by female children: I/NC/D

Attendance at school by male children: I/NC/D

Certainty of income: I/NC/D

K. Basis of group formation on the worksite

1. For EGS only

How many workers are there in your gang in total? Women: Men: Total:

Who organised you to form a gang?

Who are the other members of your gang? Do they all: belong to your family? Yes/No.

belong to your village? Yes/No. belong to the same caste? Yes/No.

2. For bidi works only

Are there any groups formed on the worksite?

Describe:

For what reason?

3. For sugarcane farms only

Are there any groups formed on the worksite?

Describe:

For what reasons?

L. Registration of names for getting jobs

1. EGS

Did you register your name to get the job? When?

What is your registration number?

Who advised you to register your name?

How long did you have to wait after registration to get the job?

Why did you not register your name?

How did you get the job without registration?

2. Bidi works

How did you get this job?

3. Sugarcane farms

How did you get this job?

Schedule V: Questionnaire for women only

1. Name of the respondent:

Relationship to the head of the family:

Age:

Education:

Caste:

2. Are you working? Yes/No.

Where? EGS/bidi works/sugarcane farms/any other (specify)

If not, why?

- Household difficulties (household work/children need attention/old family members need attention/any other (specify))
- Women do not get jobs
- (Scheduled caste women do not get jobs)
- No employment available in the neighbourhood
- Working hours are not suitable
- No necessity to do wage labour
- Treatment of women workers is bad
- Women should not leave the house for work.

Are you prepared to work if employment is provided? Yes/No.

3. Time disposition during the day

---

	Yesterday (at present hours)	Earlier (i.e. before taking up employment on EGS/bidi works/sugarcane farms)
Domestic work:		
Cooking		
Babysitting		
Cleaning		
Washing clothes		
Bringing water		
Any other (specify)		
At the workplace		
Any other occupation (specify)		

---

4. Are you married? Yes/No. What was your age at the time of marriage?

How many children do you have?      Female:              Male:              Total:

Expired, if any:      Female:              Male:              Total:

Have you practised family planning? Yes/No. After how many children?

In your own interests/under force?              Who forced you?

5. Treatment of your in-laws to you: Good/moderate/bad  
Treatment of your husband to you: Good/moderate/bad  
Does your husband drink liquor? Yes/No/Occasionally  
Does he beat you? Yes/No/Occasionally  
Is your opinion considered in any important decision concerning family matters (e.g., marriage, etc.)? Yes/No.

6. Social/political awareness

- Have you ever visited your district place? Yes/No.  
Do you know the name of the Serpanch of your village? Yes/No.  
Do you know the name of the Chief Minister of Maharashtra? Yes/No.  
Do you know the name of the Prime Minister of India? Yes/No.  
Are you a member of any organisation or political party? Yes/No.  
If yes, give name:

7. How long have you been working on EGS/bidi works/sugarcane farms?  
What is the nature of your job?  
What is your average daily income?  
How many days a year do you have this job?  
Are you aware that there are different wages for different types of jobs? Yes/No.  
Do you know the rate schedule? Yes/No.  
Are you aware of the Equal Wages Act for men and women? Yes/No.  
Would you prefer payment to be made in:  
- money terms;  
- in terms of grains;  
- partly money, partly grains;  
- partly in terms of meals during working hours;  
- any other (specify).

Reasons:

8. Do you think that working on EGS/bidi works/sugarcane farms is more troublesome for women as compared to men?  
If so, what are the reasons?  
- more laborious job;  
- long distance;  
- women get less wages;

- no leave with pay;
- children are not allowed at the worksite;
- no medical aid;
- additional burden of household work;
- nobody to act as escort;
- hours of work are not suitable;
- no maternity leave;
- nobody to take care of children at the worksite;
- no drinking-water facilities.

For migrant labour only:

- education of children attached;
- people from other villages are not co-operative;
- people from other villages do not allow the bringing of water from the well;
- no proper camping arrangement;
- any other (specify).

9. At the worksite

(a) How is the treatment by the gangman/supervisor/Mukadam in respect of:

(S = satisfactory; P = passable; US = unsatisfactory.)

(i) Attitude towards female workers -

Unmarried: S/P/US

Married: S/P/US

Mothers bringing children to worksite: S/P/US

Widows: S/P/US

(ii) Attitude towards Dalit-caste workers: S/P/US

(iii) Settlement of disputes: S/P/US

(b) How is the treatment by muster clerk/engineer/factory owner/officer in respect of:

(E = enthusiastic; I = indifferent; H = hostile; S = satisfactory;  
P = passable; US = unsatisfactory.)

(i) Enrolment of new workers: E/I/H

(ii) Enrolment of new women workers: E/I/H

(iii) Response to any complaint made: E/I/H

(iv) Measurement of work: S/P/US

(v) Payment of wages: S/P/US

- (vi) Making job permanent: S/P/US
- (vii) Treatment of Dalit-caste workers: S/P/US
- (viii) Treatment towards women workers -
  - Unmarried: S/P/US
  - Married: S/P/US
  - Mothers bringing children to worksite: S/P/US
  - Widows: S/P/US

(c) What is the source of conflict, if any, between the EGS officials and you?

(d) Have you any complaints regarding working conditions, etc.?

(e) Have you formed any organisation at the worksite? Yes/No.

If yes, give name:

Have you ever tried to solve your problems with regard to work with the help of that organisation? Yes/No.

10. Why do you prefer to work on EGS/bidi works/sugarcane farms?

- No other job is available in our village
- Other employment available in the village is insufficient and uncertain
- Working hours are fixed
- After work we are free to do anything
- Equal wages for men and women
- Higher wages than elsewhere
- Working hours are convenient
- Children are allowed at the worksite
- Creches are provided at the worksite
- Leave with pay
- Maternity leave
- Any other (specify)

11. What amenities and facilities, if provided, would reduce your hardships and make you more productive in EGS/bidi works/sugarcane farms:

- (i) Shed at site
- (ii) Drinking water at site
- (iii) First aid/medical aid
- (iv) Creche or Dai to look after the children
- (v) Leave with pay

- (vi) Maternity leave
- (vii) Lavatory at the worksite
- (viii) Training for certain jobs
- (ix) Help with household work
- (x) Help in bringing water to the home
- (xi) Provision of meals
- (xii) Canteen facilities at the worksite
- (xiii) Any other (specify)

12. For those women not working on EGS/bidi works/sugarcane farms:

- No necessity to work
- Women should not work outside their houses
- Worksite is far off as regards taking children along
- An escort to the worksite is not available
- Wage work is laborious
- Treatment of women on the worksite is bad
- The worksite is very far from the village
- Women are not enrolled at the worksite
- Any other (specify)

IMPACT ON WOMEN WORKERS  
MAHARASHTRA EMPLOYMENT GUARANTEE SCHEME  
A STUDY

VOLUME I

Sponsored by  
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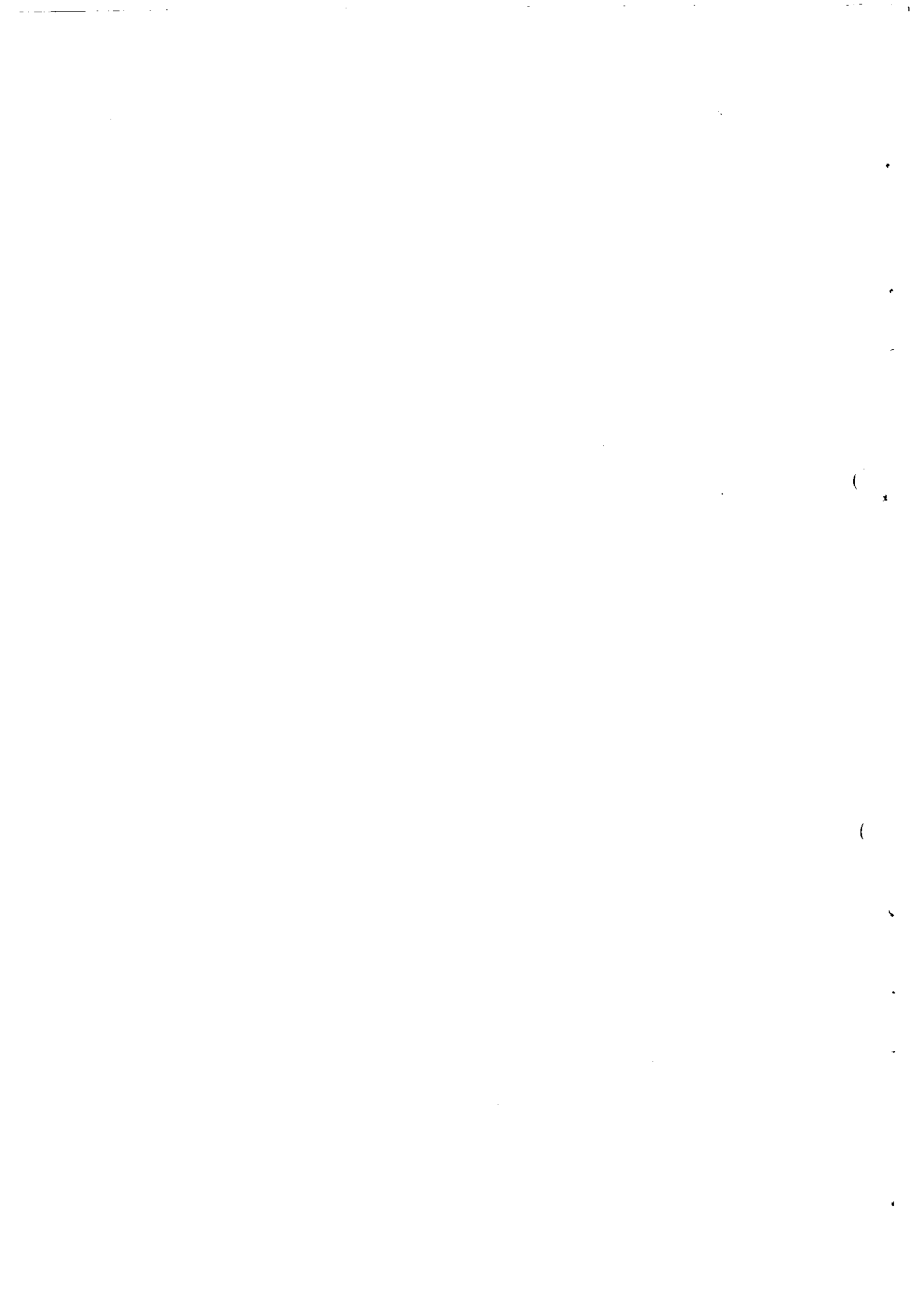
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- 3) Report on Sugar Cane Workers at Rahuri, Ahmednagar District, Sandhya Naik.
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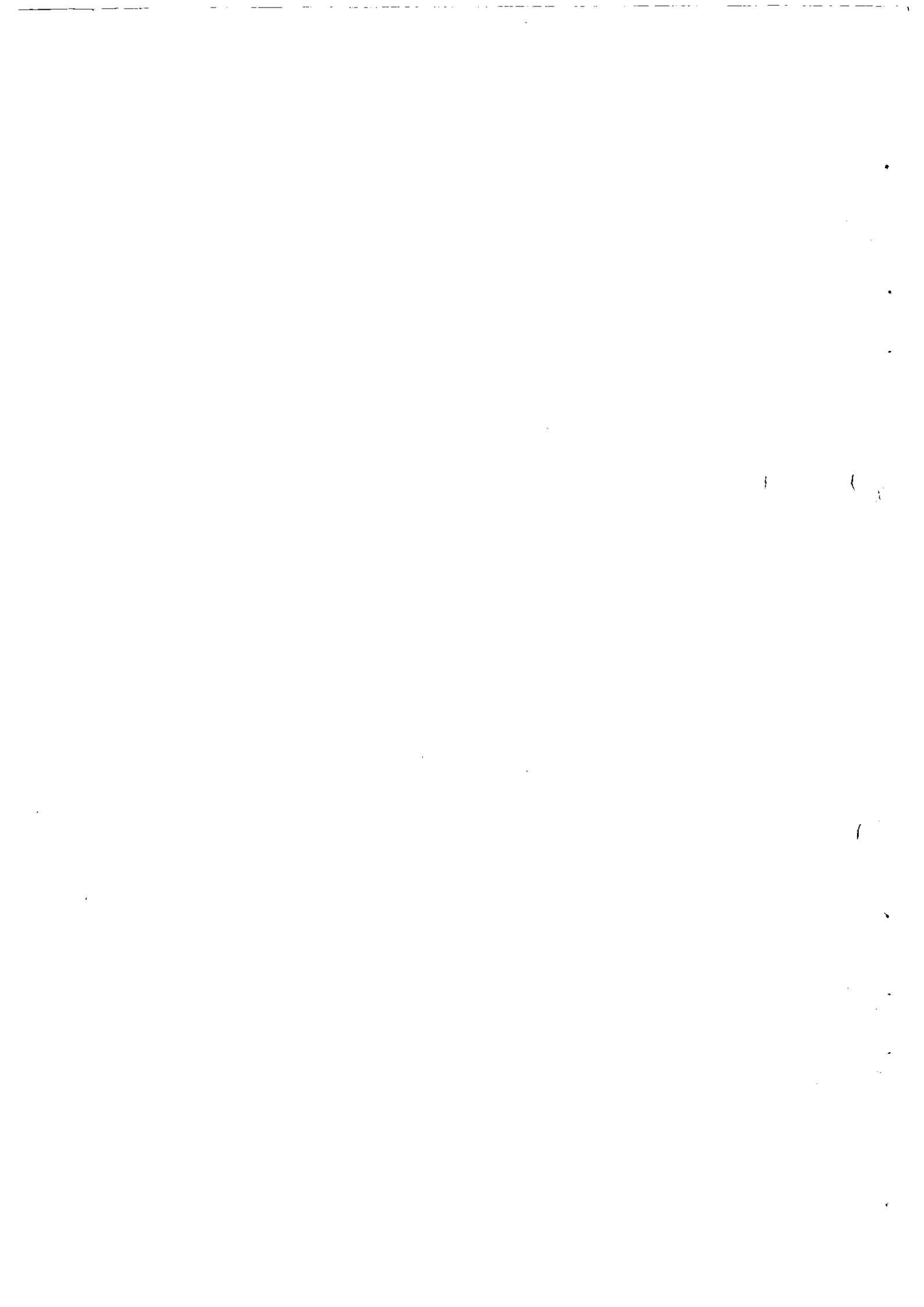
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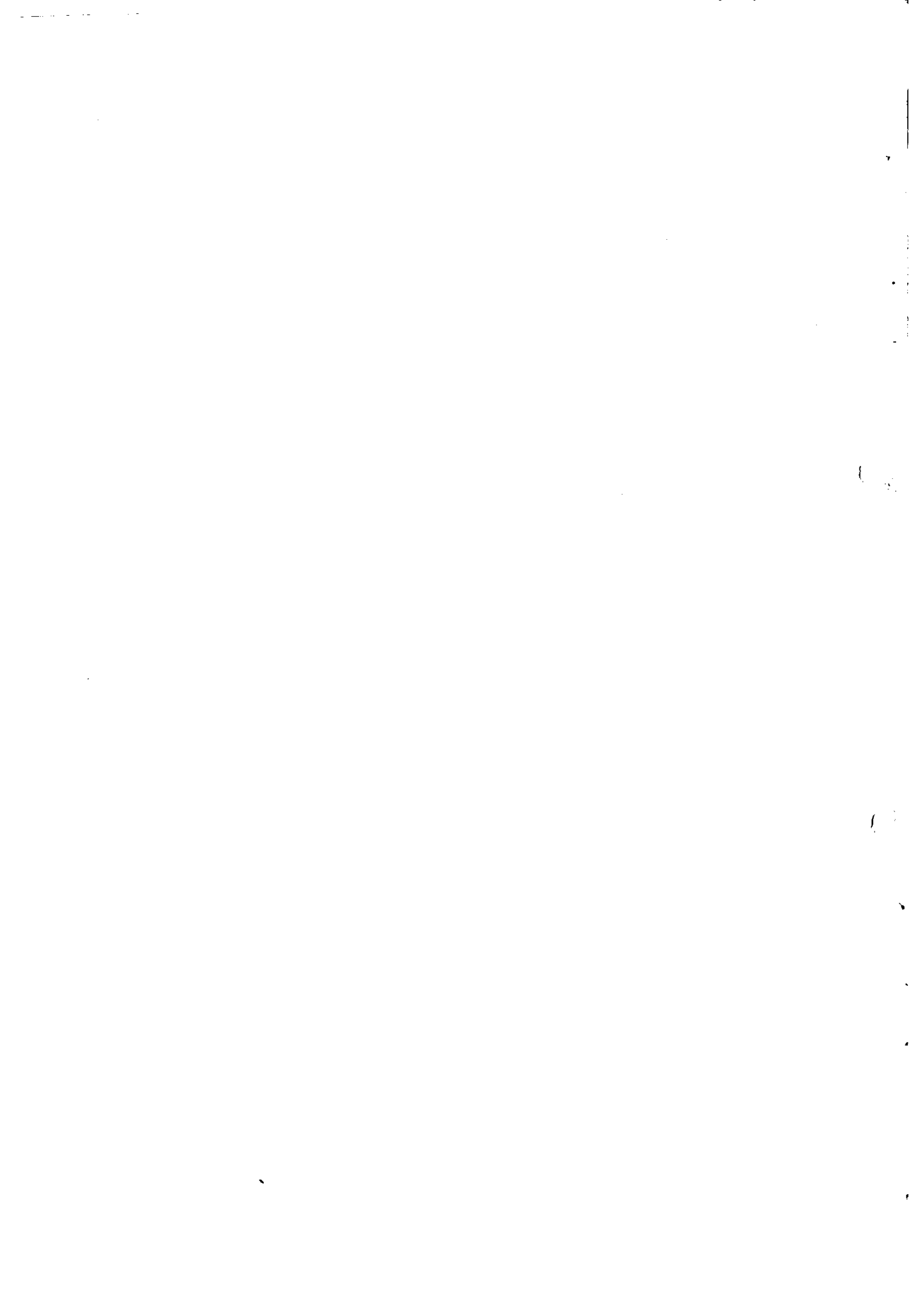
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