

**A Report on the Household Survey of Workers from EPZs and EOUs in India,
India Country Report**

Volume II

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I. INTRODUCTION

In Volume I of the report we have put together available quantitative information on various indicators of women's situation in India over time. Volume II of the report expands the scope of this inquiry to include the analysis of some 'non-conventional' indicators of gender discrimination along with the standard or 'conventional' ones analysed in Volume I. This has been done through a Household Survey where adult members of both sexes from households have been interviewed to assess not merely the socio-economic characteristics of the household and its individual members, but also attitudinal and perceptual differences between people of different sexes and age-groups on a range of issues and assess the parameters of family dynamics during changes in the external economic environment. Questions soliciting the state of mental well being have been canvassed to enable us to map the results against standard indicators of women's status.

The questionnaire survey and supplementary Case Studies have been carried out with a view to capture the impact of policy changes on women in India under a specific context. Since trade liberalisation in recent times has led to increased exports in certain sectors that are characterised by high intensity of female employment, it was decided that in all the five countries under the GPN where co-ordinated research is being carried out in South Asia, one could canvass the questionnaires in the context of the Export Processing Zones or the Export Oriented Units which have opened up new employment opportunities for women. Questionnaire surveys were thus conducted in households of female employees in factories in EPZs and EOUs in the states of U.P. and Haryana. Apart from household level questions, the survey sought to find out the changes brought about in gendered labour use patterns within the home, decision making power and autonomy of women as a result of the induction of women into paid employment.

Along with these questions, two sets of questions were administered to assess the status of 'mental health and well-being' of both men and women of the households. The latter two sets of questions were extracted from two well established and tested questionnaires, i.e., the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) and the Subjective Well-being Indicator Questionnaire (SUBI), in order to assess the level of stress and anxiety as well as the status of mental well-being of the sample population. This was done with a view to map the "Conventional" indicators on the 'Non-Conventional' ones, in order to explore the material, physical and psychological factors that determine the situation of women under changing economic environments.

The need to bring in issues of gender-related stress, anxiety, and actually perpetrated violence against women within a research agenda on gender balance which is also involved in analysing the more conventional indicators of gender bias, was strongly felt for more than one reasons. At one level, evidence in any society, of generic and socially accepted violence against women, especially within the domestic sphere, by itself suggests that the 'status' of women in such a society has to be very low. It strongly suggests women are deprived of basic human rights and dignity. But what if women in such societies happen to be educated, have access to health care in line with men, and enjoy equal pay for equal work? By UNDP's Gender Development Index, such societies would score high in gender development, which, clearly, is not a good prognosis! However, if there is another society or community which is not merely violent against its women, but also has high levels of gender discrimination also in terms of literacy, health, labour market indicators and other 'conventional' factors, how does one place this community against the earlier one which has gender violence but less gender discrimination in conventional terms? Clearly both sets of factors need to be monitored simultaneously.

In Gender Studies, while a lot of work has taken place in the area of violence against women, much of it has been carried out by feminist activists and advocacy experts, in general independently of and in isolation from those that have been involved in the UNDP- inspired quantitative-statistical work, which is being carried out primarily by academics interested in women's issues. While the former set of people have been involved in documentation of atrocities against women, lobbying for legal reforms and advocacy in various forums, the latter

have been involved in the analysis of large bodies of gender-disaggregated data that are now available from various sources and been engaged in the construction of various indices and rankings thereof, of gender development indicators of various kinds under increasingly disaggregated contexts. Although both parties are supposedly interested in the same basic set of issues, the languages used by the two parties are generally disparate, and often there is no common ground where they can meet.

It was felt that there is an urgent need to provide such a forum where the two groups of people from very different backgrounds and orientation but both interested in the issue of gender bias, can engage with each other, thereby enriching the work of both. The decision to investigate 'non-conventional' indices of gender discrimination originated from this felt need of expanding the arena of gender discourse.

It may be noted that the 'non-conventional' indices of gender bias that have been explored in this research agenda go beyond the phenomenon of actual perpetrated violence against women, which has engaged most of the work on gender violence by activist groups. Our approach includes the issue of credible threat of violence as well, for it is felt that a commonly shared credible threat of violence is just as potent an indicator of inequality in gender relations as actual acts of violence. The anxiety that is associated with being a woman in a particular society, the fear of molestation and 'eve-teasing' that a young women may have to live through in her everyday life, are also important indicators of gender bias. The 'non-conventional' indicators of gender bias in our analysis therefore go beyond investigating the reported cases of violence against women, -- which have a strong reporting bias in any case, -- and include the phenomena of gender-based stress, anxiety and credible threat of violence, both within and outside the home. This has been carried out by administering the GHQ and SUBI questionnaires to the respondents in the household surveys. The set of indicators thus obtained come in a comparable format with other more conventional indices of gender bias currently in vogue, which can feed into multivariate analysis, thereby paving the way for a more integrated analysis of gender. Intensive case studies that have been carried out along with the questionnaire surveys provide essential qualitative supplements to the analysis.

II. VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: THE VARIOUS DIMENSIONS

II.1 INTRODUCTION

Violence against women is partly a result of gender relations that assumes men to be superior to women. Given the subordinate status of women, much of gender violence is considered normal and enjoys social sanction.

With different processes of socialisation that men and women undergo, men take up stereotyped gender roles of domination and control, whereas women take up that of submission, dependence and respect for authority. A female child grows up with a constant sense of being weak and in need of protection, whether physical social or economic. This helplessness has led to her exploitation at almost every stage of life. The family socialises its members to accept hierarchical relations expressed in unequal division of labour between the sexes and power over the allocation of resources.

The family and its operational unit is where the child is exposed to gender differences since birth, and in recent times even before birth, in the form of sex-determination tests leading to foeticide and female infanticide. The home, which is supposed to be the most secure place, is where women are most exposed to violence.

II.2. YOUNG GIRLS

II.2.a. Female Foeticide and Infanticide

Foeticide is an act of aborting the child in the womb, if it happens to be a girl child. To determine the sex of the foetus, medical technologies like amniocenteses and ultrasound are widely used throughout India.

According to surveys done by Chunkath and others (1997) in Tamil Nadu and Adithi and Community Guild (1992) in Bihar, it was found that the practice began among the higher castes (*Gounders* in Tamil Nadu and *Rajputs* in Bihar) and spread to the lower castes and now appears to cut across all castes. There are also indications of its increase in occurrence.

The data that Chunkath and others analysed, reveals that there is a core area where this practice exists in Tamil Nadu State and the phenomenon is spreading from the core area to a much wider neighbouring periphery area and beyond (Chunkath, et al, 1997: WS25).

The field staff of the public health network in Tamil Nadu State, also obtains very important information on causes of infant deaths and one of the causes is 'death due to social causes'. This category refers to male/female infanticide (Chunkath et al, 1997: WS23)

The most significant indicator of female infanticide would be the neo natal (0-7 days) mortality rate as infants are normally killed within the first three days or the first week of their birth, after which the chance of their survival increases. Even the ritual, which is normally observed on death in the family, is never followed in cases of female infanticide. The people who actually kill the child are the *dais*¹, fathers, mothers or elder female members of the family. The feeling of guilt and trauma is almost absent in the community that perpetrates the practice, although there is grief among the mothers (Negi 1997: 19). Negi in her report has mentioned, the society and families having used coercive tactics to ensure that female infanticide continues, limiting the scope for outside influences in arresting the problem. (Negi 1997: 18) There is also a superstition among the people that, killing a new born girl child increases the probability of a male child being born in the family.

(Negi 1997:19).

Negi has cited modernisation as a reason for female infanticide. With the shift from traditional to modern cultivation women who were valued for their knowledge of traditional agriculture was lost. The skills and resources were external. Women became mere liabilities with her knowledge having become redundant and men aspired to marry only those women whose family can afford to offer

¹ *Dais*: Midwives who normally deliver children in the villages.

more dowry (Asia Pacific Hearing, 1997: 38). Sergent et al, 1996 has mentioned that, in the land-less classes, the presence of sons ensures a higher labour participation and correspondingly a high financial support to the family, as a consequence, the family is likely to favour a male child, increasing the probability of female infanticide. (Negi 1997: 12) The practice of infanticide is another form of foeticide. These people, either do not have the money to abort the baby in the womb or do not have the facility to find out the sex of the baby in the womb and they kill her as soon as she is born.

It is not only at the time of marriage but also ceremonies connected with pregnancy, childbirth and ceremonies for piercing the ear of the girl child and so on when gifts are given to the husband's family in cash and kind. (Negi 1997: 15) The inability to meet these dowry-related demands from the in-law's family, is one of the major cause of female infanticide. (Negi, 1997: 16)

The fear of sexual abuse of the girl child is also stated as one of the causes for female infanticide. Although, Harris-White (1997) has cited poverty as one of the reasons for female infanticide, it has been proved through several surveys that the practice is prevalent in all classes. (Negi 1997: 12)

II. 2.b. Child Marriage

With the amendment of age of marriage in 1978, the minimum age of marriage for boys is 21 and girls is 18. (Chhabra et al, 1986: 2). According to Saxena, 1999, during the *Akha Teej* or *Akshaya Trithiya*, (the most auspicious day for marriage) practically everywhere in Western Rajasthan - Bikaner, Tonk, Jhalwar, Jodhpur and Jaisalmer Districts, marriages are performed *en masse* and a number of child marriages take place during this occasion.

According to Nair (1995), the phenomenon of child marriage is linked to poverty, illiteracy, dowry and other such social evils. One of the main reasons why people conduct child marriages *en masse* is because during such occasions the cost of marriage is reduced.

Parents believe that, when married young, it is not only easy for the child-bride to adapt to a new environment and her husband, but also for others to mould the girl to suit their family environment and practices. Child marriage is also done to maintain pre-marriage chastity among the girls (Rajyalakshmi, 1990: 39). In case of joint families, the parents would want to perform the marriage of their daughter before dividing the property among the sons.

The impact of child marriage over the young bride's future is, enforced widowhood, inadequate socialisation, education deprivation, lack of independence to select the life partner, lack of economic independence, psychological as well as marital adjustment, low health/nutritional status as a result of early/frequent pregnancies in an unprepared psychological state of the young bride (Rajyalakshmi, 1990: 38).

Boys suffer less in this male dominated society. Most grooms once educated and grown up, migrate to urban areas and get better jobs. Many abandon their village brides for city women. Some continue to keep two wives. In some cases the grown up boys, don't even bother to acknowledge their child marriage and the brides are forced to remain in their parent's house (Saxena, 1999). These deserted women or widows are invariably given in *nata*². (Saxena, 1999).

There have been arguments that child marriage does not lead to early pregnancies and child abuse as the girl does not go to the in law's house immediately after marriage and is sent only after she attains puberty. On the other hand there have been evidences of the norms and customs being highly flexible.

Apart from the administrative laxity, the rigidity and callousness of the local people has led to the widespread and open existence of the practice. Despite the administration being fully aware of the custom, and sometimes even having advance knowledge about it, the crime against innocent children continues.

² *Nata*: Discussed in detail in the section II.3.c. Sale of Wife

II. 2.c. Child Sexual Abuse

In most cases, the child knows the abuser as family friend, sibling, relative, servant, teacher and so on. Family environment thus plays a major role in being able to tackle and put an end to child abuse, as and when it occurs.

There is a general denial or disbelief of its existence among the Indian families that is considered to be revered and sensitive. Even in families where parents/relatives accept and realise that the child has been abused, the child is forced to silence and told to 'forget' the experience given the culture of family privacy, prestige and unity. The abuser on the other hand uses threats or blackmail to warn the child against telling any one about the abuse. This may be the primary cause for the child's silence and the abuse continues for a long period of time (Narang, 1998:21). Sexual organs or any reference to sex is considered to be shameful. Children are therefore not comfortable to talk about their experience in the family. Incestuous families tend to be closed, inward families lacking in any real emotional connection to people outside the family, which increase the potential for incest.

A young girl child below ten may not always be aware that her sexual violation is in fact qualitatively different from thrashing and abuse..

Society constantly judges women including young girls and children. Girls are very scared of this judgement, and of being exposed, which forces them into silence.

As in other forms of violence against women, the girl child has to prove in court that she has been molested. The court room environment is hostile and girls are humiliated over and over again. This poses to be a major obstacle for girls who want to file a complaint against their abuser.

Creating a healthy family environment could be one solution to reduce the occurrence of child abuse within the family or by close relatives. A healthy environment is a family situation where family communication is clear, direct and specific and rules are flexible. Children can freely approach elders or adults with questions or concerns about sexual experiences in the full knowledge that the adults concerned will address these issues with the child's welfare in mind.

Singh (1997) has pointed out that child sexual abuse triggers a host of complexities in the child's psyche. Periodic bouts of low self esteem, sexual dysfunctioning, guilt are some of the problems that arise out of child sexual abuse and which continue to haunt the individual well into adulthood (Singh Dhiraj, 1997).

The most disturbing effect of child sexual abuse is that the worst scars are on the emotional and mental health, which may show up as unidentifiable symptoms. Children are prone to a variety of psychological and behavioural disturbances caused by the trauma of abuse and carry it with them into adulthood.

II. 2.d. Child Prostitution and Trafficking

Violence against the girl child acquires a new dimension in the sale of young girls below the age of 18 for prostitution and trafficking.

Poverty and deprivation, coupled with a low status in society for girls is a primary factor for child prostitution. According to a UNICEF Report, children are often required to work to supplement their meager incomes. Thus in a country like India, child prostitution in most cases stems from child labour. Prostitution is often viewed, as an avenue providing easy money, which seems attractive for families steeped in poverty.

Young girls are taken away from villages on the pretext that they will be given jobs in the city and the parents too send them with this hope. This network is well organised in some areas. Young urban boys deceive some young girls. Some boys conduct fake marriages with these girls, bring them to the cities and sell them to the brothels (Mukhopadhyay, 1995:7).

On the economic front, it must be noted that development policies and patterns of development promoting tourism, industrialisation, rural to urban migration particularly of males generate a demand for commercial sex. In such a situation, the developing countries bear the brunt of the problem. Economic disparities within countries, and between countries and regions fuel the demand

for trafficking from low income to high-income areas. In addition, globalization and liberalization have facilitated population mobility as they have opened borders and relaxed controls. (Trade in Human Misery, 1998) Such a scenario gives a spurt to tourism, which leads to 'sex tourists' from the West journeying East with the purpose of exploiting children.

Child prostitution in India is further aggravated by the presence of social conventions and myths prevailing in society. It is popularly believed that sex with a virgin is a cure for venereal and other diseases. (The Hindustan Times, 28 Aug 1997).

Social conventions play an important role in the continuance of the phenomenon of child prostitution. These include child marriages, polygamy, dowry and social stigma against single, unwed, divorced women and girls who have been sexually abused (Trade in Human Misery, 1998). Children, especially young girls, in these circumstances are especially vulnerable to the prostitution racket. There have been instances of girls being driven into the sex trade following traumatic sexual experiences during childhood, including rape.

The prevalence of traditional and religious practices in some communities that consist of dedicating girls to gods and goddesses (*Devadasi*) serve to encourage child prostitution (Trade in Human Misery, 1998). Social backwardness is the most closely linked factors to both *devadasis* and prostitutes (Gilada, 1990: 67). Interestingly, the "signs" used to identify the chosen child (who is then dedicated to the goddess *Yellamma*) are those of ill health - white patches of eczema, leprosy and even mental retardation.

The prevailing situation is aggravated by the lack of awareness of legal rights, the exploited situation of the victims and the absence of a channel for seeking redress. In the presence of the growth of trans-national crime and expansion of drug trafficking networks, weak law enforcement mechanisms, exploitation by corrupt law enforcers and officials are the order of the day (Trade in Human Misery, 1998).

It has also been shown that most prostitutes are forced to remain in their professions due to police high-handedness and the clout of local henchmen (Jha, 1998). This makes chances of rescue and rehabilitation very slight.

These women who are sold are severely beaten or tortured into submission. Even when they earn they have to pass on all their earnings to the keepers and any deviation from this norm is also countered with violence. *Goondas* (toughs) forcefully seek entry into these houses and assume the role of the pimps. They live off their earnings and, in case of resistance, get violent.

II. 2.e. Child Labour

The children not going to school are either found at home caring for the cattle, collecting firewood, working in fields or engaged in cottage industries, tea stalls, restaurants. Some even work in factories doing extremely hazardous jobs. Some find employment as household workers in middle class homes. (Sardar Nayeem, Pioneer, 29th November 1997).

Chronic poverty is one of the factors for the prevalence and perpetuation of child labour. When disease, other forms of disability or unemployment upset the balance of the family budget, there may not be an alternative except to send the child to work. Associated with poverty is the existence of large families. Large families with comparatively less income cannot give protected and encouraging childhood to their children.

Gupta (1997) has mentioned disintegration of family as one of the causes of child labour. This could occur due to separation, divorce or death. He also mentions the low status of women in the house as a key factor of child labour. This, he says is because she does not get the job or income she deserves, she is under-paid and badly exploited. His argument is that, a mother or elder sister will not like the child to work if she earns enough to support the family or to supplement the family income (Gupta; 1997: 29)

Child labour also exists because people prefer to employ children for several reasons. The preferences are because the child can be paid much lesser than an adult worker, they are more likely to be obedient and less likely to organise themselves into labour unions and create trouble for the management and they can be molded for performing repetitive tasks.

According to Chandra, with the advent of industrialisation, the tendency among the employers to have quick and more profits at low costs has increased. Hence, there is employment of children in large numbers in factories, who are paid very low wages and subjected to excessive hours of work (Chandra, 1997, 42).

Some of the other reasons for child labour mentioned by Chandra is the absence of scheme for family allowance. He says there is conspicuous absence of schemes for family allowance, as can be given to family so that people may maintain an adequate standard and may not be forced to send their children to the labour market. This type of scheme comes under the social security measures, which is in practice in many developed countries.

In addition to the above causes, Chandra (1997: 42) has also mentioned bleak employment opportunities, lack of physical and mental fitness (due to malnutrition), sheer encouragement to take up jobs instead of going to school, inadequate inspection mechanism to check child labour and slow process of protective legislation as reasons of child labour.

Lal (1997: 58) has also mentioned migration as a cause for child labour. In search of job poor rural parents migrate, which leave no scope for education of their children. In this process parents face various problems like unemployment, under employment, lack of shelter, and so on, which force the parents to send their children to work.

II. 3. ADULT WOMEN

II. 3.a. Domestic Violence

There is a wide societal tolerance for wife-abuse, which is very often even considered justifiable under certain circumstance: Disputes over dowries, a wife's sexual infidelities, her neglect of household duties, and her disobedience of her husband's dictates are all considered legitimate causes for wife-beating (Karlekar, 1995).

II. 3.a.1. Domestic Violence in the Marital Relationship

Ahuja (1998) and Visaria (1999) have recently conducted studies on 'domestic violence' within marital relationship. The findings of their study has been discussed below.

In identifying factors leading to wife beating, both Visaria and Ahuja, in their survey, have tested the co-relationship between wife beating and education. According to Visaria's (1999) survey in Gujarat, illiterate women face more violence than literate women. However the study by Ahuja (1998) shows that there is no significant relationship between beating and educational level of the couple.

Study findings of Ahuja shows that family structure, the presence or absence of children, and the size of the family, family income, husband's occupation and employment of women have little co-relation with wife battering. However according to survey findings of Visaria (1999) joint family tends to offer women some protection or acts as a deterrent to husbands using physical force to subdue them.

Some of the reasons given by women, in the survey done by Visaria is, meals not served properly, economic constraints, financial matters, men wasting money at tea stalls, drinking of alcohol, men feeling that women are paying less attention to the children and vis-à-vis, men feeling that women have a lot of free time and so on.

One of the main causes why domestic violence prevails and continues is the lack of alternatives among the victims. Women and children may be economically dependent on abusers. Elderly people and children may feel too powerless to escape. Language or cultural barriers may isolate victims from seeking help.

Victims generally feel, it is better to suffer in silence than to be separated from loved ones. Women choose to remain silent for several reasons. They may feel ashamed of the poor quality of the relationship. They keep hoping for improvement, but it is normally observed that, without help, violence gets worse. Victims may also feel helpless, guilty or worthless. They may fear the consequences of seeking help. Family members may be unaware of the help that is available from the local agencies. They may also be unaware of their legal rights.

Frequent, unexplained injuries, reluctance to seek medical treatment for injuries or denial of their existence, fear in the presence of certain family member/s, social isolation, disorientation or grogginess, especially in elders indicating misuse of medication and decline in physical appearance and personal hygiene indicating increased isolation and a lack of desire to continue living are some of the indicators of violence (Aravamudan G, 1995)

II. 3.a.2. Dowry Harassment and Bride Burning

Dowry is a transfer of property from the bride's family to that of the bridegroom, at the time of marriage (Negi, 1997: 14). According to the present practice, dowry usually subsumes material gifts and cash paid to the bridegroom and his kin.). The gifts are no longer a token of affection from parents to the daughter, but instead an elaborate demand from the marital family. This practice continues even after marriage (Paul; 1993).

Despite a list of legislation protecting the rights of women, most importantly the prohibition of giving and taking of dowry under the Dowry Prohibition Act 1961, women in India are tortured physically and mentally and even killed or driven to suicide by their husbands and in-laws for not bringing sufficient dowry.

Recent data (Crime in India 1997) reveals that dowry related violence against married women by the families they marry into, is a phenomenon that is on the increase. This data includes only those cases that had been booked by the police under the relevant sections of law. However most of the accident cases due to stove-bursts or kitchen accidents are dowry related crimes that are closed down for want of evidence (Menon; 1999: 66). There are rarely any eyewitnesses who are prepared to give evidence against the murderers as the crime is committed within the four walls of a home and those who are present inside are those who are committing the crime. There are pressures on the woman to conceal the truth about the reality even if they are on the verge of dying. Her husband's family often threatens to harm her natal family or her children if she does not declare that it was an accident. Relatives and family members of her natal family also sometimes remain silent, as they fear the husband's family. The victim's dying declaration, which is supposed to be taken in private by the policeman in the presence of a doctor, is invariably a public procedure. While on one hand the family does not want to get involved in the time-staking and laborious process of legal proceedings, on the other hand the police do not take interest to penetrate this community resistance to look for evidence of what really could have happened (Menon, 1999:69).

According to Damodaran, exposure to the media has resulted in an increasing trend towards consumerism. Some girls too think that taking dowry is their right. People believe that the effective way to a secure future for these women is to equip them with dowry. The feelings among the mothers-in-law is that, when she herself brought dowry from her house at the time of her marriage, why shouldn't she take dowry for her son. According to Menon (1999), dowry related crime is motivated mainly by greed.

II. 3.b. Sexual Harassment at Work

Not all expressions of sexuality in the workplace could possibly be called sexual harassment. Men and women do meet dating partners and future spouses at work. Some people may even enjoy sexual jokes and flirting that can be ego enhancing and enrich their fantasy life.

However women who face sexual harassment at work and speak it out, have to face curiosity, sympathy, disdainful glances or simply isolation by her colleagues. The situation at home for her

could be worse. Instead of sympathising with her plight or standing by her, the attitude is one of distrust and suspicion or often humiliation and shame.

Some of the reasons for sexual harassment at workplace is, individuals using their position of relative power to engage in sexual interactions, ego problems, obsession, widowhood, pornographic material and media portrayal.

II. 3.c. Sale of Wife

If a widow or a married woman chose to enter into a live-in relationship with another man, the latter in turn paid the first husband the amount he had spent at the time of the marriage. This system has, in the last decade become completely distorted with women being sold and resold. The *nata* brokers have mushroomed all around in Rajasthan and earn a lot of commission through this deal.

Closely connected to the issue of sale and resale of women is the custom of child marriage. Of the 517 households surveyed by a Deoli based NGO, 'Women's Rights Committee Against Atrocity', the survival rate of marriages in the backward classes during the last five years was less than 50 per cent and in some cases as high as 70 per cent (The Sunday Review, June 13th 1999, Pg. 3). These boys are not satisfied with their wives when they grow up and desert them. There are many such women who then get sold and resold initially by her parents and then by others who buy her.

II. 3.d. Eve Teasing

Eve teasing is an act of terror that violates a woman's body, space and self-respect. It is one of the many ways through which a woman is systematically made to feel inferior, weak and afraid. Eve teasing denies a woman's fundamental right to move freely and carry herself with dignity, solely on the basis of her sex (Hindu, August 2, 1998).

Stereotypically, men are conceived of as natural prey to uncontrollable lust. Women therefore have to protect themselves at any costs. They have to censor their appearance and movements. In an ironic twist of responsibility, women then bear the burden of guilt for an act of violence against

themselves. Eve teasers are there in the family, the neighbourhood, in one's classroom and place of work and cut across all castes and classes.

The popular Indian cinema has a tendency of linking eve teasing with love and legitimises eve teasing in the society as an expression of love. Depiction of women in an indecent manner in advertisements also increases eve teasing in the society. The lack of fear of punishment or adverse publicity or social disgrace among the perpetrators is also one of the reasons why eve teasing continues in the society.

II.3.e. Violence against Widows

Giri (1999) mentions three options for a widow woman according to orthodox tradition; (i) *sati*, (ii) ascetic widowhood or, (iii) remarriage. Widows are expected to lead an ascetic life by the society with restrictive codes of dress, diet and demeanour and of social ostracism from the religious and social life of the community due to her perceived inauspiciousness. She is expected to remain in perpetual mourning, and give up eating 'spicy food', in order to cool her sexual energy, and remain celibate, devout and loyal to her husband's memory (Giri; 1999). Widow remarriage is not common and not sanctioned by society, however men were allowed to remarry. Women who prefer to die than go through this kind of life opt for *sati* (sitting on the funeral pyre of the deceased husband).

Widows have to face rumours and accusations of being responsible for the husband's death, and are not only considered sexually threatening, but also accused of immoral relations. Violence against widows primarily takes the form of sexual harassment (young widows being considered as sexually vulnerable and/or promiscuous) or property related violence (because widows are seen as unwanted claimants on ancestral property). Verbal abuse or ill treatment of her children by other family members is common.

Not all widows face these problems, some find support from their sons or daughter's families. Some of the essential factors that account for high levels of deprivation among Indian widows include limited freedom to remarry, insecure property rights, social restrictions on living arrangements, restricted employment opportunities and lack of social support. (Chen & Dreze, 1995: 2438).

III. HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

Household surveys were carried out in households of women workers in an EPZ in Noida, Dadri District Uttar Pradesh State and some EOU's in the Sonapat district of Haryana State. The questionnaire was designed to elicit information on various dimensions of women's status in the households with a view to understand the impact of changes in the external economic environment of the household on women's situation both within and outside the family. In particular, questions of differential access to resources, women's autonomy, including issues of decision making powers in different spheres of life and mobility, marriage and kinship related issues, issues of reproductive rights and choice, violence, labour use patterns and mental stress and well-being were explored.

III.1 OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

III.1.a. Objectives

The major objective of carrying out the surveys was to assess the impact of one facet of economic reforms on women's status. The contexts chosen for the exercise was the EPZ's³ and the EOU's⁴ which have generated a lot of female employment under SAP⁵. Within this context, the objective was to explore the following aspects:

The impact of hired employment in EPZs on women's position. Gender discrimination, if any, that exists in the family in the context of education, health, nutrition, occupational mobility and selection of spouse etc.

Changes brought about in the quality of life in the family of the working women Women's autonomy and decision making powers in different spheres, and changes therein. Gender related stress, anxiety and violence, with a focus on the mental health and well being of working and non-

³ EPZ Export Processing Zone

⁴ EOU Export Oriented Units

⁵ SAP Structural Adjustment Programme

working women of the households, and of other members of the family. Comparative analysis of the household situation of working women in the pre and post employment periods.

III.1.b. Methodology

III.1.b.1. Sample sites and selection process

The household survey was conducted in two locations in India, Noida⁶ in Uttar Pradesh State and Sonapat⁷ in Haryana State. Since the aim of the study was to look into the impact of employment in Export Processing Zones (EPZs) and Export Oriented Units (EOUs) on women, it was decided to select workers from various industries located inside NOIDA EPZ. As far as EOUs was concerned, workers' households were selected from the villages of Sonapat.

In order to select sample villages in NOIDA, a physical mapping was done of the urban and rural areas within a 10 km circumference from the EPZ (See Map 2). After the mapping exercise was over, visits were made to the villages and it was found that some of these villages had many women working at the NOIDA EPZ. Sample households were selected from urban and rural areas falling within 5 km of vicinity from the NEPZ.

The households selected for the study were from the areas that had a cluster of families with women working in EPZ factories. A listing was done for the whole cluster and interviews held in households where the members agreed to spend time with us. Those who were not willing to respond were dropped from the list. The four areas selected for the study from NOIDA is Chhalera, Sadarpur, Bhangel and Salarpur. Among the four areas, only Sadarpur represents a rural area and the other areas are part of the urban areas of NOIDA as per the 1991 Census. (See Map 2). The decision to split the sample between Noida and Sonapat was taken some time half way through the survey when it had become clear that the Noida households are primarily nuclear as they were almost all migrant families, and that because of the migrant nature of the households in the Noida

⁶ For more information on NOIDA & EPZs in India, refer Appendix III titled 'New Okhla Industrial Development Area (NOIDA) Export Processing Zone (NEPZ): Salient Features, prepared by Sheela Saravanan

⁷ For basic information on Sonapat District refer Appendix IV titled 'A profile of district Sonapat 1991, prepared by Kuldip Singh.

sample, the family situation in these households was not quite natural or representative, that in the absence of the extended family, it would not be possible for us to observe the full nuances of the family dynamics. Therefore a decision was taken to go to a settled agricultural location where extended families are more the rule than the exception, and where it would be possible to observe the changes in women's position within its natural locale. These considerations prompted us to go to the Sonapat district of Haryana State, which is peopled by established farming communities.

For sample selection, a broadly similar exercise was done to select the villages in Sonapat District as was done in Noida, excepting that detailed mapping of clusters was not necessary here as the team of surveyors were all locals and could provide the necessary information. The villages selected for the survey in Sonapat was Deepalpur, Bahalgad, Nagal Kala and Mukhimpur. A number of EOU's have sprung up in Sonapat in recent years, and females from local agricultural families have taken up employment in these in large numbers.

Although the original plan was to interview every member of the families, during the pilot study this was not often possible either due to interviewee fatigue or other logistical problems. In Noida, since families were nuclear, all adult members of the households were interviewed. However in Sonapat, often that was not possible. But in all cases, interviews were taken of at least one adult woman and one adult man in the household, apart from the woman worker.

A group of local persons were recruited for the survey in both locations to ensure easy access to the households. They were given intensive training in survey techniques and gender sensitization.

III.1.b.2. Structure of the Questionnaire

A detailed questionnaire was prepared with two major sections focusing on household and individual information. (Cf. Appendix I)

The questionnaire canvassed to the head of the household consisted of sections seeking information on Identification, Migration and Infrastructure facilities, Details of the members in the household, Economic activity, Sources of Income and Asset ownership.

The individual section has been divided into two categories, i.e., male and female, with sections on Job details, Control of labour, Control over changing occupation, Control over assets, Control of income, Labour use pattern, Changes brought about by women's Employment, Education status, Health and Nutrition, Physical mobility, Marriage and Dowry, Reproduction and Sex, Household Decision Making and Violence. The other important section in the individual questionnaire consists of two sets of questions, the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) to elicit information on levels of stress and anxiety being experienced by the interviewee, and the Subjective Well-Being Indicator (SUBI), both seeking information on mental health of the interviewees.

III.1.b.3. Training of Surveyors

In order to ensure quality data from the survey, it was decided to conduct training for surveyors in both the locations. The members of the ISST research team conducted a two-day training. (Cf. Appendix II). During the first half of the first day, the participants were briefed about the objectives of the project and the expected outcomes. In the second half of the first day, the details of the questionnaire were discussed. On the second day, proper methods of canvassing the questionnaire, especially the more sensitive sections such as those on Reproduction and Sex, Decision Making, Conflicts and Violence, were demonstrated to the trainees through role plays and other interactive methods

At the time of pilot testing of the questionnaires in the field, a group of two to three persons would go to the sample households and interview men and women simultaneously. The men among the group interviewed men and the women among us interviewed women in the household. Care was taken that other members in the family do not influence the responses. Sometimes the team had to be restructured to suit the respondents' needs and availability. During the initial interviews, every team consisted of at least one researcher from ISST and at least one field worker. As the surveyors became more skilled, they were allowed to conduct the interviews. At all times there would be at least two persons going together for questioning a respondent.

III.1.b.4. Coding of Responses

Many of the questions are of the objective type, so that coding was not difficult. For some others, coding was done after all the responses had come in. For the sections on mental health, subsets of the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) and Subjective Well Being Inventory (SUBI) were used. For the purpose of this study, the 12 item version of the GHQ developed by Goldberg and another 9 item SUBI set was used.⁸ The options in each question of the two questionnaires are ordered from higher to lower levels of well being. Each question in the GHQ has four options and is given a score of (0,0,1,1) respectively. The total score is the sum of the scores on all the twelve questions, with the maximum possible score of 12 and a minimum of 0.

The SUBI set has nine items with three options for each question. The scores in each question are assigned at (1,2,3). The total score is the sum of scores on all the questions, with a maximum possible score of 27, and a minimum of 9. The SUBI questionnaire can be sub-divided into three components as follows:

General well-being (Positive Effect) (questions 1-3)

Expectation-Achievement Congruence (questions 4-6), and

Confidence in Coping (questions 7-9).

Each of these factors can have a maximum possible score of 9 and a minimum of 3.

III.2. Analysis Of Survey Data And Results

The following sections provide a bird's eye view of the basic findings of the household survey. Section III.2.a. outlines the differential characteristics of Noida and Sonapat. This is followed in Section III.2.b. by a detailed statistical description of the findings from the survey on various dimensions of gender differences. Some additional tables of the individual level information are presented as Appendix V.

⁸ Psychiatric Morbidity in a general practice in an Indian city, by., C.Shamasundar, S.Krishna Murthy, Om Prakash, N.Prabhakar & D.K. Subba Krishna, British Medical Journal, Vol 292, 28th June 1986, pg 1713-1716.

III.2.a. Some Features of the Study Locations

There is a certain difference between the two locations (NOIDA and Sonapat) where the survey was carried out. The study site in Sonapat is situated within a prosperous agricultural region. The infusion of industry in the region in the types of products that EPZs specialize in, has been of relatively recent origin, and also has been quite gradual as compared to Noida. Noida at this point of time is a major industrial belt, encompassing one of the seven EPZs in the country located within it and several Export Oriented Units around the NEPZ. A major upshot of this difference is that while Noida has attracted a lot of migrant worker families as well as single migrant women (especially from the South), the female factory workforce in Sonapat largely consists of women from locally settled agricultural families. A number of them also come from families who have lost their land either due to fragmentation of land holdings, or death in the family, or due to property disputes. There are also some migrant families, especially from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, who had originally migrated to this place to work as farm labour in the green revolution era and had subsequently settled down in the area. These are primarily landless agricultural labour households.

This difference in the background may explain why there is a fair amount of difference in attitudes towards women working in factories among the locals in the two places. There is little doubt that both localities have benefited from industrialisation. The local population in Noida would much rather earn by renting out small rooms in matchbox-like structures that have cropped up all over the surrounding villages to the migrant workers who have flocked to the area from all over the country, or by selling land to the government in lieu of hefty compensation. If they at all could, they would much rather procure jobs for their sons in the factories, rather than let their women work in them. But jobs for locals are not very forthcoming, given the reputation of locals as troublemakers. They would not consider sending their own women for factory work as they feel it is below their dignity to do so, although they are willing to educate them “as long as the girls want to”.

In Sonapat, in contrast, women from ordinary agricultural families have been gradually entering the work force in the local factories. There is also a sense of changing mindsets in this regard within the community, however slowly. There are cases where the women are not willing to continue working but are being persuaded by their husbands not to drop out 'at least for a few more years', because the additional money is useful. In some cases sudden financial problems in the family may have initiated the move to send women to this new kind of work. In others women themselves have persuaded the men to allow them to work. In yet other cases, dire economic necessity -- death of the main earner, property disputes, indebtedness etc. -- have left them without an option. The point to note is that gradually over time, factory work for women has become more and more acceptable socially. In fact most non-working women who were interviewed in Sonapat said that they would have been happier if they had the opportunity to work in factories.

In Noida the situation was somewhat different. The families were mostly nuclear families who have migrated to the area basically attracted by job opportunities. The wives and daughters in the families are all factory workers. Social constraints and sanctions imposed on women's mobility or paid work are not directly operative here. The exigencies of the situation, such as lack of fallback support in nuclear family set-ups, make it imperative that compromises are made in various matters. Men of the households surveyed in Noida share in household work to a much larger extent than in Sonapat. But this is more because they are away from their traditional family environments. It is interesting to note that while all women surveyed in this study were working in the local factories, many of them have not divulged this information to their folk' back home'. Most of these families are from UP and Bihar.

III.2.b. HOUSEHOLD LEVEL

Household data were collected from two locations for this study. The number of households surveyed in Noida is 55 and in Sonapat is 59. For household information head of the households was interviewed. The table given below presents the age-sex distribution of the total sample population.

Table b.1. Age Sex Distribution of the sample population

Age group	NOIDA		Sonepat		Combined	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-4	9	7	8	16	17	23
5-9	20	17	30	22	50	39
10-14	22	18	22	21	44	39
15-19	10	19	14	14	24	33
20-29	17	26	39	43	56	69
30-39	22	30	28	25	50	55
40-49	21	3	14	6	35	9
50-59	3	3	5	10	8	13
60+	2	2	17	12	19	14
All ages	126	125	177	169	303	294

III.2.b.1. Average Household Size

The average household size in the Sonepat (5.86) is more than Noida (4.56) as there are joint families in Sonepat and nuclear families in Noida.

III.2.b.2. Migration

In Sonepat most (83%) of the households are native to this place, whereas in Noida all the families are migrants and 67% of the families have lived here since five years. 92% of the households have moved into Noida with their entire family, mainly from Uttar Pradesh (65), Bihar (27).

Table b.2.1. Length of stay at the present residence

	Noida	Sonepat	Combine d
Less than one year	5.5	6.8	6.1
1 to 5 years	23.6	5.1	14.0
More than 5 years	67.3	5.1	35.1
Since birth	0.0	83.1	43.0
No Response	3.6	0.0	1.8
	(55)	(59)	(114)

III.2.b.3. Infrastructure

Drinking Water Source

In Sonepat, most (80%) of the households use hand-pumps or tap inside the house for drinking water purpose. In Noida most of the households are row houses and 68% use common hand pumps within the living quarters. Most of the households in Noida and Sonepat are satisfied with the drinking water facility.

Sanitation

(60%) of the households in Noida share the sanitation facility with other households and they are satisfied with the facility. In contrast, in Sonepat, most (52%) of the households are using open ditch or field and most (74%) of these households are not satisfied with the facility.

Health

Most of the households in both the locations have reported the existence of Primary Health Centre in their vicinity and almost all are satisfied with the facility. Private doctors and public hospitals are available at both locations and private doctors are available at a closer proximity than public hospitals. However people are more satisfied with the public hospitals. Integrated Child Development Scheme and Primary Health Sub Centre is neither available in Noida nor in Sonepat.

Table b.3.1. Availability of Health Facility

	Noida	Sonepat	Combined
Primary Health Centre	61.8	74.6	68.4
Public Hospital	61.8	91.5	77.2
Private Doctor	96.4	94.9	95.6
	(55)	(59)	(114)

Educational Institutions

More than 98% of the households in Noida and more than 90% households in Sonepat can avail to all kinds of educational institutions.

In spite of having primary, secondary and higher secondary schools at a closer proximity than the households in Noida, the satisfaction with the facility is lesser. In contrast although lesser households in Noida have this facility at a close proximity, there is a general satisfaction among the households.

Although most of the households in Noida have a college within 5 kms, not many households expressed satisfaction with the facility. In contrast, in Sonepat although the facility is available only beyond 5 kms, most (95%) of the households are satisfied.

Table b.3.2. Availability of Educational Facility

	Noida	Sonepat	Combined
Primary School	98.2	94.9	96.5
Secondary School	100.0	93.2	96.5
Higher Secondary School	98.2	100.0	99.1
College	96.4	98.3	97.4
	(55)	(59)	(114)

III.2.b.4. Household Profile

The men in both the locations are married beyond age 20. Similar to the situation in the country, girls are married earlier than boys. In Noida, one girl is married in age group 10-14 years.

Table b.4.1. Marital Status by age and sex

Male Age group	NOIDA			Sonapat			Combine		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
0-4	9	0	0	8	0	0	17	0	0
5-9	20	0	0	30	0	0	50	0	0
10-14	22	0	0	22	0	0	44	0	0
15-19	10	0	0	14	0	0	24	0	0
20-29	5	12	0	12	27	0	17	39	0
30-44	2	36	0	1	38	1	3	74	1
45-59	0	8	0	0	7	0	0	15	0
60+	0	2	0	0	17	0	0	19	0
All ages	68	58	0	87	89	1	155	147	1

1 Unmarried

2 Married

3 Widowed

Female Age group	NOIDA			Sonapat			Combine		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
0-4	7	0	0	16	0	0	23	0	0
5-9	17	0	0	22	0	0	39	0	0
10-14	17	1	0	21	0	0	38	1	0
15-19	16	3	0	6	8	0	22	11	0
20-29	4	22	0	2	39	2	6	61	2
30-44	1	28	1	0	24	4	1	52	5
45-59	0	6	0	0	9	4	0	15	4
60+	0	1	1	0	11	1	0	12	2
All ages	62	61	2	67	91	11	129	152	13

Illiteracy among men and women is more in Sonapat (23%) than in Noida (8%). The level upto which people are educated in both the locations is Primary, Secondary or Middle school. Female illiteracy in Sonapat (31%) is much more than in Noida (12%).

b.4.2. Educational Level By Sex (in percentage)

	Noida			Sonapat			Combined		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Totally Illiterate	4.8	12.0	8.4	15.8	31.4	23.4	11.2	23.1	17.1
Can Sign Name	0.0	0.8	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.33	0.68	0.5
Primary School	31.7	28.8	30.3	29.9	26.6	28.3	30.7	27.6	29.1
Middle School	19.8	28.8	24.3	16.4	16.6	16.5	17.8	21.8	19.8
Secondary School	35.7	23.2	29.5	33.9	23.1	28.6	34.7	23.1	29.0
Graduate and Above	2.4	0.0	1.2	1.7	1.2	1.4	1.98	0.68	1.34
No Response	5.6	6.4	6.0	1.7	0.6	1.2	3.3	3.06	3.18
Total	(126)	(125)	(251)	(177)	(169)	(346)	(303)	(294)	(594)

The sample has been mainly of women working in factories in both the locations and consequently women in the sample are more into regular earning through service than the men.

III.2.b.5. Economic Activity

The occupation of most of the women in both locations is service. The men in Noida too are in the service sector, however many in Sonapat are in the agricultural sector. As a result many of the men in Sonapat do not earn a regular salary.

The maximum monthly earning in Sonapat (Rs 30,000/-) is much more than that of Noida (Rs 5500/-). In both the locations men have a better earning compared to women. Women in both the locations earn mainly around Rs 2000/- per month.

III.2.b.6. Income and Assets

The highest monthly average income of households in Sonapat is much larger (Rs25,000/-) than that of Noida (Rs 9000/-). Rent is not a source of income for most of the households in both the locations.

53% households in Noida and 42 % households in Sonapat have reported ownership of land. In Noida, the head of the household has mentioned ownership of land in the villages from where they

belong. This can be derived by the fact that they do not get any income from the land they own. Their earnings are mainly from the salary that they earn here.

More households in Sonapat own mechanised farm equipment and cattle, poultry, etc of greater value than the households in Noida. More households own their houses in Sonapat (81%) than in Noida (53%) and the number of rooms that the households have Sonapat is also more than that of Noida.

According to the surveyors, 56% of the households in Noida are graded as average and the same percentage in Sonapat is graded to be good in house type and in home facility. Most of the households in Noida and Sonapat have separate cooking facility and mainly use electricity for lighting. The use of firewood is more in the households of Noida (67%) than Sonapat (46%).

Most of the households in Noida own bicycles and in Sonapat, apart from bicycles they also own bikes. The number of persons owning jewellery and the value of jewellery that they own is much more in Sonapat than in Noida. A similar pattern emerges in the bank account ownership. Many more households in Sonapat have radio, refrigerator, and furniture when compared to the households in Noida. Many more households in Noida own a Television compared to the households in Sonapat.

The monthly average earning, value of jewellery and bank accounts, and consumer durable of households in Sonapat is more than that of Noida. As people in Noida have migrated from elsewhere, their ownership of house is lesser than that of households in Sonapat. Noida consists of migrants working in various factories and their ownership of mechanized farm equipment is also lesser. It can be generally derived from the above given information that the households in Sonapat are more prosperous than in Noida.

III.2.c. INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

In this section the reference will be only to those men and women interviewed (Table c.1.1). In this section the tables will represent 58 women workers and 57 men from Noida. In most of the cases husbands were selected for the interview baring few cases where any other adult male member of the family was interviewed as equivalent. This happened since most of these families are nuclear. In case of Sonapat a total of 72 men 85 women were interviewed.

Table c1 Number of persons Interviewed in Noida and Sonapat

No. of persons interviewed	Noida	Sonapat	Combined
Total	115	157	272
Male	57	72	129
Female	58	85	143

The sections which will refer only to working members are; Control of Labour, Control over Changing Occupation and Control of Income.

Table c2 Number of persons working among the persons interviewed in Noida and Sonapat

No. of persons working	Noida	Sonapat	Combined
Total	111	121	232
Male	53	61	114
Female	58	60	118

III.2.c.1. Job Details

Out of the 85 women interviewed in Sonapat, 60 are working in factories. Sonapat, being an agricultural area, many men (33%) are working in the agricultural sector and men in Noida are working in various kinds of jobs. All the women interviewed in Noida are also working in factories.

Most of the men (77%) and women (83%) in Noida took their own decision about working. Very few women (32%) and 48% of the men in Sonapat took this decision themselves. (Table c.1.3) More than half of the men and women in Noida had previous work experience, whereas very few men (7%) and women (5%) in Sonapat had previous work experience. (Table c.1.4)

c.1 Job Details

c.1.1 Working

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Working	93.0	100	84.7	70.6	88.4	82.5
Not Working	7.0	0.0	15.3	29.4	11.6	17.5
Total Respondents	(57) ⁹	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.1.2. From whom did they know of the vacancy?

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Self	49.1	32.8	3.3	8.3	24.6	20.3
Spouse	5.7	6.9	0.0	21.7	2.6	14.4
Parents-in-law	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	5.1
Teachers	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	1.8	0.0
Neighbours	13.2	31.0	31.1	55.0	22.8	43.2
Others	18.9	29.3	13.1	5.0	15.8	16.9
No Response	13.2	0.0	49.2	0.0	32.5	0.0
Total Working	(53)	(58)	(61)	(60)	(114)	(118)

c.1.3. Whose decision was it that they take up a job? **¹⁰

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Self	77.4	82.8	47.5	31.7	61.4	56.8
Spouse	9.4	13.8	0.0	70.0	4.4	42.4
Parents-in-law	1.9	3.4	4.9	35.0	3.5	19.5
Neighbours	0.0	5.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.5
Others	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
Total Working	(53)	(58)	(61)	(60)	(114)	(118)

c.1.4. Previous Work

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Worked previously	57.9	58.6	6.9	4.7	29.5	26.6
Did not work previously	42.1	41.4	34.7	63.5	38	54.5
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

⁹ Figures in parenthesis represent number of respondents

¹⁰ ** represents multiple responses

III.2.c.2. Control of Labour

Women in Noida are mainly checking (36%), cutting thread (12%) or operating sewing machines (19%). In Sonapat the women are mainly stitching (42%), packing (13%), marking (12%) or fixing soles (8%). Men in Noida are working in various kinds of jobs like mechanic, marketing, electrician, technician and so on. Some (13%) of them (7/53) do some sort of own business and some (13%) work as security guards. In Sonapat, apart from the men working in agriculture, 23% of the men working (14/61) are working in various kinds of jobs like lift operator, coolie, or in hotels, cycle repair shops and so on.

Although women in Noida are not working in their present jobs since very long they have had previous jobs. Women in Sonapat have been working in their present jobs since long however they have had lesser previous work experience, when compared to women in Noida.

(Table c.2.2 & c.1.6)

Generally the benefits that women get apart from salary is much more than men. More women in Sonapat get medical coverage, weekly rest by rotation, national and public holidays, provident fund, maternity leave and bonus, when compared to women in Noida. However, more women in Noida get home travel allowance when compared to the women in Sonapat. (Table c.2.3)

Most of the women in Noida and Sonapat get a monthly salary, work on fixed timings (8hrs a day), work overtime and do not work on shifts. (Tables c.2.4 to c.2.9)

Women in Sonapat are paid better for their overtime work than the women in Noida. More women are harassed in their organisations in Noida (67%) than in Sonapat (35%). (Table c.2.11.) The kind of harassment is mainly in the form of being given various unfamiliar jobs, shifted repeatedly from place of work, given additional work without extra pay, given work involving continuous standing and being asked to work extra hours without extra pay. (Table c.2.12)

C.2. Control of Labour

c.2.1 Working (These questions have been asked only to those who are working)

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Working	93.0	100.0	84.7	70.6	88.4	82.5
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.2.2. Have been working here since

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Months	3.8	6.9	4.9	6.7	4.4	6.8
Months-1 year	18.9	24.1	14.8	6.7	16.7	15.3
1 year to 3 years	18.9	32.8	11.5	18.3	14.9	25.4
3 to 7 years	22.6	36.2	8.2	68.3	14.9	52.5
7 to 10 years	9.4	0	6.6	0	7.9	0
> 10 years	26.4	0	4.9	0	14.9	0
Total Working	(53)	(58)	(61)	(60)	(114)	(118)

c.2.3. Benefits apart from salary**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Medical coverage	22.6	50.0	6.6	56.7	14.0	53.4
Weekly rest by rotation	24.5	51.7	23.0	81.7	23.7	66.9
All national and public holidays	20.8	43.1	9.8	76.7	14.9	60.2
Provident fund	32.1	39.7	11.5	56.7	21.1	48.3
Maternity/Paternity leave	13.2	17.2	0.0	71.7	6.1	44.9
Home travel allowance	15.1	32.8	6.6	1.7	10.5	16.9
Uniforms	9.4	1.7	8.2	0.0	8.8	0.8
Footwear	5.7	0.0	4.9	0.0	5.3	0.0
Child care facility	5.7	1.7	0.0	1.7	2.6	1.7
Bonus	17.0	50.0	24.6	85.0	21.1	67.8
None	50.9	25.9	19.7	6.7	34.2	16.1
Total Working	(53)	(58)	(61)	(60)	(114)	(118)

c.2.4. Payment

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Piece Rate	5.7	0	3.3	1.7	4.4	0.8
Wage	1.9	0	0	0	0.9	0
Monthly salary	81.1	100	45.9	98.3	62.3	99.2
Total Working	(53)	(58)	(61)	(60)	(114)	(118)

c.2.5. Work Timings

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Fixed timings	66.0	98.3	45.9	100	55.3	99.2
No Fixed timings	22.6	1.7	4.9	0	13.2	0.8
Total Working	(53)	(58)	(61)	(60)	(114)	(118)

c.2.6. Number of work hours in a day

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
8 hours a day	52.8	74.1	8.2	100	28.9	87.3
> 8 hours a day	22.6	25.9	32.8	0	28.1	12.7
Number of hours varies	17	0	3.3	0	9.6	0
Others	1.9	0	4.9	0	3.5	0
No Response	5.7	0	50.8	0	29.8	0
Total Working	(53)	(58)	(61)	(60)	(114)	(118)

c.2.7. Do they work on shifts

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Work on shifts	33.9	1.7	31.1	0	32.5	0.8
Do not work on shifts	49.1	96.6	19.7	100	33.3	98.3
No Response	16.9	1.7	49.2	0	34.2	0.8
Total Working	(53)	(58)	(61)	(60)	(114)	(118)

c.2.8. Which are the shifts that they attend

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Morning	16.98	0	22.95	0	20.2	0
Night	1.89	0	3.3	0	2.6	0
Others	18.9	0	4.9	0	11.4	0
No Response	62.3	100	68.9	100	65.8	100
Total Working	(53)	(58)	(61)	(60)	(114)	(118)

c.2.9. Over time

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Work overtime	60.4	79.3	21.3	95	39.5	87.3
Do not work over time	24.5	20.7	27.9	5.0	26.3	12.7
No Response	15.1	0	50.8	0	34.2	0
Total Working	(53)	(58)	(61)	(60)	(114)	(118)

c.2.10. Unions

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Heard of unions	22.6	55.2	4.9	5.0	13.2	29.7
Not heard of unions	64.2	44.8	45.9	95.0	54.4	70.3
No Response	13.2	0	49.2	0	32.5	0
Total Working	(53)	(58)	(61)	(60)	(114)	(118)

c.2.11. Harassment

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Has been harassed in the organisation	15.1	67.2	6.6	35	10.5	50.8
Has not been harassed in the organisation	66	31	42.6	65	53.5	48.3
No Response	18.9	1.7	50.8	0	36.0	0.8
Total Working	(53)	(58)	(61)	(60)	(114)	(118)

c.2.12. Type of harassment**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Given various unfamiliar jobs	0.0	12.8	25.0	61.9	8.3	30.0
Shifted repeatedly from normal place	25.0	41	25.0	100.0	25.0	63.3
Given additional workloads to handle	50.0	48.7	50.0	100.0	50.0	66.7
Given work involving constant standing	12.5	46.2	25.0	19.0	16.7	36.7
Work extra hours without extra pay	37.5	23.1	25.0	0.0	33.3	15.0
Total number of persons harassed	(8)	(39)	(4)	(21)	(12)	(60)

III.2.c.3. Control Over Changing Occupation

53% men in Sonapat need to ask permission to change their occupation. In contrast 81% men in Noida take their own decisions about changing jobs or to start earning. (Table c.3.1) This is because the families in Noida are mainly nuclear. Women (91%) in Noida mainly consult their spouse. Women in Sonapat too consult mainly their spouse (27%), or parents-in-law (18%) to change occupation or to take up a job. (Table c.3.2)

c.3. CONTROL OVER CHANGING OCCUPATION

c.3.1. Is there a need to consult anybody to change occupation or to start earning if not earning?

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Need to consult someone	17.5	79.3	23.0	53.3	21.1	66.1
Need not consult anyone	80.7	20.7	50.8	46.7	67.5	33.9
No Response	1.8	0	26.2	0	14.9	0
Total Working	(57)	(58)	(61)	(60)	(118)	(118)

c.3.2. If yes, whom would you consult?

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Need to consult spouse	40.0	87.0	14.3	46.9	25.0	70.5
Need to consult parents	40.0	6.5	71.4	18.8	58.3	11.5
Need to consult parents-in-law	20.0	6.5	14.3	24.4	16.7	18.0
Total persons who need to consult anybody to earn	(10)	(46)	(14)	(32)	(56)	(70)

III.2.c.4. Control over Assets

In Noida men and women have equally reported ownership of vehicle and consumer durable. Lesser women in Noida own land and house compared to the men. Men and women in Sonapat report equal ownership of house/flat, and consumer durable. More men here own land compared to the women. (Table c.4.1.1, c.4.1.2, c.4.1.3)

There is however a striking similarity between Noida and Sonapat when it comes to control over asset. It is the men who have more control over the assets than women. Even the assets the women perceive to have equal ownership in the household they cannot dispose off on their own. Whereas men can dispose off land, house/flat, vehicle, jewellery and consumer durable on their own. Women have to ask permission to buy almost anything in the household. The only item that they can buy without asking permission is household provision, which has traditionally always been a woman's territory. (Table c.4.5) All these women moving out of the household for working, has not brought about much change to their control over the household assets.

Men in Sonapat have to ask their fathers-in-law, apart from their spouse to buy any asset and women in Sonapat have to ask their mothers-in-law apart from their spouse to buy any asset. This is because they live in joint families. Women in Noida have to mainly ask their spouse to buy any asset. However the men in Noida have to ask their mothers and/or fathers-in-law, apart from their spouse to buy any asset. (Table c.4.4)

c.4. CONTROL OVER ASSETS

c.4.1. Possession of Assets

4.1.1. Land

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	56.1	24.1	52.8	30.6	54.3	28.0
No	42.1	75.9	47.2	69.4	45	72.0
No Response	1.8	0	0	0	0.8	0.0
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

4.1.2. House/Flat

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	68.4	41.4	70.8	68.2	69.8	57.3
No	29.8	58.6	29.2	31.8	29.5	42.7
No Response	1.8	0	0	0	0.8	0
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

4.1.3. Consumer Durable**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Radio	21.1	31.0	75.0	61.2	51.2	49.0
Television	66.7	63.8	70.8	72.9	69.0	69.2
Refrigerator	1.8	5.2	29.2	21.2	17.1	14.7
Fan	82.5	84.5	80.6	77.6	81.4	80.4
Furniture	12.3	10.3	22.2	64.7	17.8	42.7
Other Electric Goods	5.3	13.8	13.9	25.9	10.1	21.0
Others	0.0	1.7	6.9	7.1	3.9	4.9
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.4.2. Which of these assets can you dispose off on your own**
In Sonapat Vehicle and Jewellery are combined

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Land	56.1	8.6	45.8	2.4	50.4	4.9
House/Flat	54.4	12.1	54.2	3.5	54.3	7.0
Vehicle	45.6	3.4	45.8	3.5	45.7	3.5
Jewellery	40.4	6.9	0.0	0.0	17.8	2.8
Bank Deposit	42.1	5.2	9.7	2.4	24.0	3.5
Consumer Durable	50.9	10.3	13.9	5.9	30.2	7.7
None	26.3	63.8	19.4	84.7	22.5	76.2
Others	7.0	13.8	11.1	4.7	9.3	8.4
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.4.3. Do you have to take permission to buy any asset

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	49.1	91.4	56.9	90.6	53.5	90.9
No	49.1	8.6	40.3	7.1	44.2	7.7
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.4.4. If yes, from whom**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Spouse	67.9	84.9	36.6	81.8	49.3	83.1
Mother-in-law	21.4	3.77	22	37.7	21.7	23.8
Father-in-law	21.4	0	46.3	14.3	36.2	8.46
Others	17.9	9.43	19.5	2.6	18.8	5.38
Total number who have to take permission to buy any asset	(28)	(53)	(41)	(77)	(69)	(130)

c.4.5. What can you buy without taking permission from anybody**

Was asked only to women

	NOIDA	SONEPAT	COMBINED
	F	F	F
Own Clothes	15.5	8.24	11.2
Children's clothes	10.3	3.53	6.29
Household Provision	43.1	54.1	49.7
Inexpensive jewellery	3.45	1.18	2.1
Nothing at all	27.6	35.3	32.2
Others	17.2	5.88	10.5
Total Respondents	(58)	(85)	(143)

III.2.c.5. Control over Income

Most (81%) of the women in Noida contribute their entire salary to the household. Whereas only 40% of the working women in Sonapat, do so. (Table 5.1b) Most of the women in both the locations give their contribution to their spouse. However men show a different behavioural pattern. In Noida they give their contribution to their spouse whereas in Sonapat they keep their contribution to themselves. It is evident that the men in Sonapat not only control their own income but also that of their spouse. In Noida, the men and women probably pool their salaries together and spend it together.

c.5. CONTROL OF INCOME

c.5.1. Extent of Contribution of Earnings to the Household and to whom the contribution is made

5.1a. NOIDA MALES

Extent of contribution	The person to whom contribution is made					Total
	Spouse	Mother/ mother in law	Father/ father in law	Keep it to myself	Others	
Total	32.08	3.77	-	3.77	1.89	41.5
Half	47.17	-	1.89	3.77	1.89	54.7
Some	-	1.89	-	-	-	1.9
None	-	-	-	-	1.89	1.9
Total	79.2	5.7	1.9	7.5	5.7	(53)

5.1b. NOIDA FEMALES

Extent of contribution	The person to whom contribution is made					Total
	Spouse	Mother/mother in law	Father/ father in law	Keep it to myself	Others	
Total	60.3	3.4	1.7	8.6	6.9	81.0
Half	10.3	-	1.7	3.4	3.4	13.8
Some	1.7	-	-	1.7	1.7	5.2
None	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	67.2	3.4	3.4	13.8	12.1	(58)

5.1c. SONEPAT MALES

Extent of contribution	The person to whom contribution is made					
	Spouse	Mother/mother in law	Father/father in law	Keep it to myself	No Response	Total
Total	1.6	1.6	6.6	31.1	-	41.0
Half	3.3	1.6	3.3	13.1	-	21.3
Some	-	4.9	11.5	9.8	-	26.2
None	-	-	-	4.9	-	4.9
No Response	-	-	-	-	6.6	6.6
Total	4.9	8.2	21.3	59.0	6.6	(61)

5.1d. SONEPAT FEMALES

Extent of contribution	The person to whom contribution is made						
	Spouse	Mother/c mother in law	Father/father in law	Keep it to myself	Others	No Response	Total
Total	13.3	5.0	8.3	8.3	3.3	1.7	40.0
Half	35.0	6.7	3.3	3.3	-	-	48.3
Some	1.7	5.0	3.3	1.7	-	-	11.7
None	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No Response	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	50.0	16.7	15.0	13.3	3.3	1.7	(60)

c.5.2. Bank Account Ownership

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Has personal bank account	24.5	24.1	29.5	11.7	27.2	17.8
Has joint account	9.4	8.6	6.6	11.7	7.9	10.2
Does not have bank account	64.2	65.5	62.3	75	63.2	70.3
No Response	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.7
Total Working	(53)	(58)	(61)	(60)	(114)	(118)

c.5.3. Consultation to withdraw money

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Needs to consult someone	3.8	20.7	6.6	30.0	5.3	25.4
Need not consult anyone	34	22.4	34.4	5.0	34.2	13.6
No Response	62.3	56.9	59	65.0	60.5	61
Total Working	(53)	(58)	(61)	(60)	(114)	(118)

III.2.c.6. Labour Use Pattern

Cooking and cleaning is mainly a woman's activity within the household in both the locations. The work burden on the women in Noida seems to be much more when compared to the women in Sonapat. Many more (70%) women in Noida do 'almost all' of the cooking and cleaning than the women in Sonapat (45%). (Table c.6.1a. & c.6.1b.) This is so, in spite of the fact that men in Noida seem to be helping in the household activity more than the men in Sonapat. 61% of the men in Sonapat do not cook at all and 47% of them do not contribute any of their labour in cleaning activity, whereas in Noida it is not the same situation. Many more men do 'little' or 'some' of the cooking and cleaning. This burden on the women in Noida is probably because they are living in nuclear families. Other female members of the household probably share the household work in joint families of Sonapat.

Childcare too seems to be mainly a woman's activity. Again, the burden on women in Noida seems to be more than the women in Sonapat. (Tablec.6.1c) The situation of childcare that was observed in Noida during the survey is that, the children are left under the care of the neighbours. People here normally live in row houses and the children of working parents are left under the care of any woman in the neighbourhood, who does not work outside the home. Food is cooked for them and kept inside the house. The children eat and sleep whenever they want to and play in the locality.

Most of the men and women in both the locations say that the pattern of activity was different before the women started working. About 90% of the men and 70% of the women in both the locations say that men will take up some of the activities that women normally do in case the woman of the household is ill.

Some of the main activities that women in both locations think that men will never do are; washing dirty clothes, especially women's clothes, cleaning toilets and washing dirty utensils. Many more women in Sonapat say so than the women in Noida. This again indicates that men in Sonapat contribute lesser to the household activity than the men in Noida. Men in both the locations say that they will never, wash women's dirty clothes, wash dirty utensils, clean toilets or cook.

c.6. Labour Use Pattern

C.6.1.Extent of Household need activity-wise met by members of the family

6.1a Cooking

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
1. Almost all	12.3	72.4	2.8	44.7	7.0	55.9
2. Most	1.8	17.2	1.4	22.4	1.6	20.3
3. Some	12.3	5.2	20.8	22.4	17.1	15.4
4. Little	52.6	3.4	13.9	8.2	31.0	6.3
5. None	17.5	1.7	61.1	2.4	41.9	2.1
Not applicable	3.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

6.1b. Cleaning

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
1. Almost all	8.8	70.7	1.4	44.7	4.7	55.2
2. Most	3.5	19.0	8.3	27.1	6.2	23.8
3. Some	17.5	5.2	20.8	17.6	19.4	12.6
4. Little	56.1	3.4	22.2	8.2	37.2	6.3
5. None	10.5	1.7	47.2	2.4	31.0	2.1
Not applicable	3.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

6.1c. Child Care

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
1. Almost all	10.5	56.9	2.8	43.5	6.2	49.0
2. Most	22.8	15.5	16.7	25.9	19.4	21.7
3. Some	12.3	8.6	29.2	17.6	21.7	14.0
4. Little	42.1	5.2	26.4	9.4	33.3	7.7
5. None	7.0	12.1	25.0	3.5	17.1	7.0
Not applicable	3.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0
No Response	1.8	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.7
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

6.1d. Taking care of old and sick

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
1. Almost all	14.0	27.6	9.7	42.4	11.6	36.4
2. Most	22.8	3.4	27.8	24.7	25.6	16.1
3. Some	8.8	0.0	19.4	15.3	14.7	9.1
4. Little	38.6	6.9	25.0	11.8	31.0	9.8
5. None	10.5	56.9	18.1	5.9	14.7	26.6
Not applicable	3.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0
No Response	1.8	5.2	0.0	0.0	0.8	2.1
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.6.2. The Difference in the Pattern of Activity before the Woman Started Working

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
The pattern was different	75.4	87.9	52.8	76.5	62.8	81.1
The pattern was as it is at present	15.8	12.1	5.6	2.4	10.1	6.3
No Response	8.8	0.0	41.7	21.2	27.1	12.6
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.6.3. Whether the male will take up some of the activities that women normally do, in case the woman is ill

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	94.7	74.1	90.3	72.9	92.2	73.4
No	1.8	25.9	6.9	27.1	4.7	26.6
No Response	3.5	0.0	2.8	0.0	3.1	0.0
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.6.4. Some Activities that men will never do**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Cooking	35.1	25.9	40.3	42.4	38	35.7
Cleaning toilets	63.2	37.9	51.4	44.7	56.6	42
Cleaning babies	21.1	20.7	26.4	29.4	24	25.9
Washing dirty clothes	54.4	31	25	57.6	38	46.9
Washing dirty women's clothes	70.2	46.6	87.5	63.5	79.8	56.6
Washing dirty men's clothes	12.3	29.3	20.8	11.8	17.1	18.9
Washing dirty baby's clothes	17.5	29.3	15.3	10.6	16.3	18.2
Washing dirty utensils	31.6	39.7	36.1	52.9	34.1	47.6
Collecting water and fuel	7.02	13.8	8.33	21.2	7.75	18.2
Taking care of old children and ill	1.75	24.1	0	3.53	0.78	11.9
Shopping for household items	8.77	5.17	1.39	5.88	4.65	5.59
Others	12.3	48.3	2.78	5.88	6.98	23.1
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

III.2.c.7. Changes with Employment

The main positive changes perceived by women in both the locations are that they now have 'work experience' and 'better economic security'. Women in both the locations have given almost equal weightage to economic security and work experience as positive change with women working. Many women in Noida also perceive their enlarged social network (71%) and stronger personality (57%) as a major positive change. (Table c.7.1) However not many women in Sonapat perceive these as positive changes to their working. More economic security is the major positive change perceived by men in both the locations. They do not think very much of any other positive changes with women working.

About half of the men in Noida and 70% of them in Sonapat mainly think that there is no negative change with women working. 25% of the men and women in Noida perceive the neglect of children as one of the negative changes. Many more women (54%) in Sonapat perceive children's neglect as a negative change when compared to the men (22%). (Table c.7.2)

Men and women in Noida have answered similarly regarding the changes in lifestyle with working women. Most of the men and women in Noida and Sonapat say that there has been an increase in the total workload, self-esteem and standing of women in the family after the women started

working. Men and women in Noida say that women's household decision making has increased. However men and women in Sonapat have a difference of opinion. Although women say that their household decision making power has increased, the men think that it has remained the same. Most (91%) of the men in Noida think that women's mobility apart from their workplace has decreased. (Table 7.3a) Although many of the women in Noida and men and women in Sonapat also think so, many also say that their mobility has increased or remained the same.

c.7. Changes with Employment

c.7.1. Positive changes**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
None	7.02	0	5.56	0	6.2	0
Can't say	3.51	1.72	4.17	1.18	3.88	1.4
Stronger personality	7.02	56.9	1.39	15.3	3.88	32.2
More Experience	47.4	94.8	38.9	89.4	42.6	91.6
More Economic Security	87.7	87.9	77.8	95.3	82.2	92.3
Enlarged social network	26.3	70.7	15.3	32.9	20.2	48.3
Others	3.51	5.17	2.78	1.18	3.1	2.8
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.7.2. Negative Changes**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
None	47.4	29.3	69.4	35.3	59.7	32.9
Can't say	10.5	5.17	1.39	4.71	5.43	4.9
Conflict over domestic chores	5.26	1.72	15.3	44.7	10.9	27.3
Children get neglect	24.6	24.1	20.8	54.1	22.5	42
Loss of family status	5.26	8.62	1.39	0	3.1	3.5
Conflict over distribution, control of earning	3.51	3.45	2.78	8.24	3.1	6.29
Threat to joint family	0	3.45	1.39	7.06	0.78	5.59
Others	19.3	37.9	1.39	0	9.3	15.4
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.7.3. Changes in the lifestyle with women working

7.3a. NOIDA

	Male					Female				
	1	2	3	4	Total	1	2	3	4	Total
Total work load	75.4	15.8	7.0	1.8	(57)	77.6	10.3	10.3	1.7	(58)
Mobility	3.5	91.2	0.0	5.3	(57)	36.2	46.6	15.5	1.7	(58)
Self Esteem	84.2	5.3	8.8	1.8	(57)	86.2	1.7	10.3	1.7	(58)
Standing in the family	82.5	8.8	3.5	5.3	(57)	79.3	6.9	12.1	1.7	(58)
Household Decision making	63.2	1.8	31.6	3.5	(57)	60.3	5.2	31.0	3.4	(58)
Others	0.0	1.8	15.8	82.5	(57)	3.4	0.0	3.4	93.1	(58)

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Remained Same
4. No Response

7.3b. SONEPAT

	Male					Female				
	1	2	3	4	Total	1	2	3	4	Total
Total work load	83.3	6.9	9.7	0.0	(72)	74.1	20.0	4.7	1.2	(85)
Mobility	30.6	47.2	22.2	0.2	(72)	47.1	44.7	7.1	1.2	(85)
Self Esteem	70.8	2.8	26.4	0.0	(72)	84.7	3.5	10.6	1.2	(85)
Standing in the family	59.7	4.2	36.1	0.0	(72)	82.4	2.4	12.9	2.4	(85)
Household Decision making	27.8	2.8	69.4	0.0	(72)	63.5	11.8	22.4	2.4	(85)
Others	1.4	1.4	11.1	86.1	(72)	4.7	1.2	5.9	88.2	(85)

7.3c. COMBINED

	Male					Female				
	1	2	3	4	Total	1	2	3	4	Total
Total work load	79.8	10.9	8.5	0.8	(129)	75.5	16.1	7.0	1.4	(143)
Mobility	18.6	66.7	12.4	2.3	(129)	42.7	45.5	10.5	1.4	(143)
Self Esteem	76.7	3.9	18.6	0.8	(129)	85.3	2.8	10.5	1.4	(143)
Standing in the family	69.8	6.2	21.7	2.3	(129)	81.1	4.2	12.6	2.1	(143)
Household Decision making	43.4	2.3	52.7	1.6	(129)	62.2	9.1	25.9	2.8	(143)
Others	0.8	1.6	13.2	84.5	(129)	4.2	0.7	4.9	90.2	(143)

III.2.c.8. Educational Status

Almost invariably every woman, and to a large extent all the men, have said that more education for women would be preferred. There have been different kinds of reasons given for this. A number of women have said that better education will give them a chance to get better jobs. Some have said that boys like to marry educated girls these days. There is also an increasing desire for men to educate their girls, more as a status symbol. While most women seem to feel that better education through jobs will give them more experience and exposure, more men tend

to feel that better jobs for women are good because they bring in more money. Whatever may be the rationale behind it, there is a strong feeling that education for women is a good thing all around.

Almost all the men and women in Noida and Sonapat say that boys and girls should be and are given similar educational opportunities in the household. Men and women in both Noida and Sonapat say that similarity in opportunities is in the form of similar amount spent on the education of both. The second important similarity mentioned by men and women in both locations is that both boys and girls are allowed to study up to any level.

5% of the men and women in Noida say that the difference in opportunities is because girls marry and move out. 11% women in Sonapat also think the same. The men in Sonapat think the difference is mainly because boys are allowed to go to distant schools while girls are not.

26% of the men (12/46) and 14% of the women (7/51) in Noida, of those who say that boys and girls are given similar opportunities also say that the female child will be the first to be withdrawn from school in case of financial constraint in the household. In Sonapat, 31% men (21/68) and 24% women (17/71) of those who say that similar opportunities are given to boys and girls also say that the girl child will be the first to be withdrawn from school in case of financial constraint in the household.

c.8. Educational Status

c.8.1. Boys and girls should be given the same opportunities

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	96.5	96.6	98.6	91.8	97.7	93.7
No	3.5	1.7	1.4	8.2	2.3	5.6
No Response	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.8.2. Are boys and girls given similar opportunity in your Household

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	80.7	87.9	94.4	83.5	88.4	85.3
No	8.8	10.3	5.6	12.9	7.0	11.9
No Response	10.5	1.7	0.0	3.5	4.7	2.8
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.8.3. If yes, in what way is it similar**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Same amount spent on the education of both	100.0	86.3	80.9	66.2	89.5	74.6
Both don't work at home	0.0	9.8	10.3	49.3	6.14	32.8
Both can study to any level	39.1	27.5	54.4	54.9	48.2	43.4
Both have transport facility	4.3	3.92	0	12.7	1.75	9.02
Others	4.3	11.8	1.47	1.41	2.63	5.74
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.8.4. Upto what level should boys be educated ideally**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Primary school	1.8	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.7
Secondary School	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.7
High school	8.8	6.9	5.6	17.6	7.0	13.3
Vocational Training	38.6	25.9	30.6	51.8	34.1	41.3
College	56.1	13.8	38.9	42.4	46.5	30.8
Others	15.8	58.6	29.2	15.3	23.3	32.9
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.8.5. Upto what level should girls be educated ideally**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Primary school	3.51	3.45	0	0	1.55	1.4
Secondary School	1.75	0	2.78	11.8	2.33	6.99
High school	10.5	15.5	15.3	25.9	13.2	21.7
Vocational Training	29.8	17.2	22.2	41.2	25.6	31.5
College	59.6	12.1	33.3	31.8	45	23.8
Others	14	51.7	29.2	14.1	22.5	29.4
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.8.6. In case of financial constraint, who will be the first to be withdrawn from school

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Girl Child	28.1	13.8	29.2	30.6	28.7	23.8
Boy child	10.5	3.4	5.6	5.9	7.8	4.9
Child not doing well	21.1	13.8	52.8	51.8	38.8	36.4
Oldest child	1.8	0.0	0.0	8.2	0.8	4.9
Others	36.8	63.8	12.5	2.4	23.3	27.3
No Response	1.8	5.2	0.0	1.2	0.8	2.8
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

III.2.c.9. Health and Nutrition

Most of the men and women in Noida and Sonapat say that boys and girls as well as men and women in the household eat together. The women, who say that men and women do not eat together in Noida, say so because it is traditional that the men eat first, whereas the men say it is because boys/men and girls/women have different time schedules. In Sonapat both men and women say that boys/men and girls/women do not eat together because members have different schedules.

Many more men (65%) and women (79%) in Noida have reported illness than the men (43%) and women (46%) in Sonapat. (Table c.9.3.) However the illness in both the locations has been mainly cough and fever. Almost all men and women reporting of illness have taken treatment.

Most of the men in both the locations went to the Local Health Practitioner for the treatment and some went to the Government Hospital. Most of the women in Sonapat went to the Government Hospital (64%), some (44%) to the local health Practitioner and some (23%) to the Primary Health Centre. Whereas in Noida, 11% of the women opted for self medication and 13% went to the Primary Health Centre. (c.9.5.)

c.9. Health and Nutrition

c.9.1. Do men and women eat together in the household

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	91.2	87.9	68.1	40.0	78.3	59.4
No	8.8	12.1	31.9	60.0	21.7	40.6
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.9.2. Do boys and girls eat together in the household

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	86.0	94.8	95.8	78.8	91.5	85.3
No	5.3	1.7	4.2	20.0	4.7	12.6
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.9.3. Illness in the last six months

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	64.9	79.3	43.1	45.9	52.7	59.4
No	29.8	19	54.2	49.4	43.4	37.1
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.9.4. What kind of illness was it (any two)

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
TB	2.7	0	3.2	5.1	2.9	2.4
Cough	43.2	32.6	29	33.3	36.8	32.9
Malaria	2.7	8.7	3.2	5.1	2.9	7.1
Typhoid	0	2.2	3.2	0	1.5	1.2
Influenza	5.4	0	0	0	2.9	0.0
Dyssentry	5.4	4.3	0	0	2.9	2.4
Diarrhoea	16.2	4.3	16.1	10.3	16.2	7.1
Food Poisoning	0	0	0	7.7	0.0	3.5
Jaundice	0	2.2	9.7	2.6	4.4	2.4
Bronchitis	0	0	3.2	0	1.5	0.0
Pneumonia	0	0	3.2	5.1	1.5	2.4
Gastro-Enteritis	0	0	0	2.6	0.0	1.2
Anaemia	0	4.3	0	5.1	0.0	4.7
Fever	54.1	41.3	45.2	41	50.0	41.2
Injuries	5.4	2.2	12.9	5.1	8.8	3.5
Others	10.8	34.8	19.4	25.6	14.7	30.6
Total persons reported of illness	(37)	(46)	(31)	(39)	(68)	(85)

c.9.4a. Treatment was taken

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
TB	2.7	2.2	0.0	2.6	1.5	2.4
Cough	43.2	32.6	25.8	33.3	35.3	32.9
Malaria	2.7	8.7	0.0	5.1	1.5	7.1
Typhoid	0.0	2.2	3.2	0.0	1.5	1.2
Influenza	5.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	0.0
Dyssentry	5.4	4.3	0.0	0.0	2.9	2.4
Diarrhoea	16.2	4.3	16.1	10.3	16.2	7.1
Food Poisoning	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.7	0.0	3.5
Jaundice	0.0	2.2	9.7	2.6	4.4	2.4
Bronchitis	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.0	1.5	0.0
Pneumonia	0.0	0.0	9.7	5.1	4.4	2.4
Gastro-Enteritis	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6	0.0	1.2
Anaemia	0.0	2.2	0.0	5.1	0.0	3.5
Fever	54.1	39.1	41.9	41.0	48.5	40.0
Injuries	5.4	2.2	9.7	5.1	7.4	3.5
Others	10.8	34.8	16.1	25.6	13.2	30.6
Total persons reported of illness	(37)	(46)	(31)	(39)	(68)	(85)

c.9.5. If yes, what kind of treatment did you seek**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Self Medication	5.4	10.9	0.0	7.7	2.9	9.4
Local Health Practitioner	62.2	6.5	100.0	43.6	79.4	23.5
Primary Health Centre	2.7	13.0	0.0	23.1	1.5	17.6
Primary Health Centre Sub-Centre	0.0	8.7	0.0	2.6	0.0	5.9
Home Remedies	0.0	4.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4
Community Health Worker	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
Pharmacist	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
Spiritual	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.0	1.5	0.0
Government Hospital	27.0	4.3	16.1	64.1	22.1	31.8
Others	54.1	78.3	6.5	5.1	32.4	44.7
Total persons reported of illness	(37)	(46)	(31)	(39)	(68)	(85)

III.2.c.10. Physical Mobility

One of the main methods by which women are controlled in patriarchal societies is through control of women's mobility. Section 16 in the questionnaire seeks to explore the nature and extent of such mobility and gender-differentiated perceptions on these issues.

What is striking in these answers is that consistently, a significantly higher percentage of women as compared to men, both in Noida and in Sonapat have said that women have lower freedom of movement than men from corresponding locations have suggested. Also, more women than men have cited tradition, social acceptability of norms of gender behaviour, and the fear of molestation and harassment, as reasons for this lower mobility. This is an indication of the level of awareness or sensitivity that men have about women's problems. It also suggests the extent of internalization by women of social norms and patriarchal control mechanisms on themselves in both locations.

We made an attempt to explore the answers on mobility in some depth in order to capture the nuances. On being asked where all women can go, for how long they can stay out, and whether they need to go with an escort, women and men have given answers from which interesting patterns have emerged. Clearly male perceptions about the extent of freedom women enjoy in terms of mobility is not based on informed and sensitive assessment of the true state of affairs, but is more like a product of casual observation. The inherent inconsistency in the average male position in this regard comes out when we examine the answers to Q16.2. (refer Appendix I) The marked difference between the perceptions of men and women on what is acceptable about women's freedom to move around and what is not depends to a large extent on the nature of the destination. While women going out to work or to the temple is fine with men (100% - S, 99%-N for workplace and 100%-N and 89%-S for temples), going to cinemas or restaurants is not. (Table c.10.3a. & c.10.3b.) 57% in Noida and 61% in Sonapat males say that it is not okay for women to go to cinemas or restaurants. While roughly 92% of both men and women in Sonapat think that women can go to their friends' homes, there is a difference in the perception of men and women on whether or not they must go with an escort. 74% of the men and only 24% of the women answer in the affirmative. There is less of a difference in this regard in Noida. While 39%

of the men in Sonapat and 42% of them in Noida think women could go to cinemas and restaurants, of these, an overwhelming majority in Noida (92%) and 72% in Sonapat think that they should return 'before dark'. However the necessity to return 'before dark' is tempered strongly by the nature of the place women are visiting, which suggests that considerations other than apprehensions about their safety after dark, considerations such as the propriety of such visits, are factors that colour these responses.

In order to assess whether the answers are tempered by conditionalities of various kinds, and how women's perceptions differ from those of men, we cross-classified the first round positive responses with such factors as the perceived need for an escort, the prescribed time for return and the need for taking permission. Women from both Noida and Sonapat come out with similar answers. Men's responses however are not merely different from those of women, the Sonapat men come out with distinctly more conservative answers than the Noida men.

Educational Institutions: Women are free to go to educational institutions alone and their time of return may depend on their work. Most of the women in both the locations say that they need to take permission and men have given mixed responses. Some say that women need to ask permission and some say that they need not.

Workplace: Women have to go to the workplace if they are to earn and bring back money home. As a result all men and women think that women can go to the workplace, can go alone and that their time of return depends on their work. Regarding permission, it is again the women in Noida and Sonapat, who think that permission needs to be taken. In both the locations, some of the men think that permission needs to be taken and some think they need not do so.

Temples: Most of the men and women in Noida and Sonapat say that women can go alone to temples. Women in both locations say that their time of return depends on their work. The men in Sonapat say that they should return before dark (69%) and men in Noida say that they can be there for as long as they wish (39%) or can return depending on their work (25%). Regarding permission, most of the women in both the locations say that permission needs to be taken. Most of the men in

Sonepat too say so, however men in Noida have given a mixed response. Half of them say that permission needs to be taken (46%) and half of them say that it need not be taken (54%).

Cinema/Restaurants: Most of the men and women in Noida and Sonapat say that women cannot go to cinema/restaurants and especially not alone. The men in both locations think that women should be back before dark. However, the women in both locations say that their time of return depends on their work. Regarding permission most of the men and women in both locations say that women need to take permission to go cinema/restaurants.

Market: Most of the men and women in both locations say that women can go to the market. The women in both the locations think they can go alone and their time of return depends on their work. However, most of the men in Sonapat say that women should go with escorts. In Noida, half the men say that they can go alone and half say that they should go with escorts. Most of the men in Noida say that women should be back from the market before dark and in Sonapat their time of return depends on their work. Almost all the men and women think that, women need to take permission to go to the market.

Parental Home: Most of the men and women in both the locations say that women can go to their parental home. While men and women in Sonapat say that women can go to their parental home alone, some of the men and women in Noida say that they should go with escorts. It is possible that women in Noida belong to places that are comparatively far away. Women in both locations say that the time of their return depends on their work. The men in both the locations are not very particular about the women's time of return from their parental home. Women in Noida and Sonapat say that they need to take permission. Although, most of the men too say the same, many more men in Sonapat say so when compared to the men in Noida.

Friend's Home: Most of the men and women in Noida and Sonapat say that women can go to their friend's home. Although most of the women in both the locations say that their time of return depends on their work, some of the women in Noida say that they should be back before dark. More than half of the men in Sonapat say that they should be back before dark. Although most of the men

in Noida say that women can remain in their friends home for as long as they wish, some of them say that they should be back before dark. Both men and women in both the locations say that women need to take permission to go their friend's home. However many more men (93%) in Sonapat think so than the men (71%) in Noida.

Physical Mobility

c.10.1. Do girls/women have less freedom to move around as compared to boys/men

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	86.0	91.4	54.2	92.9	68.2	92.3
No	14.0	8.6	45.8	7.1	31.8	7.7
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.10.2. If yes, why**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Cases of molestation	10.2	0	12.8	8.86	11.4	5.3
Not traditional	44.9	49.1	74.4	87.3	58	72
Sends bad signals	51	54.7	56.4	78.5	53.4	68.9
Fear of harassment	59.2	54.7	66.7	45.6	62.5	49.2
Others	12.2	26.4	0	0	6.82	10.6
Total persons saying that women can move freely	(49)	(53)	(39)	(79)	(88)	(132)

c.10.3. Where all can women go

c.10.3a. Noida: Can/Cannot go

	Male				Female			
	Yes	No	NR	Total	Yes	No	NR	Total
Educational Institutions	100.0	0.0	0.0	(57)	67.2	32.8	0.0	(58)
Workplace	100.0	0.0	0.0	(57)	100.0	0.0	0.0	(58)
Banks	98.2	1.8	0.0	(57)	37.8	62.1	0.0	(58)
Temples	100.0	0.0	0.0	(57)	91.4	8.6	0.0	(58)
Cinema/Restaurants	42.1	57.9	0.0	(57)	22.4	77.6	0.0	(58)
Market	94.7	3.5	1.8	(57)	94.8	5.2	0.0	(58)
Parental Home	98.2	1.8	0.0	(57)	87.9	12.1	0.0	(58)
Friend's Home	96.5	3.5	0.0	(57)	79.3	20.7	0.0	(58)

NR: No Response

c.10.3b. Sonepat: Can/Cannot go

	Male				Female			
	Yes	No	NR	Total	Yes	No	NR	Total
Educational Institutions	87.5	12.5	0.0	(72)	65.9	34.1	0.0	(85)
Workplace	98.6	1.4	0.0	(72)	95.3	4.7	0.0	(85)
Banks	62.5	36.1	1.4	(72)	32.9	65.9	1.2	(85)
Temples	88.9	9.7	1.4	(72)	62.4	37.6	0.0	(85)
Cinema/Restaurants	38.9	61.1	0.0	(72)	15.3	83.5	1.2	(85)
Market	95.8	4.2	0.0	(72)	96.5	3.5	0.0	(85)
Parental Home	95.8	4.2	0.0	(72)	91.8	8.2	0.0	(85)
Friend's Home	91.7	8.3	0.0	(72)	91.8	8.2	0.0	(85)

c.10.3c. Combined: Can/Cannot go

	Male				Female			
	Yes	No	NR	Total	Yes	No	NR	Total
Educational Institutions	93.0	7.0	0.0	(129)	66.4	33.6	0.0	(143)
Workplace	99.2	0.8	0.0	(129)	97.2	2.8	0.0	(143)
Banks	78.3	20.9	0.8	(129)	35.0	64.3	0.7	(143)
Temples	93.8	5.4	0.8	(129)	74.1	25.9	0.0	(143)
Cinema/Restaurants	40.3	59.7	0.0	(129)	18.2	81.1	0.7	(143)
Market	95.3	3.9	0.8	(129)	95.8	4.2	0.0	(143)
Parental Home	96.9	3.1	0.0	(129)	90.2	9.8	0.0	(143)
Friend's Home	93.8	6.2	0.0	(129)	86.7	13.3	0.0	(143)

c.10.4. Can women go alone or with escorts

c.10.4a. Noida: With Whom

	Male				Female			
	1	2	3	Total	1	2	3	Total
Educational Institutions	96.5	3.5	0.0	(57)	50.0	17.2	32.8	(58)
Workplace	94.7	5.3	0.0	(57)	74.1	25.9	0.0	(58)
Banks	80.7	17.5	1.8	(57)	27.6	10.3	62.1	(58)
Temples	64.9	35.1	0.0	(57)	67.2	24.1	8.6	(58)
Cinema/Restaurants	5.3	36.8	57.9	(57)	12.1	12.1	75.9	(58)
Market	49.1	47.4	3.5	(57)	67.2	27.6	5.2	(58)
Parental Home	66.7	31.6	1.8	(57)	51.7	34.5	13.8	(58)
Friend's Home	63.2	33.2	3.5	(57)	56.9	22.4	20.7	(58)

Alone

With Escort

No Response

c.10.4b. Sonepat: With Whom

	Male				Female			
	1	2	3	Total	1	2	3	Total
Educational Institutions	87.5	0.0	12.5	(72)	58.8	7.1	34.1	(85)
Workplace	87.5	11.1	1.4	(72)	80.0	15.3	4.7	(85)
Banks	20.8	41.7	37.5	(72)	17.6	16.5	65.9	(85)
Temples	54.2	34.7	11.1	(72)	49.4	12.9	37.6	(85)
Cinema/Restaurants	12.5	27.8	59.7	(72)	3.5	15.3	81.2	(85)
Market	29.2	68.1	2.8	(72)	71.8	24.7	3.5	(85)
Parental Home	80.6	13.6	5.6	(72)	78.8	12.9	8.2	(85)
Friend's Home	23.6	70.8	5.6	(72)	74.1	15.3	10.6	(85)

c.10.4c. Combined: With Whom

	Male				Female			
	1	2	3	Total	1	2	3	Total
Educational Institutions	91.5	1.6	7.0	(129)	55.2	11.2	33.6	(143)
Workplace	90.7	8.5	0.8	(129)	77.6	19.6	2.8	(143)
Banks	47.3	31.0	21.7	(129)	21.7	14.0	64.3	(143)
Temples	58.9	34.9	6.2	(129)	56.6	17.5	25.9	(143)
Cinema/Restaurants	9.3	31.8	58.9	(129)	7.0	14.0	79.0	(143)
Market	38.0	58.9	3.1	(129)	69.9	25.9	4.2	(143)
Parental Home	74.4	21.7	3.9	(129)	67.8	21.7	10.5	(143)
Friend's Home	41.1	54.3	4.7	(129)	67.1	18.2	14.7	(143)

c.10.5. For how long can women stay out

c.10.5a. Noida: Time Span

	Male						Female					
	1	2	3	4	5	Total	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Educational Institutions	31.6	0.0	68.4	0.0	0.0	(57)	8.6	0.0	56.9	1.7	32.8	(58)
Workplace	32.8	3.5	73.7	0.0	0.0	(57)	10.3	0.0	87.9	1.7	0.0	(58)
Banks	24.6	1.8	71.9	0.0	1.8	(57)	5.2	0.0	32.8	0.0	62.1	(58)
Temples	15.8	38.6	24.6	21.1	0.0	(57)	10.3	10.3	56.9	12.1	10.3	(58)
Cinema/Restaurants	38.6	0.0	3.5	0.0	57.9	(57)	3.4	0.0	19.0	1.7	75.9	(58)
Market	68.4	1.8	26.3	0.0	3.5	(57)	13.8	0.0	75.9	3.4	6.9	(58)
Parental Home	14.0	45.6	22.8	15.8	1.8	(57)	0.0	20.7	51.7	15.5	12.1	(58)
Friend's Home	28.1	35.1	24.6	8.8	3.5	(57)	20.7	5.2	53.4	1.7	19.0	(58)

Before Dark

As long as she wishes

Depends on her work

No time limit

No Response

c.10.5b. Sonepat: Time Span

	Male						Female					
	1	2	3	4	5	Total	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Educational Institutions	30.6	1.4	50.0	5.6	12.5	(72)	9.4	2.4	49.4	4.7	34.1	(85)
Workplace	23.6	4.2	69.4	1.4	1.4	(72)	5.9	2.4	87.1	0.0	4.7	(85)
Banks	36.1	1.4	22.2	2.8	37.5	(72)	4.7	4.7	25.9	0.0	64.7	(85)
Temples	61.1	4.2	13.9	6.9	13.9	(72)	7.1	27.1	29.4	0.0	36.5	(85)
Cinema/Restaurants	27.8	1.4	8.3	1.4	61.1	(72)	0.0	4.7	12.9	0.0	82.4	(85)
Market	36.1	6.9	52.8	1.4	2.8	(72)	8.2	5.9	81.2	1.2	3.5	(85)
Parental Home	16.7	15.3	41.7	22.2	4.2	(72)	2.4	8.2	56.5	24.7	8.2	(85)
Friend's Home	51.4	2.8	36.1	2.8	6.9	(72)	8.2	9.4	71.8	0.0	10.6	(85)

c.10.5c. Combined: Time Span

	Male						Female					
	1	2	3	4	5	Total	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Educational Institutions	31.0	0.8	58.1	3.1	7.0	(129)	9.1	1.4	52.4	3.5	33.6	(143)
Workplace	23.3	3.9	71.3	0.8	0.8	(129)	7.7	1.4	87.4	0.7	2.8	(143)
Banks	31.0	1.6	44.2	1.6	21.7	(129)	4.9	2.8	28.7	0.0	63.6	(143)
Temples	41.1	19.4	18.6	13.2	7.8	(129)	8.4	20.0	40.6	4.9	25.9	(143)
Cinema/Restaurants	32.6	0.8	6.2	0.8	59.7	(129)	1.4	2.8	15.4	0.7	79.7	(143)
Market	50.4	4.7	41.1	0.8	3.1	(129)	10.5	3.5	79.0	2.1	4.9	(143)
Parental Home	15.5	28.7	33.3	19.4	3.1	(129)	1.4	13.3	54.5	21.0	9.8	(143)
Friend's Home	41.1	17.1	31.0	5.4	5.4	(129)	13.3	7.7	64.3	0.7	14	(143)

c.10.6. Whether they need to take permission?

c.10.6a. Noida: Need to take Permission

	Male				Female			
	Yes	No	NR	Total	Yes	No	NR	Total
Educational Institutions	45.6	54.4	0.0	(57)	60.3	6.9	32.8	(58)
Workplace	42.1	57.9	0.0	(57)	81.0	19.0	0.0	(58)
Banks	45.6	52.6	1.8	(57)	29.3	8.6	62.1	(58)
Temples	45.6	54.4	0.0	(57)	67.2	24.1	8.6	(58)
Cinema/Restaurants	29.8	12.3	57.9	(57)	24.1	0.0	75.9	(58)
Market	77.2	19.3	3.5	(57)	81.0	13.8	5.2	(58)
Parental Home	68.4	29.8	1.8	(57)	75.9	12.1	12.1	(58)
Friend's Home	68.4	29.8	1.8	(57)	74.1	6.9	19.0	(58)

c.10.6b. Sonepat: Need to take Permission

	Male				Female			
	Yes	No	NR	Total	Yes	No	NR	Total
Educational Institutions	50.0	37.5	12.5	(72)	50.6	14.1	35.3	(85)
Workplace	72.2	26.4	1.4	(72)	87.1	7.1	5.9	(85)
Banks	61.1	1.4	37.5	(72)	25.9	7.1	67.1	(85)
Temples	80.6	8.3	11.1	(72)	54.1	8.2	37.6	(85)
Cinema/Restaurants	38.9	0.0	61.1	(72)	15.3	3.5	81.2	(85)
Market	94.4	2.8	2.8	(72)	91.8	3.5	4.7	(85)
Parental Home	79.2	16.7	4.2	(72)	83.5	7.1	9.4	(85)
Friend's Home	93.1	1.4	5.6	(72)	82.4	5.9	11.8	(85)

c.10.6c. Combined: Need to take Permission

	Male				Female			
	Yes	No	NR	Total	Yes	No	NR	Total
Educational Institutions	48.1	45.0	7.0	(129)	54.5	11.2	34.3	(143)
Workplace	58.9	40.3	0.8	(129)	84.6	11.9	3.5	(143)
Banks	54.3	24.0	21.7	(129)	27.3	7.7	65.0	(143)
Temples	65.1	28.7	6.2	(129)	59.4	14.7	25.9	(143)
Cinema/Restaurants	34.9	5.4	59.7	(129)	18.9	2.1	79.0	(143)
Market	86.8	10.1	3.1	(129)	87.4	7.7	4.9	(143)
Parental Home	74.4	22.5	3.1	(129)	80.4	9.1	10.5	(143)
Friend's Home	82.2	14.0	3.9	(129)	79.0	6.3	14.7	(143)

III.2.c.11. Marriage and Dowry

Around 20% of the men in both locations have married girls below 16 years of age. (Table c.11.2) Most of the women in both locations will not be or are not asked for their own consent during marriage. Fewer men in Sonepat will be asked or are asked for their consent than the men in Noida. This may be due to the joint family system with more traditional families where young men too have no say in their own marriage. Most of the men and women in both the locations do not want their children to marry outside the *biradari*.

Most of the men and women in Noida would try and dissuade their son if he wants to marry outside the *biradari* and most of them will 'not permit' if their daughter wants to do the same. The men and women in Sonepat have given contradictory answers. Most of the men say they would accept if their

son wants to marry outside the *biradari* and the women say they would either not permit or separate the son from the family. Regarding the daughter, the men in Sonapat say they would 'accept' and the women say they would 'not permit' them to marry outside the *biradari*. (Table c.11.4 & c.11.5)

Men and women in Noida think that dowry has increased in the community whereas' in Sonapat they do not think so. (Table c.11.6)

Men and women in both the locations say that the main circumstance when it is acceptable for a man to leave his wife is if she is unfaithful. Many more men say so when compared to women and the contrast between men and women is more in Noida than Sonapat. (Table c.11.15)

Many women in Sonapat think that men can leave their wife if she is not able to perform her traditional tasks like bearing a son, giving dowry, respecting the family when compared to the women in Noida.

The men in Noida think her inability to satisfy him sexually (39%) or her infertility (28%) are circumstances acceptable for him to leave her. (Table c.11.15.) Men in Sonapat say that it is acceptable for him to leave his wife if she is unable to perform her traditional tasks like housekeeping (33%), respecting family (36%) and not satisfying him sexually (21%).

Both men and women in Noida and Sonapat say that if the man beats his wife or does not provide for the children, women can leave their husband. Many more men and women in Sonapat think so than the men and women in Noida. Men (60%) in Noida think that if they are unfaithful their wives can leave them however lesser women (26%) think the same. (Table c.11.16) Women (66%) in Sonapat think that if the men are unfaithful, they can leave their husbands, however lesser men (26%) think the same.

c.11. Marriage and Dowry

c.11.1. Age of marriage if married and if unmarried the age they would like to marry

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Finish my studies	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.7	0.0	2.8
Before Menarche	0.0	5.2	0.0	8.2	0.0	7.0
After Menarche	1.8	19.0	0.0	15.3	0.8	16.8
Btw 16 to 18 years	21.1	29.3	31.9	41.2	27.1	36.4
Above 18 years	56.1	29.3	63.9	28.2	60.5	28.7
When elders decide	1.8	1.7	0.0	2.4	0.8	2.1
Any other	19.3	15.5	4.2	0.0	10.9	6.3
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.11.2. Age of spouse at the time of marriage

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Below 16	24.6	1.7	19.4	4.7	21.7	3.5
Btw 16 to 18 years	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.7
Above 18 years	63.2	67.2	70.8	84.7	67.4	77.6
Any Other	8.8	22.4	0.0	2.4	3.9	10.5
No Response	3.5	8.6	9.7	7.1	7.0	7.7
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.11.3. Would you marry your son/daughter outside the biradari

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	8.8	5.2	26.4	15.3	18.6	11.2
No	80.7	81.0	62.5	72.9	70.5	76.2
No Response	10.5	13.8	11.1	11.8	10.9	12.6
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.11.4. What would the parents do if the son wants to marry outside the biradari**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Try and persuade	36.8	39.7	9.7	5.9	21.7	19.6
Accept	10.5	6.9	36.1	14.1	24.8	11.2
Separate son	1.8	3.4	9.7	23.5	6.2	15.4
Not permit	24.6	27.6	19.4	29.4	21.7	28.7
Not allow to enter the house	5.3	1.7	2.8	5.9	3.9	4.2
Will kill them	0.0	0.0	1.4	2.4	0.8	1.4
Break relations	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.7
Kick out of the biradari	0.0	3.4	4.2	0.0	2.3	1.4
Disinherit	1.8	0.0	4.2	2.4	3.1	1.4
Any other	10.5	10.3	6.9	5.9	8.5	7.7
No Response	8.8	12.1	8.3	9.4	8.5	10.5
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.11.5. What would the parents do if the daughter wants to marry outside the biradari**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Try and persuade	19.3	27.6	8.3	1.2	13.2	11.9
Accept	7.0	8.6	36.1	14.1	23.3	11.9
Not permit	49.1	39.7	22.2	54.1	34.1	48.3
Not allow to enter the house	3.5	0.0	15.3	2.4	10.1	1.4
Will kill them	0.0	0.0	1.4	11.8	0.8	7.0
Break relations	0.0	3.4	0.0	1.2	0.0	2.1
Kick out of the biradari	0.0	1.7	2.8	0.0	1.6	0.7
Disinherit	0.0	0.0	1.4	2.4	0.8	1.4
Any other	14.0	10.3	8.3	3.5	10.9	6.3
No Response	8.8	13.8	8.3	9.4	8.5	11.2
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.11.6. Did your family give or take any gifts or money from your spouse/in-laws at your marriage**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Don't Know	1.75	8.62	2.78	1.18	2.33	4.2
Less than Rs 1000/-	1.75	20.7	23.6	9.41	14	14
Between Rs1000/- to 5000/-	14	15.5	20.8	25.9	17.8	21.7
Between Rs 5000/- to 10000/-	0	6.9	2.78	21.2	1.55	15.4
More than Rs 10000	1.75	15.5	2.78	20	2.33	18.2
Vehicle	3.51	3.45	1.39	2.35	2.33	2.8
Furniture	17.5	48.3	33.3	49.4	26.4	49
Property	1.75	1.72	1.39	1.18	1.55	1.4
None	15.8	60.3	15.3	9.41	15.5	30.1
Other	56.1	12.1	26.4	11.8	39.5	11.9
No Response	5.26	8.62	11.1	8.24	8.53	8.39
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.11.7. Was the family satisfied with the gifts and money received by them

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes, Satisfied	89.5	72.4	84.7	81.2	86.8	77.6
Some Complaints	1.8	13.8	1.4	5.9	1.6	9.1
Many Complaints	0.0	3.4	0.0	1.2	0.0	2.1
Abused and harassed me	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	0.0	1.4
Others	0.0	1.7	1.4	1.2	0.8	1.4
No Response	8.8	8.6	12.5	8.2	10.9	8.4
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.11.8. At what age would you like to marry your son

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
When he starts earning	6	20	7	11	13	31
When he finishes education	2	6	10	24	12	30
Above 18 years	31	20	27	20	58	40
On getting appropriate bride	3	2	17	23	20	25
Others	0	1	2	0	2	1
No Response	15	9	9	7	24	16
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.11.9. At what age would you like to marry your daughter

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Before menarche	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
After Menarche	1.8	3.4	0.0	11.8	0.8	8.4
16 to 18 years	5.3	5.2	1.4	4.7	3.1	4.9
Above 18 years	78.9	39.7	52.8	55.3	64.3	49.0
On getting appropriate groom	1.8	6.9	26.4	17.6	15.5	13.3
Others	3.5	17.2	6.9	0.0	5.4	7.0
Not Applicable	8.8	25.9	12.5	10.6	10.9	16.8
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.11.10. Would give dowry for their daughter's marriage

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	63.2	65.5	33.3	74.1	46.5	70.6
No	26.3	6.9	55.6	16.5	42.6	12.6
No response	10.5	27.6	11.1	9.4	10.9	16.8
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.11.11. Would take dowry at their son's marriage

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	17.5	37.9	6.9	28.2	11.6	32.2
No	70.2	46.6	81.9	63.5	76.7	56.6
No response	12.3	15.5	11.1	8.2	11.6	11.2
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.11.12. Has dowry demands increased in the community

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	80.7	86.2	29.2	40.0	51.9	58.7
No	17.5	10.3	66.7	58.8	45.0	39.2
No response	1.8	3.4	4.2	1.2	3.1	2.1
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.11.13. If yes, why**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
People are greedy	34.8	40.0	57.1	29.4	41.8	35.7
More exhibitionism	8.7	22.0	42.9	32.4	10.1	15.4
Expenditure has increased	4.3	4.0	19.0	20.6	4.7	6.3
Expenditure on boy's education has increased	4.3	16.0	0.0	5.9	1.6	7.0
People dishonest	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
Inflation	21.7	14.0	0.0	2.9	7.8	5.6
Dowry is a sign of social status	37.0	12.0	0.0	8.8	13.2	6.3
Don't know why	2.2	2.0	0.0	5.9	0.8	2.1
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.11.14. If a woman is unhappy with her marriage and is economically independent do you think she can move out separately

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	40.4	19.0	70.8	74.1	57.4	51.7
No	56.1	77.6	29.2	23.5	41.1	45.5
No response	3.5	3.4	0.0	2.4	1.6	2.8
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.11.15. Under what circumstance is it acceptable for man to leave his wife**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
She is unfaithful	80.7	34.5	88.9	76.5	85.3	59.4
Can't bear son	7.02	17.2	16.7	64.7	12.4	45.5
Family didn't keep dowry	3.51	17.2	11.1	41.2	7.75	31.5
Poor housekeeper	1.75	1.72	33.3	25.9	19.4	16.1
Don't satisfy sexually	38.6	3.45	20.8	15.3	28.7	10.5
Doesn't give family respect	3.51	1.72	36.1	41.2	21.7	25.2
Is infertile	28.1	22.4	8.33	30.6	17.1	27.3
Any other	19.3	55.2	9.72	8.24	14	27.3
No Response	0	3.45	1.39	2.35	0.78	2.8
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.11.16. Under what circumstance is it acceptable for woman to leave her husband**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
He beats her	49.1	32.8	83.3	82.4	68.2	62.2
doesn't provide for children	29.8	31	77.8	78.8	56.6	59.4
He is unfaithful	59.6	25.9	26.4	65.9	41.1	49.7
He is infertile	47.4	5.17	29.2	36.5	37.2	23.8
He is impotent	17.5	6.9	16.7	18.8	17.1	14
Doesn't respect his or her family	0	1.72	13.9	18.8	7.75	11.9
Any other	24.6	60.3	5.56	8.24	14	29.4
No Response	19.3	3.45	0	3.53	8.53	3.5
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

III.2.c.12. Reproduction and Sex

More than half the men and women in both locations use family planning methods.

More than half the women in Sonapat think it is necessary to have a son as they get more respect. 38% of the men and women in both locations (apart from the men in Sonapat) think that it is necessary to have a son as they look after the parents in old age.

Most of the men and women in Noida and Sonapat think that it is very important for the men to be sexually satisfied. Roughly 70% men in Noida and Sonapat think it is very important for women too to be sexually satisfied. (Tablec.12.3b) However women themselves think that women need to be sexually satisfied only 'to some extent'.

In both locations lesser women compared to men can 'refuse' for sex if they are in no mood. The contrast between men and women is more in Sonapat than in Noida.

Although most of the men and women in both locations say that their spouse 'understands' if they refuse, some women (about 14%) in both the locations face verbal abuse on refusing. (Table c.12.5)

c.12. Reproduction and Sex

c.12.1. Is it necessary to have a son**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
No, sons and daughters are the same	49.1	39.7	73.6	43.5	62.8	42
Yes, gets more respect	5.26	15.5	15.3	52.9	10.9	37.8
Yes, otherwise be harassed	0	3.45	0	4.71	0	4.2
Yes, sons look after parents in old age	38.6	37.9	11.1	37.6	23.3	37.8
Others	10.5	24.1	2.78	4.71	6.2	12.6
No Response	0	3.45	11.1	5.88	6.2	4.9
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.12.2. Sexual Satisfaction

12.2a. Is it important for a man to have sexual satisfaction

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Not at all	1.8	1.7	0.0	2.4	0.8	2.1
To some extent	17.5	22.4	18.1	35.3	17.8	30.1
Very	71.9	67.2	72.2	51.8	72.1	58.0
No Response	8.8	8.6	9.7	10.6	9.3	9.8
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

12.2b. Is it important for a woman to have sexual satisfaction

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Not at all	1.8	1.7	1.4	4.7	1.6	3.5
To some extent	17.5	65.5	19.4	50.6	18.6	56.6
Very	71.9	22.4	68.1	35.3	69.8	30.1
No Response	8.8	10.3	11.1	9.4	10.1	9.8
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.12.3. Can you say 'no' if you are in no mood for sex

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	89.5	56.9	68.1	27.1	77.5	39.2
No	5.3	34.5	22.2	60.0	14.7	49.7
No Response	5.3	8.6	9.7	12.9	7.8	11.2
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.12.4. How is the response if you say no

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Understanding	91.2	75.9	72.2	54.1	80.6	62.9
Verbally abusive	1.8	13.8	5.6	17.6	3.9	16.1
Physically abusive	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.7
Sexually abusive	0.0	0.0	5.6	8.2	3.1	4.9
No Response	7.0	10.3	16.7	18.8	12.4	15.4
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

III.2.c.13. Decision Making and Control

Working in factories especially in Sonapat appears to have had different effects on the perception of men and women. Women, both of Sonapat and Noida hand over almost all of their earnings for family upkeep. In Noida because of the nuclearisation of the families and their migrant character, the men and women in households per force share responsibilities and women have more control than they do in Sonapat. In Sonapat working women feel that their confidence and self esteem has gone up as a result of working in factories. The simple fact that they have to commute on their own for working is a major confidence booster. For men in the family, the major perceived benefit of women working in the factories is economic. Men do not quite see or feel the enhancement in the confidence level of women of their households because of the sheer fact of their going out and mixing with the world outside. It is only when something extraordinary happens, during which the woman of the household may have taken a crucial decision, that men wake up to the changed scenario. As it had happened in the case of the woman who had decided to take her sick child to the district hospital on her own without intimating her husband, and ensured that by that timely decision she saved the child from sure death.

For the women from both locations, the negative effects of working in a factory are more in terms of increased workload and associated stress. Often they have to work also on Sundays and such work is usually not voluntary. As regards the question of whether or not factory work exposes them to the probability of increased sexual harassment within and outside the factories, our assessment is that it is not so. The working women of Sonapat tend to feel that they run similar risks even within the village, even when they do not have to commute to work. They take precautions against the possibility of molestation by travelling in a group. Older women feel that in such respects society has deteriorated: things were better in earlier times. The fear of eve teasing and molestation is something that women live with, within and outside the village.

Factory work has by and large opened up new opportunities for these women. For after all, some of these women in earlier times would have to work in the fields and by all accounts, agricultural labour is more arduous they feel, than factory work. The other benefit of working in a factory has been that women's work is now more visible, perhaps because it is now monetised. As a result, women's unpaid work in the household is also gaining more recognition. The media may also have something to do with it. Various special schemes of the state and national governments for women and girl children may have played their role in increasing the awareness of men and women about women's contribution to household welfare. In Sonapat it appears that if marriages do not work out, nowadays women are more easily accommodated within their parental homes. For after all, they put in hard labour wherever they are. It seems that over time, daughters are being looked upon as less of a burden than they were previously.

Most of the men and women in both the locations say that they are participating in household decision making at present.

Although women in Noida participate in the decision making process, they have a final say mainly in the provision for daily need and purchase of clothes, which has traditionally always been a women's domain. Almost equal number of men and women in Noida have a final say in decisions regarding major expenses (20%). Many more men in Noida have a final say in decisions of important issues like; education and marriage of children, buying and selling of assets and disputes.

Similarly many more women in Sonapat have a final say in provision for daily need and purchase of clothes than the men. However, in contrast to the situation in Noida, almost equal number of men and women in Sonapat have a final say in decisions regarding education (60%) and marriage of children (45%), although men continue to dominate in the decision making regarding work related issues and disputes. (Table c.13.4.)

In Noida both men (61%) and women (71%) say that there have not been tensions in the household due to decision-making matters. However in Sonapat there is a difference of opinion between men and women. 54% women say they have faced tensions in the family due to decision-making matters and only 24% of the men say so. (Tablec.13.6.)

c.13. Decision Making and Control

c.13.1. Did you participate in household decision making before coming here

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	84.2	43.1	68.1	68.2	75.2	58.0
No	15.8	56.9	29.2	21.2	23.3	35.7
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.13.2. Do you participate in household decision making at present

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	84.2	75.9	84.7	80.0	84.5	78.3
No	14.0	24.1	15.3	15.3	14.7	18.9
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.13.3. In which of these areas do you participate in decision making the maximum**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Provision for daily need	63.2	69	62.5	75.3	62.8	72.7
Education of children	73.7	60.3	55.6	65.9	63.6	63.6
Marriage of child	75.4	25.9	40.3	44.7	55.8	37.1
Buy and sell assets	73.7	15.5	20.8	14.1	44.2	14.7
Buy and sell jewellery	38.6	19	8.33	9.41	21.7	13.3
Work Related issues	36.8	22.4	20.8	17.6	27.9	19.6
Disputes	35.1	5.17	16.7	14.1	24.8	10.5
Purchase of clothes	15.8	53.4	12.5	52.9	14	53.1
Major Expenses	26.3	20.7	12.5	29.4	18.6	25.9
Any other	0	8.62	16.7	10.6	9.3	9.79
None	0	0	1.39	0	0.78	0
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

19.1.2. In which of these in your decision the final**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Provision for daily need	38.6	63.8	61.1	74.1	51.2	69.9
Education of children	61.4	44.8	58.3	61.2	59.7	54.5
Marriage of child	61.4	15.5	44.4	45.9	51.9	33.6
Buy and sell assets	75.4	13.8	31.9	10.6	51.2	11.9
Buy and sell jewellery	22.8	15.5	9.72	7.06	15.5	10.5
Work Related issues	26.3	20.7	20.8	8.24	23.3	13.3
Disputes	19.3	3.45	20.8	12.9	20.2	9.09
Purchase of clothes	10.5	46.6	15.3	47.1	13.2	46.9
Major Expenses	19.3	17.2	12.5	28.2	15.5	23.8
Any other	3.51	8.62	9.72	8.24	6.98	8.39
None	10.5	6.9	1.39	5.88	5.43	6.29
No Response	8.77	17.2	15.3	8.24	12.4	11.9
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.13.5. Do you think you /women in your family should have more decision making power than what you/they have now

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	45.6	62.1	68.1	85.9	58.1	76.2
No	52.6	37.9	25.0	14.1	37.2	23.8
No response	1.8	0.0	6.9	0.0	4.7	0.0
	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.13.6. Have there been any tensions in the family due to decision-making matters

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	61.4	70.7	23.6	54.1	40.3	60.8
No	35.1	29.3	76.4	45.9	58.1	39.2
No response	3.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

III.2.c.14. Violence

Alcoholism is the main reason for fights in the neighbourhood according to most of the men and women in Noida and Sonapat. Apart from alcoholism, few women in Noida think that 'giving back answers' is a reason for tensions in the neighbourhood. Many of the women in Sonapat say that if women fail to perform their traditional duties like; neglecting household duties, disobeying husband, or giving back answers then it triggers off tensions. (Table c.14.4.)

More than 50% men and women in Noida say that these tensions do not occur in their households. However, men and women in Sonapat have given contradictory answers. Very few men (11%) in Sonapat say that there are tensions in the household whereas 60% women say that they have experienced tensions in the household. (Table c.14.3.)

Men and women in Noida say that economic matter is a major reason for tensions within the household. The women in Sonapat think it is household matters that mainly trigger off tensions in the household.

Men and women in both locations understand 'harassment to be verbal or physical abuse.

Many women in Sonapat have been harassed in the form of being beaten (31%), verbally abused (33%), slapped, pinched etc. (25%), and threatened to be sent back to their maternal home (19%). In Noida women have been slapped, pinched, etc. (24%), verbally abused (19%) or beaten (12%). (Table c.14.9.).

Most of the men and women say that they have not faced any harassment outside the house. 54% of the women in Noida have reported to face eve teasing and other kinds of harassment of women and girls. In contrast in Sonapat both men and women have faced harassment in situations of property fights communal riots and political quarrels. (Table c.15.11)

c.14. Violence

c.14.1. Have you heard of any fight in your neighbourhood

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	70.2	39.7	55.6	71.8	62.0	58.7
No	29.8	60.3	44.4	28.2	38.0	41.3
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.14.2. If yes what are the reasons for the fights**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Alcoholism	52.5	78.3	80.0	90.2	66.3	86.9
Fight over property	47.5	21.7	72.5	75.4	60.0	60.7
Fight with spouse family	10.0	13.0	35.0	63.9	22.5	50.0
Dowry demands	5.0	13.0	5.0	16.4	5.0	15.5
Extra marital affairs	7.5	21.7	25.0	4.9	16.3	9.5
Neglect of household duties	5.0	21.7	12.5	31.1	8.8	28.6
Disobey husband	10.0	13.0	15.0	44.3	12.5	35.7
Giving back answers	15.0	43.5	12.5	50.8	13.8	48.8
Economic constraints	2.5	4.3	10.0	6.6	6.3	6.0
Giving birth to a girl child	0.0	8.7	5.0	8.2	2.5	8.3
Suspicion	7.5	0.0	2.5	0.0	5.0	0.0
Childlessness	0.0	8.7	5.0	6.6	2.5	7.1
Physical Mobility	0.0	13.0	10.0	1.6	5.0	4.8
Refusal to sex	2.5	0.0	0.0	3.3	1.3	2.4
Others	8.0	6.0	2.0	6.0	10.0	12.0
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.14.3. Have you experienced tensions in your household

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	59.6	51.7	11.1	60.0	32.6	56.6
No	40.4	48.3	86.1	40.0	65.9	43.4
No Response	0.0	0.0	2.8	0.0	1.6	0.0
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.14.4. If yes, what triggers off such tensions**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Alcoholism	2.9	3.3	12.5	9.8	4.8	7.4
Childlessness	0.0	10.0	0.0	5.9	0.0	7.4
Child's education	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	1.2
Childcare	11.8	13.3	0.0	9.8	9.5	11.1
On marriage of child	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.8	0.0
On household matters	14.7	23.3	25.0	54.9	16.7	43.2
On economic matters	38.2	33.3	25.0	5.9	35.7	16.0
On agricultural produce matters	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	4.8	0.0
Infidelity/extra marital affairs	2.9	3.3	0.0	0.0	2.4	1.2
Property related matters	0.0	6.7	12.5	2.0	2.4	3.7
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.14.5. What do you understand by harassment**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Forced to against will.....	0.0	1.7	5.6	5.9	3.1	4.2
Taunts and verbal abuse	78.9	43.1	54.2	42.4	65.1	42.7
Inequalities	0.0	0.0	12.5	3.5	7.0	2.1
Beating or physical abuse	17.5	20.7	23.6	44.7	20.9	35.0
Sexual abuse	3.5	5.2	2.8	2.4	3.1	3.5
Hurting others feelings	3.5	1.7	0.0	7.1	1.6	4.9
Betrayal of trust	1.8	3.4	4.2	2.4	3.1	2.8
Others	10.5	41.4	15.3	28.2	13.2	33.6
No Response	0.0	3.4	2.8	1.2	1.6	2.1
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.14.6. Have you faced any kind of harassment in your family

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	17.5	37.9	27.8	42.4	23.3	40.6
No	82.5	60.3	70.8	54.1	76.0	56.6
No Response	0.0	1.7	1.4	3.5	0.8	2.8
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.14.7. If yes, what kind of harassment was it**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Beaten	10.0	31.8	55.0	72.2	40.0	56.9
Throwing of object	0.0	4.5	5.0	27.8	3.3	19.0
Verbal abuse	30.0	50.0	85.0	77.8	66.7	67.2
Threats	20.0	13.6	20.0	16.7	20.0	15.5
Slapping, pinching, etc.	40.0	63.6	25.0	58.3	30.0	60.3
Threatened to be sent back to maternal home	0.0	22.7	0.0	44.4	0.0	36.2
Restricted from meeting friends and relatives	0.0	4.5	0.0	5.6	0.0	5.2
Sexual abuse	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0
Destroy household items	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0	10.3
Total persons faced violence in the family	(10)	(22)	(20)	(36)	(30)	(58)

c.14.8. Have you ever faced harassment outside the house

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	15.8	22.4	23.6	22.4	20.2	22.4
No	82.5	77.6	75.0	77.6	78.3	77.6
No Response	1.8	0.0	1.4	0.0	1.6	0.0
Total Respondents	(57)	(58)	(72)	(85)	(129)	(143)

c.15.9. If yes, what situation was it**

	NOIDA		SONEPAT		COMBINED	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Fight over property	22.2	0.0	35.3	78.9	30.8	46.9
Communal riots	0.0	0.0	23.5	57.9	15.4	34.4
Political quarrels	11.1	0.0	47.1	78.9	34.6	46.9
Harassment of girls	0.0	30.8	0.0	10.5	0.0	18.8
Eve teasing	0.0	53.8	0.0	10.5	0.0	28.1
Harassment of single women	0.0	46.2	0.0	10.5	0.0	25.0
Total persons faced violence outside the family	(9)	(13)	(17)	(19)	(26)	(32)

III.2.c.15. Couple Responses

In order to check out the parity between husbands and wives in answering questions on various issues affecting them as couples, we charted out couple responses to some of the questions from different sections of the questionnaire. The degree of discordance in answers given by the husband and the wife to the same questions is fairly high in many areas. The percentage of couples who have given discordant answers in Noida is 22% for Q12.2, 33% for Q18.1, 38% for Q18.4.2, 52% for Q19.2 and 45% for Q 20.2. The corresponding percentages in Sonapat are 0% for Q12.2, 37% for Q18.1, 51% for Q18.4.2, 29% for Q19.2, and 48% for Q20.2. In some areas such as the need for and the nature of education for children of both sexes, there is much greater degree of parity between husbands and wives.

c.6.1. LABOUR USE PATTERN - COUPLE RESPONSES

NOIDA

6.1.a1.(cr) COOKING

Females

	Almost all	Most	Some	Little	None	Total
Males Almost all	4	2	-	-	-	6
Most	1	-	-	-	-	1
Some	4	3	-	-	-	7
Little	20	3	1	2	1	27
None	5	1	1	-	-	7
Total	34	9	2	2	1	48

6.1.b1. CLEANING

Females

	Almost all	Most	Some	Little	None	Total
Males Almost all	4	2	-	-	-	6
Most	1	-	-	-	-	1
Some	4	3	-	-	-	7
Little	20	3	1	2	1	27
None	5	1	1	-	-	7
Total	34	9	2	2	1	48

6.1.c1. CHILD CARE

Females

	Almost all	Most	Some	Little	None	Total
Males Almost all	2	-	1	-	-	3
Most	9	2	1	-	-	12
Some	3	1	-	3	-	7
Little	14	4	2	-	1	21
None	-	1	-	-	2	3
Total	-	-	4	3	3	46

SONEPAT

6.1.a2. (cr) COOKING

Females

	Almost all	Most	Some	Little	None	Total
Males Almost all	1	-	-	-	-	1
Most	2	-	-	-	-	2
Some	7	1	3	-	1	12
Little	4	1	1	-	-	6
None	8	6	5	1	-	20
Total	22	8	9	1	1	41

6.1.b2. CLEANING

Females

	Almost all	Most	Some	Little	None	Total
Males Almost all	-	-	-	-	-	0
Most	4	-	1	-	1	6
Some	5	1	1	1	-	8
Little	5	2	2	-	-	9
None	6	7	4	1	-	18
Total	20	10	8	2	1	41

6.1.c2. CHILD CARE

Females

	Almost all	Most	Some	Little	None	Total
Males Almost all	-	-	-	-	-	0
Most	8	-	1	1	1	11
Some	8	1	3	-	-	12
Little	2	6	2	1	-	11
None	2	3	2	-	-	7
Total	20	10	8	2	1	41

6.1.d1. TAKING CARE OF OLD AND SICK

		Females					
		Almost all	Most	Some	Little	None	Total
Males	Almost all	3	-	-	-	2	5
	Most	3	-	-	4	5	12
	Some	1	-	-	-	4	5
	Little	6	1	-	-	11	18
	None	1	-	-	-	3	4
	Total	14	1		4	25	44

6.1.d2. TAKING CARE OF OLD AND SICK

		Females					
		Almost all	Most	Some	Little	None	Total
Males	Almost all	1	1	-	1	-	3
	Most	6	4	2	-	-	12
	Some	7	-	1	-	2	10
	Little	5	2	4	-	-	11
	None	2	2	1	-	-	5
	Total	21	9	8	1	2	41

6.1.e1. OTHER HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES

		Females					
		Almost all	Most	Some	Little	None	Total
Males	Almost all	8	-	3	-	1	12
	Most	1	1	-	-	1	3
	Some	4	1	-	2	-	7
	Little	13	4	-	1	-	18
	None	-	1	-	-	2	3
	Total	26	7	3	3	4	43

6.1.e1. OTHER HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES

		Females					
		Almost all	Most	Some	Little	None	Total
Males	Almost all	5	-	1	-	-	6
	Most	-	-	-	1	-	1
	Some	5	-	-	-	-	5
	Little	2	4	3	-	-	9
	None	2	1	2	-	-	6
	Total	14	5	6	1	1	27

c.6. Labour Use Pattern

c.6.2a. Was the work pattern (cooking, cleaning, looking after old and ill, childcare, other household activities) in any way different earlier to your getting a job

Noida

Females

		Yes	No
Males	Yes	38	3
	No	8	0

Sonepat

Females

		Yes	No	99
Males	Yes	24	0	15
	No	0	2	

c.6.3a. In case your wife/mother is unwell do men do the work that women normally do in the house

Noida

Females

		Yes	No	99
Males	Yes	38	10	1
	No	0	0	

Sonepat

Females

		Yes	No	99
Males	Yes	30	6	1
	No	2	2	

c.8. Educational Status

c.8.1a. In your opinion should boys and girls be given the same educational opportunity

Noida

Females

		Yes	No
Males	Yes	49	1
	No	2	0

Sonepat

Females

		Yes	No
Males	Yes	36	3
	No	2	0

c.8.2a. Are boys and girls given the same educational opportunity in your family

Noida

Females

		Yes	No	99
Males	Yes	38	5	6
	No	5		

Sonepat

Females

		Yes	No
Males	Yes	36	3
	No	2	0

c.8.3a. Do you think there is a need for a change with regard to education in your family

Noida

Females

		Yes	No	99
Males	Yes	44	3	2
	No	5		

Sonepat

Females

		Yes	No
Males	Yes	36	3
	No	2	0

c.9. Health and Nutrition

c.9.1a. Do men and women eat together in the household

Noida

Females

		Yes	No
Males	Yes	43	6
	No	4	1

Sonepat

Females

		Yes	No
Males	Yes	13	16
	No	6	6

c.9..2a. Do boys and girls eat together in the household

Noida

Females

		Yes	No	99
Males	Yes	45	1	5
	No	2	0	

Sonepat

Females

		Yes	No
Males	Yes	13	18
	No	4	4

c.10. Physical Mobility

c.10.1a. Do women have lesser mobility when compared to men?

Noida

Females

		Yes	No
Males	Yes	42	4
	No	7	1

Sonepat

Females

		Yes	No
Males	Yes	17	2
	No	22	

c.12. Reproduction and Sex

c.12.1a. Do you use/have used family planning methods

Noida

Females

		Yes	No	99
Males	Yes	21	7	3
	No	10	11	

Sonepat

Females

		Yes	No
Males	Yes	17	9
	No	6	9

c.12.2a. Do you have ultrasound facilities to find out the sex of the fetus

Noida

Females

		Yes	No
Males	Yes	28	12
	No	6	6

Sonepat

Females

		Yes	No	99
Males	Yes	24	6	1
	No	9	1	

c.12.3a. In case of you know that it is female fetus, would you abort the fetus

Noida

Females

		Yes	No	99
Males	Yes	0	0	52
	No	0	2	

Sonepat

Females

		Yes	No	99
Males	Yes	0	1	4
	No	8	28	

c.12.4a. Can you say no to your spouse, if you are not in mood for 'sex'

Noida

Females

		Yes	No	99
Males	Yes	28	18	4
	No	2	1	

Sonepat

Females

		Yes	No	99
Males	Yes	9	20	1
	No	1	10	

c.13. Household Decision Making

c.13.1a. Do you think women should have more decision-making powers than what they do have at present in your family

Noida

Females

		Yes	No	99
Males	Yes	14	10	1
	No	18	11	

Sonepat

Females

		Yes	No	99
Males	Yes	28	3	1
	No	9	0	

c.13.2a. Do you think women should have more decision-making powers than what they do have at present in the society

Noida

Females

		Yes	No	99
Males	Yes	20	4	3
	No	15	12	

Sonepat

Females

		Yes	No
Males	Yes	24	7
	No	10	0

20. Violence

c.14.1a. Every family face moments of tensions, has this happened in your family too.

Noida

		Females	
		Yes	No
Males	Yes	18	14
	No	10	12

Sonepat

		Females		
		Yes	No	99
Males	Yes	4	1	1
	No	18	16	

III.2.c.16. Gender and Mental Well-Being

Going through the responses to individual questions in the sections on mental health, the following patterns stand out:

Both in Noida and in Sonepat, women are more conservative in their responses than men, in that for all questions, much higher percentages of men have recorded the best options than women have.

In both places again, much higher percentages of women have recorded greater stress and lower confidence levels than men have.

Given such general patterns, there are some striking differences between Sonepat and Noida. Gender differences in responses from Noida are less sharp than they are in Sonepat, although male responses are uniformly dominated by the corresponding female ones in both places for higher values of the indices, suggesting higher stress levels for women.

Sonepat men come out as the most self-assured and stress-free among all categories.

c.16.1. Mental Distress: GHQ

16.1.1. Have you recently been able to concentrate on whatever you're doing?

	Noida		Sonepat	
	M	F	M	F
better than usual	60.7	56.1	70.4	58.3
same as usual	33.9	36.8	21.1	28.6
less than usual	3.6	3.5	7.0	10.7
much less than usual	1.8	3.5	1.4	2.4

16.1.2. Lost much sleep over worry?

	Noida		Sonepat	
	M	F	M	F
not at all	53.6	28.1	52.1	20.2
no more than usual	28.6	47.4	26.8	41.7
rather more than usual	5.4	12.3	11.3	17.9
much more than usual	12.5	12.3	9.9	20.2

16.1.3. Felt that you are playing a useful part in things?

	Noida		Sonepat	
	M	F	M	F
more so than usual	60.7	54.4	60.2	63.1
same as usual	33.9	38.6	38.0	23.8
less useful than usual	-	3.5	1.4	4.8
much less useful	5.4	3.5	1.4	8.3

16.1.4. Felt capable about making decisions about things?

	Noida		Sonepat	
	M	F	M	F
more so than usual	53.6	52.6	66.2	60.7
same as usual	42.9	42.1	28.2	29.8
less capable than usual	-	1.8	2.8	2.4
much less capable	3.6	3.5	2.8	7.1

16.1.5. Felt constantly under strain?

	Noida		Sonepat	
	M	F	M	F
not at all	57.1	31.6	60.6	52.4
no more than usual	19.6	42.1	21.1	21.4
rather more than usual	16.1	10.5	8.5	14.3
much more than usual	7.1	15.0	9.9	11.9

16.1.6. Felt that you couldn't overcome your difficulties?

	Noida		Sonepat	
	M	F	M	F
not at all	51.8	17.5	42.3	21.4
no more than usual	19.6	31.6	28.2	20.2
rather more than usual	23.2	33.3	19.7	36.9
much more than usual	5.4	15.8	9.9	21.4

16.1.7. Been able to enjoy your normal day-to-day activities?

	Noida		Sonepat	
	M	F	M	F
more so than usual	42.9	40.4	45.1	36.9
same as usual	39.3	49.1	36.6	53.6
less so than usual	16.1	7.0	11.3	6.0
much less than usual	1.8	3.5	7.0	3.6

16.1.8. Been able to face up to your problems?

	Noida		Sonepat	
	M	F	M	F
more so than usual	58.9	49.1	57.7	36.9
same as usual	28.6	47.4	31.1	53.6
less able than usual	10.7	-	2.8	6.0
much less able	1.0	3.5	8.5	3.6

16.1.9. Been feeling unhappy and depressed?

	Noida		Sonepat	
	M	F	M	F
not at all	71.4	40.4	73.2	63.9
no more than usual	16.1	26.3	16.9	8.4
rather more than usual	7.1	22.8	8.5	18.1
much more than usual	5.4	10.5	1.4	9.6

16.1.10. Been losing confidence in yourself?

	Noida		Sonepat	
	M	F	M	F
not at all	83.9	50.9	70.4	71.4
no more than usual	7.1	31.6	19.7	11.9
rather more than usual	7.1	8.8	7.0	10.7
much more than usual	1.8	8.8	2.8	6.0

16.1.11. Been thinking of yourself as a worthless person?

	Noida		Sonepat	
	M	F	M	F
not at all	91.1	59.6	85.9	84.5
no more than usual	3.6	29.8	7.0	3.6
rather more than usual	1.8	5.3	4.2	8.3
much more than usual	3.6	5.3	2.8	3.6

16.1.12. Been feeling reasonably happy, all things considered?

	Noida		Sonapat	
	M	F	M	F
more so than usual	55.4	45.6	64.8	56.8
about same as usual	30.4	40.4	25.4	29.8
less so than usual	12.5	3.5	7.0	4.8
much less than usual	1.8	10.5	2.8	9.5

c.16.2. Mental Well-Being (SUBI)

16.2.1. Do you feel your life is interesting?

	Noida		Sonapat	
	M	F	M	F
Very much	12.5	10.5	59.2	22.6
to some extent	80.4	63.2	36.6	67.9
not so much	7.1	26.3	4.2	9.5

16.2.2. Compared with the past, do you feel your present life is

	Noida		Sonapat	
	M	F	M	F
Very happy	16.1	15.1	38.0	21.4
Quite happy	76.8	68.4	56.3	71.4
Not so happy	7.1	15.8	5.6	7.1

16.2.3. On the whole, how happy are you with the kind of things you have been doing in recent years?

	Noida		Sonapat	
	M	F	M	F
Very happy	21.4	19.3	46.5	16.7
Quite happy	64.3	52.6	46.5	71.4
Not so happy	14.3	28.1	7.0	11.9

(Q.1-Q3 : General well being & positive effect)

16.2.4. Do you think you have achieved the standard of living and the social status that you had expected?

	Noida		Sonapat	
	M	F	M	F
Very much	26.8	26.3	46.5	13.1
To some extent	55.4	47.4	50.7	76.2
Not so much	17.9	26.3	2.8	10.7

16.2.5. How do you feel about the extent to which you have achieved success and are getting ahead?

	Noida		Sonapat	
	M	F	M	F
Very good	17.9	15.8	52.1	22.6
Quite good	69.6	61.4	40.8	60.0
Not so good	12.5	22.0	7.0	8.3

16.2.6. Do you normally accomplish what you want to?

	Noida		Sonapat	
	M	F	M	F
Most of the time	39.3	29.8	62.0	39.3
Sometime	46.4	28.1	26.8	46.4
Hardly ever	14.3	42.1	11.3	14.3

(Q. 4-Q 6: Expectation achievement congruence)

16.2.7. Do you feel you can manage situations even when they do not turn out as expected?

	Noida		Sonapat	
	M	F	M	F
Most of the time	53.6	33.3	59.2	38.1
Sometimes	30.4	43.9	33.8	56.0
Hardly ever	16.1	22.8	7.0	6.0

16.2.8. Do you feel confident that in case of a crisis (anything that substantially upsets your life situation) you will be able to cope with it/face it boldly?

	Noida		Sonapat	
	M	F	M	F
Very much	41.1	24.6	53.5	16.7
To some extent	51.8	63.2	42.3	78.6
Not so much	7.1	12.3	4.2	4.8

16.2.9. The way things are going now, do you feel confident in coping with the future?

	Noida		Sonapat	
	M	F	M	F
Very much	35.7	19.3	33.8	22.6
To some extent	55.4	68.4	46.5	71.4
Not so much	8.9	12.3	19.7	6.0

(Q 7 - Q 9: Confidence in coping)

IV. MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS

Tables VI.1 and IV. 2 report some of the results of Logit and OLS regressions respectively to explain variations in the two indices of mental health obtained in the combined sample of observations from the two study sites. The dependent variables GHQ2 and SUBI16 in Table IV.1 are binary variables whereby all observations having the total GHQ score less than 2 and total SUBI score less than 16 have been set equal to 0, while all others assume the value of 1. In Table IV.2 the dependent variables assume continuous integral values as posted in the returns from various individuals, with GHQ varying between the lowest of 0 and the highest of 12, and SUBI varying between the lowest possible value of 9 and the highest of 27.

The most significant and consistent result that comes out from all the four equations is that women are more stressed out and suffer from greater mental ill-being than men. The coefficient of the binary explanatory variable 'sex', which is 0 for men and 1 for women, is positive and highly significant.

Stress and mental ill-being appear to be inversely related with household size. However the linkage becomes less significant if one introduces any variable, such as 'childpro', reflecting the presence of small children in the household.

Also notable are the associations that emerge with variables such as 'age', level of education, and marital status. Given other things 'age' and education increase stress levels, the latter could be reflecting higher aspirations. This issue needs to be explored. Interestingly, working persons have lower stress than those that do not. The reasons for this could be different for men and women. Once again, further explorations are needed in this matter.

Also very interestingly, stress levels and mental ill-being are lower in Sonapat as compared to NOIDA, perhaps because families in Sonapat have fallback family support while NOIDA families are primarily migrants uprooted from their moorings.

Table IV .1. Results of logit regressions for the combined sample from Noida & Sonapat

Dependent Variable	GHQ2	SUBI16
Age	.04 (7.41)	.001 (.01)
Hhsize	-.02 (.09)	-.13 (3.60)
Childpro	.89 (1.80)	1.20 (2.96)
Edu	.60 (4.37)	.32 (1.27)
MS	-.76 (1.95)	1.16 (4.09)
Sex	1.27 (18.28)	1.20 (16.49)
WS	-- --	.65 (3.06)
N.S.	-.20 (.45)	-1.00 (10.41)
Inc	6.54E-05 (0.57)	7.95E-05 (1.25)
Inc sq	-.003 (.68)	-.002 (1.26)
Constant	-2.03 (9.30)	-1.16 (3.12)
No. of cases	271	271
Multiple R		
- 2 log likelihood	340.98	334.06
Chi. Square	29.64	38.07
Percent correctly predicted	65.68	70.11

Table IV.2. Results of multiple regressions (OLS) for the combined sample from Noida & Sonapat

Dependent Variable	GHQ	SUBI
Age	.06 (4.99)	.02 (1.02)
Hhsize	.01 (- .103)	- .06 (-.56)
Childpro	.98 (1.66)	1.14 (1.03)
Edu	.33 (1.34)	.60 (1.29)
MS	- .62 (-1.31)	.73 (.81)
Sex	1.25 (5.00)	2.55 (5.39)
WS	.50 (1.56)	.61 (1.01)
N.S.	- .08 (-.32)	- 1.76 (-3.53)
Inc	- 1.64E-05 (-.26)	- 1.19E-05 (-.78)
Inc sq	-9.81E – 05 (-.08)	.002 (.72)
Constant	-.64 (-1.15)	14.59 (13.84)
No. of cases	271	271
Multiple R	.43	.39

Variable names

Age	Age in years
Hh size	Household size
Childpro	Ratio of children below 12 to hhsiz
Edu	Education dummy, 0 for < Secondary 1 for > Secondary
Sex	Male = 0, Female = 1
MS	Marital status dummy. Unmarried = 0, Ever married = 1
WS	Work status dummy. Working = 0, Not working = 1
Inc	Household income
Inc sq	Square of household income
GHQ2	Binary variable, 0 for GHQ2 < 2 1 for GHQ2 > 2
SUBI16	Binary variable, 0 for SUBI 16 < 16 1 for SUBI 16 > 16

The significance of household incomes in the measurement of mental distress (GHQ) or well being (SUBI) appears to be not very high in the equations we have tried out. To some extent, this could be the reflection of the inadequacies involved in the measurement of household incomes, especially in Sonapat. However, the introduction of a quadratic term substantially increases the level of significance.

The answers to the questionnaire survey have identified several issues that may be creating greater stress levels for women as compared to men in the sampled households. The results from the regression analysis reinforce the findings. While these results are only indicative, they do suggest strong differences between the levels of mental well-being and mental stress of men and women, which need further exploration.

V. SUMMARY OF CASE STUDIES

V.1 Background

Five case studies were conducted at two sites near Delhi. The interviewees were selected from amongst those surveyed. Most of the case studies were conducted at Sonapat. This is because we had an intermediary here which helped us in building a rapport with the respondents. In NOIDA on the other hand we had approached people directly, and many of the respondents were worried whether answering our questions would affect their jobs.

There are many differences in the group of women at the two sites. Nearly all women in NOIDA are first time migrants. They are from various parts of India. Their economic status is dependent on the number of years they have been working in the factories. In Sonapat on the other hand, most of the women are 'locals' from the surrounding village. They come from settled agricultural families. Some of them may have lost their land due to fragmentation, family disputes, or had to sell them off due to economic compulsions. However their families have been residing in the area for many generations. The migrants in Sonapat are mostly those who came as agricultural labour some years ago and have since settled down. This is unlike the migration pattern in NOIDA where most came to work in factories in recent years.

Another difference is that the industrial boom in NOIDA has been sudden and of a larger scale than in Sonapat. The number of industrial units in Sonapat is much less than in NOIDA.

In NOIDA there is also large-scale migration of both husband and wife to work in the factories. In this situation the wife's income is one half of the total family income, it is needed for subsistence. In Sonapat on the other hand, in many families, the wife's income is an addition, especially in those places where the family already owns land. This is not to say that there aren't families where the woman was the sole earning member.

Most of the observations are based on five case studies, but for discussion we have also referred to various conversations with survey interviewees and with investigators. While selecting the

case studies an effort was made to get respondents who differed from one another in terms of their marital status, work status and whether from settled or migrant families. The case studies are of an unmarried migrant girl; married migrant woman; married woman from settled family; widow from settled family and a non-working woman from a settled family whose daughter-in-law works in a factory.

The case studies draw attention to the overpowering influence of gender constructions based on notions of sexuality, which govern women's status and well being. While the findings have been put under different headings, each is interwoven with the other issues and should be viewed as part of a bigger whole.

V.2 Education

All women were unanimous in their view about educating girls. All of them felt that in today's world it is very important to educate girls. There is also considerable homogeneity in their reasons for educating girls. The differences were in the emphasis they put on various reasons. None of the women associated anything negative with educating girls.

Everyone felt that education helps in getting jobs and they perceived a positive correlation between higher education and better jobs. They had also experienced a correlation between a higher educational level and increased wages. For some it was the lack of education or higher level of education that was used as an excuse for not paying higher wages even though the job did not demand it. Most women regretted that they were unable to study or should have studied seriously when younger. This is closely linked to the feeling of wanting to get better jobs than factory work.

There is a strong feeling that education is an investment that in times of need would be of immense use. This theme was brought up by many since most of them had started working in the factories because of an economic crisis that had fallen on the household. All of them are also the first ones in the family to take up non-agricultural work outside the house.

The respondents thought that there were many benefits of sending girls to school apart from the perceived correlation between education, jobs and wages. Those who have school going children or are likely to have them in the future expressed a very strong desire to see their children study well i.e. at least complete class X or XII. There is also a feeling that sending girls to schools is a way of keeping them out of trouble. This was specially felt in Sonepat. Many feel that the environment and attitudes of the people have changed and that it has become more unsafe for women and girls than it was before. The feeling was that school would keep the girls occupied and out of mischief. They also felt that one gains knowledge on many things such as health and hygiene, keeping accounts, etc. They also learn good manners, how to talk to people, and how to deal with the outside world.

V.3 Work

The women said that they felt more confident since they started working. They feel more confident about going out and getting by in everyday matters. Working in the factory has also meant that they are going out of the house on their own and are not dependent on others to escort them.

Women felt that their ability to earn has increased their status in the family. They felt that the labour they put in domestic work, whether in their own fields or in household chores, is not recognised. Bringing home a salary had increased their say in household matters.

A strong preference for factory work over agricultural work was expressed by all. The preference for factory work is for various reasons. It is seen as less strenuous than agricultural work. It is also more remunerating. It is steady and assures a regular income. At the same time there is also a desire to get a better job than factory work. Most felt that they were unable to because their education qualifications were not sufficient.

Work is divided along gender lines. Domestic work is women's work while 'outside' work is men's work. Women's work comprises washing, cleaning, cooking, childcare and looking after

cattle (getting fodder, taking them to the river, milking, cleaning the cowshed etc.). All this is considered women's work.

Working in the factory has not necessarily led to a redistribution of domestic work between men and women. All women complete their household chores and then go to the factory. Where there are other women in the family who are not factory workers, there has been a redistribution of household chores between these women. Most of the times childcare shifts to the other women in the household. Those women who do not have such support feel that the lack of time with the children is an important drawback of working in the factory.

Sundays are often working days. This means that women get only one or two days off in a month. In the majority of factories they are paid extra but rarely can women refuse to work on Sundays. But there are also factories where the women are not paid in full or they are made to do 'over time' without remuneration. In the majority of the interviews, the women had taken a day off from work to meet us even though it was a Sunday.

V.4 Marriage

Marriage in all cases was arranged or has been with the consent of the family. Often the woman's opinion was not taken in the choice of partner or timing of their marriage. Marriage is viewed as a necessity for women. Marriage is also viewed as providing security to a woman. Women did not feel that they had an option about not marrying.

Marriage also increased the workload for women. While all were doing household or other domestic work before marriage, they felt a significant increase in housework after they got married. Women also got less time to rest after marriage. Burdening the women with household chores was a way of exercising control over the daughter-in-law. In times of crisis the women turned to their parental families rather than their marital families for help. The parental family was the preferred place to go when the woman was ill or needed some rest. Even though the parental family is removed from the everyday sphere of activities, it provides material and moral support to the woman.

V.5 Sexuality

Strong notions about sexuality govern attitudes about women working outside the house. The fact that women will work with men, talk freely with them is seen by the family as a major negative factor about working outside.

The family has strict control over a woman's movements while the same does not apply to men. When a girl goes out of the house, the family is very concerned about her movements. An unmarried girl's reputation is a source of worry for her family. A tarnished reputation will result in difficulties in getting her married.

Women reported that they did not have any knowledge or had very little sexual knowledge prior to marriage for it was considered a taboo subject for unmarried girls. Sexual relations with the husband are viewed by most as a 'duty'. Most did not view these relationships as something positive.

V.6 Harassment

Most of the tensions and conflicts were reported in the marital house. Many of them experienced verbal and physical violence. For the women, the mother-in-law or husband or both were the perpetrators of violence. Violence was inflicted for not doing domestic chores properly in the view of the marital family.

Women do not feel safe travelling alone. All women reported travelling in groups to their work place and back. The older women strongly feel that the times are bad. It is more unsafe for women than before.

V.7 Freedom of Movement

Everyone admitted that boys are allowed more freedom than girls. Girls are strictly confined to the house while boys have the freedom to go outside. The family - whether parental or marital - has control over the woman. Both parental and marital family restrict a woman's movement. Before marriage the parental family controls mobility of the woman, decides the division of labour, etc. and after marriage the marital family decides as to when she can visit her parental home, decisions about work, rest, etc. For married women, visits to the parental house are controlled by the marital family. Sometimes this freedom of movement or the lack of it translates into division of labour. Boys work in the fields and do outside work and girls do domestic chores.

V.8 Decision Making

For women, to earn does not translate into having control over the earnings. They hand over the earning to their families, whether it is the parental family or the marital family. Whatever the woman earns is for the family and not for the individual. How it is to be used is not in her hands. In the parental family the father or older brother and in the marital family the husband have a control over the earnings.

Women hardly have a say in their marriage. Often the woman's opinion was not taken in the choice of partner or timing of their marriage. Most women do not have much say in physical relationships with their husbands either. In issues about limiting the number of children, the marital family is a strong influence. A woman may not be able to exercise her choice in the matter of having children in face of strong pressure from the marital family.

V.9 Generation Differences

All women reported that girls are more educated now than earlier. There is a lot of emphasis on education of girls. Boys also want to marry educated girls these days. Compared to the previous

generation, girls are more aware. There is greater knowledge about hygiene and about the outside world. Even though there are many restrictions placed by the family on women's movements, women feel that it is easier to travel now than before. If the family allows, women nowadays 'can move about anywhere freely'. There is also much less purdah than before.

People have fewer children in this generation than in the earlier one. Most people have two or three only. It is also much more expensive to bring up children. Every one felt that things have become more expensive than before.

An increase in women's status was acknowledged by all. Women felt that the improved status is due to education and acknowledgement by men of the work they put in. In-laws do not keep asking the daughter-in-law to get more things from her parental home constantly. The in-laws beat less and girls go back to parental family if there is too much harassment.

The case studies point to the fact that changes have come about in many aspects in women's lives though it may not be the same for all. Working in factories has provided them with an important source of livelihood especially for those with severe economic constraints. Women feel that there are many more options for them than there were before. This changed scenario has had an impact on various fronts. However how much of this is due to their work status and how much a result of the changing social dynamics is debatable.

VI. CONCLUDING REMARKS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

A decade of reforms may not have touched many segments of the Indian population in any substantive manner as yet, especially those involved in the farm sector in the rural hinterlands of the country, or the casual workforce which depends primarily on unskilled wage labour for survival. However, there are segments of the economy, which have been affected by reforms. We have argued that wherever reforms have brought in changes in the external economic environment of the households, be it terms of changes in opportunities or in constraints, its impact would likely to have gender-differentiated characteristics.

Vol I of this report has traced the changes over time in the major socio-economic and demographic gender indicators as available from secondary sources, and has argued that some of these differences can be traced to reform-induced changes. In Vol II we have sought to supplement this exercise by bringing in some non-conventional indicators of gender bias such as gender-related stress, anxiety and violence that can be attributed to changes in economic policy. This issue has been sought to be studied in the specific context of a sample of households where women who have taken up paid jobs in factories located in EPZ's or EPU's.

Our results suggest that a lot of changes have indeed set in. The new jobs for the women have been looked upon favourably by both men and the women who are working. Both like the increased economic security it brings in. By and large in our sample, working conditions are also not worse than average, or worse than they are for the men in comparable conditions. Women in particular are happy also for the non-economic fall-outs of paid work: higher self esteem, larger social network, and what the majority seems to think is the passage to higher status in the family and the community.

Unfortunately, there is little evidence of such views being shared by the men in the family. For them, the benefits are primarily economic. The possibility that having a paid job might confer higher status or greater decision-making powers to women is something that simply does not figure in the perception of most men. This phenomenon is much more evident in the settled

agricultural location of Sonapat where most families are joint families, living within the traditional moorings, as compared to NOIDA where they are nuclear families which have migrated from other parts of the country. There is hardly any substantive sharing of housework in either location across the sexes, showing the resilience of traditional gender roles within the domestic sphere even when women put in a full day's paid work outside the home. NOIDA women bear the major brunt of domestic work by putting in additional hours, while in Sonapat, non-working women of the household pitch in. Better economic opportunities do not seem to have absolved women from their reproductive responsibilities. Earning in the market place does not automatically translate into more flexible gender roles or greater overall empowerment.

However there are clear signs that at least for the women themselves, especially those from Sonapat, the benefits go beyond purely economic ones. They report a higher sense of self worth, but at the same time they also report much family discord. The Sonapat men appear to be blissfully unaware of the stress building up in their own backyards. The perceptual differences that are emerging between the men and the women in Sonapat seem to indicate that while gender differences in 'conventional' indicators may be closing up, the non-conventional indicators of gender bias may be poised for a worsening phase.